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GESENIUS'

HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY

E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

TRANSLATED FROM THE TWENTY-FIFTH GERMAN EDITION

BY THE LATE

REV. G. W. COLLINS, M.A.

THE TRANSLATION REVISED AND ADJUSTED TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH EDITION

BY

A. E. COWLEY, M.A.

Oxford

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE Hebrew Grammar of William Gesenius—originally published in 1813—has long been regarded as a standard work in Germany, and has been repeatedly re-edited, first by Rödiger and afterwards by Professor Kautzsch, with a view to keeping it abreast of the progress of scholarship. Various English translations of it have also appeared; but the original work has gained so considerably in value in the latest editions, thanks to the scholarly revision of Professor Kautzsch, that the time seemed to have come for a new translation of what is practically a new book. Moreover, no Hebrew Grammar exists in English combining in one volume a thorough treatment both of the accidence and of the syntax. The Delegates of the Clarendon Press accordingly arranged with the German publisher, Herr Vogel, of Leipzig, to issue such a translation, and entrusted the work to the late Rev. G. W. Collins (of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Keble College, Oxford), with whom I was afterwards associated. His translation of the twenty-fifth edition (1889) was already approaching completion when a new edition of the German was announced as being in preparation, and the Delegates decided to await its publication in order that Professor Kautzsch's latest improvements might be incorporated in the English translation. The new German edition, however, did not appear so soon as was expected, and in the meantime Mr. Collins died. The task of revising the translation, and of seeing it through the press, thus devolved upon me. Its accomplishment has been somewhat

delayed, partly by the intervention of other work, and partly owing to the numerous additions and improvements introduced by Professor Kautzsch into the twenty-sixth edition (1896), which of course had to be incorporated. With regard to the method pursued, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English. At the same time, every effort has been made to state the principles of the grammar in a form that would be clearly and readily apprehended by English students. The sheets have been submitted while in proof to the Regius Professor of Hebrew, Dr. Driver, who has made numerous valuable suggestions as to translation. Some slight additions have occasionally been made—in no case, however, affecting the substance of Professor Kautzsch's work — chiefly consisting of supplementary references to English works, or now and then completing a list of citations. These have been enclosed within brackets [] wherever it was possible to do so without too much complication. A few notes added by Mr. Collins have been marked with his initials, G. W. C. Some evident printer's errors in the German have been tacitly corrected. It would be too much to hope that in so large a mass of details mistakes have been entirely avoided, but my endeavours to secure accuracy and uniformity have been very materially aided by the skill and experience of Mr. J. C. Pembrey, the oriental reader to the Clarendon Press. In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Driver for his ever-ready help in all matters of difficulty, and for the encouragement I have received from him throughout a rather toilsome piece of work.

A. E. COWLEY.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION.

BETWEEN the appearance of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth editions of this Grammar[1] more than six years elapsed. During that period so many important works appeared on the textual criticism and exegesis of the Old Testament, as well as on the grammar of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, that the editor again found abundant materials for amplifying and re-casting the work. . . .

For the Biblical text, constant use has been made of the critical editions of Dr. S. Baer: *Jeremia*, Lipsiae, 1890; *Josua et Judices*, 1891; *Samuel*, 1892; *Reges*, 1895. Warm praise is also due to the admirable edition of the Old Testament text by David Ginsburg (London, 1894, 2 vols.), based primarily on the earliest printed editions,—seven of the entire Bible, dated between 1488 and 1525, and thirteen of various parts, 1477–1525,—and containing a selection of readings from the LXX, Peshiṭṭâ, Targums, and Vulgate. In the course of his work, the present writer has learnt to value this edition more and more. The critically revised text in the handsome series of 'Sacred Books of the Old Testament[2],' published under the editorship of Prof. P. Haupt (Leipzig and Baltimore, 1893, &c.), has also been consulted

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[1] The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (pp. 202, small 8vo); the next thirteen editions were issued by Gesenius himself; the fifteenth to the twenty-first (1845–1872) by E. Rödiger; the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth (1878–1889) by the present editor.

[2] Distinguishing the various documents of the Pentateuch and historical books by colours, and hence also called the 'Polychrome Bible.' The following parts have appeared: Job by Siegfried, 1893; I and II Samuel by Budde, Leviticus by Driver and White, 1894; Jeremiah by Cornill, Joshua by Bennett, the Psalms by Wellhausen, Chronicles by Kittel, 1895; Genesis by Ball, Daniel by Kamphausen, 1896.

as occasion required. But this twenty-sixth edition has especially benefited by the systematic study of the Old Testament, undertaken with a view to the new translation of it, published by the editor in 1894[1]. Independently of the criticism of the text, this afforded opportunity for a much fuller notice of all striking forms, as well as for considerable additions to the examples in the Syntax.

Among the works consulted on special grammatical questions, the first place must be assigned to those of De Lagarde, Barth, and Ed. König, cited on p. 231. König's *Lehrgebäude*, starting with Hebrew, includes a comprehensive comparison of the other Semitic dialects, and is distinguished by an almost exhaustive presentation of the facts, as well as by the regard paid systematically to phonetic and philological principles. De Lagarde and Barth, embracing in their survey the entire system of Semitic noun-formation, suggest, independently of each other, such an abundance of new and important points of view, that the editor felt no little embarrassment in deciding on the extent of the changes required in §§ 81–86, 93 and 94. However, the consideration that, in spite of very remarkable agreement on fundamental questions, the two scholars often differ widely in details, and that the controversy on the subject (see the literature on p. 231) has led to no definite conclusions, finally left no doubt as to the course to be pursued. I have endeavoured in an excursus (§ 83. *d*) to give, as far as possible, an unbiassed statement of the principles followed by both scholars, and in § 84 sqq. have altered or omitted whatever has so far been proved to be certainly untenable. Though starting with grave doubts, I must admit that Barth's fundamental principle—that all nouns may be referred to either perfect or imperfect stems—appears to me more and more to be correct and fruitful, although at the same time it is true that *all* nouns cannot now be traced to one or the other stem with the certainty claimed by the author in his *Nominalbildung*.

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[1] *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894. Of the readings discussed in pp. 1 to 88 of the appendix to this translation, a considerable number have also been noticed in the Grammar.

Among smaller monographs the studies of Knudtzon, mentioned on p. 320, note, as also V. Baumann's *Hebräische Relativsätze* (see p. 466), Herner's *Syntax der Zahlwörter* (see p. 454), and Diehl's *Pronomen personale suffixum 2. und 3. plur. des Hebräischen*, deserve special mention. The last-named Dissertation was available only from § 91 onwards. Besides these, abundant material is contained in the numerous discussions of grammatical and syntactical questions in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890), and in the lists of the linguistic features of particular books in Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (sixth edition, Edinburgh, 1897), in Siegfried and Stade's *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum A. T.* (Leipzig, 1893), and last but not least in the greatly improved twelfth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, edited by Frants Buhl, with the assistance of A. Socin and H. Zimmern, in 1895. The sparing use of such valuable works as Friedrich Delitzsch's *Assyrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1889[1]), P. Haupt's *Semitische Sprachlaute* (see p. 27), &c., was due to the limitations necessarily imposed by a Grammar intended primarily for theological students in the widest sense of the term. At the same time, the greatest possible care has been taken to give a full account of the literature which has appeared since 1889.

For notes and corrections relating to particular points, I have to thank Professors Budde (Strassburg), Dalman (Leipzig), Haupt (Baltimore), Kamphausen (Bonn), Ley (Kreuznach), G. Moore (Andover), Nestle (Ulm), Philippi (Rostock, in a review of the twenty-fifth edition in the *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1890, no. 17), Praetorius (Halle), Stade (Giessen), and Messrs. S. Preiswerk, junior (Bâle), and Ziegert (Breslau); also for notes on a more considerable scale, Dr. Mayer-Lambert (Paris), Prof. Socin (Leipzig), and Prof. Strack (Berlin). The two last-mentioned scholars placed at my disposal their own copies of the twenty-fifth edition, containing numerous marginal annotations. Lastly, I must pay a tribute of gratitude to the cherished memory of my friend Prof. August Müller (Halle). The criticisms,

[1] English translation, Berlin and London (Williams and Norgate), 1889.

which, according to the close of his review of the twenty-fifth edition, Prof. Müller intended for me, were found indicated in his private copy by lines and crosses of various colours. These led me in numerous cases to re-consider, and, I hope, also sometimes to improve the text.

In the correction of the proofs of the twenty-sixth edition, my young colleague Mr. Steuernagel deserves my thanks for his unwearying and skilful help.

. . . . . .

The old complaint that reference to the Grammar was rendered difficult by the numerous subdivisions of the sections, has now been met by the addition of marginal letters. By this means the number of the section and one letter suffice for reference in nearly all cases. In very long sections (§§ 67, 72, 75, 93, 112, 113, 117, 119, 126, 159) double letters had to be used (*aa*, *bb*, &c.) after the single alphabet was exhausted. At the same time, the old subdivisions had to be retained on account of the numerous references in existing commentaries, and in the four editions of the Exercise Book.

Finally, the Paradigms (p. 536 sqq.) have been subjected to a very thorough revision for this edition. From Paradigm G onward forms not actually occurring have been enclosed within brackets.

The principal abbreviations used are—*ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*: *ZAW* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (edited, since its commencement in 1881, by Prof. B. Stade, Giessen): *ZDPV* = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins* (edited, since 1878, by Prof. H. Guthe, Leipzig).

E. KAUTZSCH.

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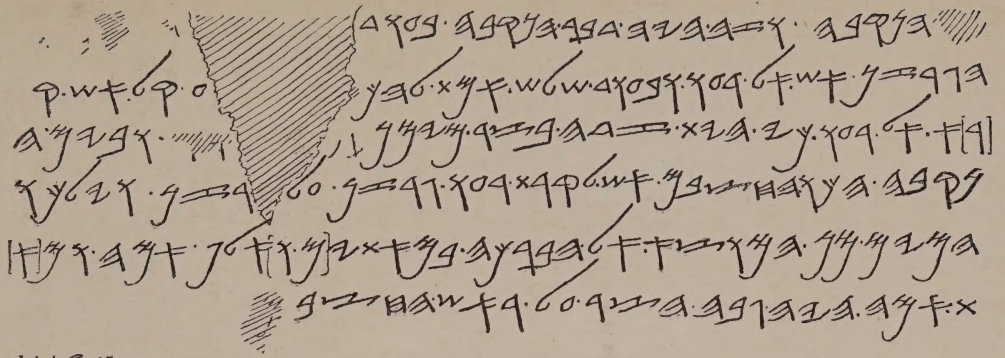
EARLY SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

Mêša' inscription early 9th cent. B.C. § 2. *d*, § 5. *a*.	Phoenician coins and inscriptions.	Neo-punic.	OldHebrew coins and gems.	Samaritan.	Egyptian-Aramaic 5th to 1st cent. B.C.	Palmyrene 1st cent. B.C. to 4th cent. A.D.	Hebrew inscriptions beginning of 1st cent. A.D.	Square character.	Rashi.
𐤀	𐤀 carthg.	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	א	א	א
𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	ב	ב	ב
𐤂	𐤂	𐤂	𐤂	𐤂	𐤂	𐤂		ג	ג
𐤃	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃	ד	ד	ד
𐤄	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄	ה	ה	ה
𐤅	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅	ו	ו	ו
𐤆	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆	ז	ז	ז
𐤇	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇	ח	ח	ח
𐤈	𐤈	𐤈	Amaz. el-Emir 𐤈	𐤈	𐤈	𐤈		ט	ט
𐤉	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉	י	י	י
𐤊	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊	כ	כ ך	כ ך
𐤋	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋	ל	ל	ל
𐤌	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌	מ fin. ם	מ ם	מ ם
𐤍	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍 fin.	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍 fig.	נ	נ ן	נ ן
𐤎	𐤎	𐤎 Tripoli.	𐤎	𐤎	𐤎	𐤎	ס	ס	ס
𐤏	○	○	○	○	○	𐤏	ע	ע	ע
𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐	פ fin. ף	פ ף	פ ף
𐤑	𐤑	𐤑	𐤑	𐤑	𐤑	𐤑	צ	צ ץ	צ ץ
𐤒	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒	ק	ק	ק
𐤓	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓	ר	ר	ר
𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔	ש	ש	ש
𐤕	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕	ת	ת	ת

J.E.



del. J. C. 85

Transcription.

הנקבה . וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד
הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . להכ קל . אש . ק
רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . זדה . בצר . מימן ובים ה
נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . על . גרזן . וילכו
המים . מן . חמוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומ(א)
ת . אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . החצב(ם)

HEBREW GRAMMAR.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

SEE Gesenius, Introduction to his *Hebr. Handwörterb.*, 2nd to 10th editions; E. Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1863; B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 sqq.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, 'Einl. in das A. T.,' in Zöckler's *Handb. der theol. Wissenschaften*, Nördl. 1883, i. 190 sqq.; 4th ed. Munich, 1895; F. Hommel, *Die semit. Völker u. Sprachen*, Lpz. 1883, i. 1; Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages,' in the 9th ed. of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in German with corrections and additions, *Die semit. Sprachen*, Lpz. 1887; W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambr. 1890. Much relating to the subject may also be found in Diestel's *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche*, Jena, 1869.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of lan- *a*
guages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the Mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic languages* (based upon the fact that according to Gen. 10, 21 sqq. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is however now generally accepted and has accordingly been retained here [1].

[1] From Shem are derived (Gen. 10, 21 sqq.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6. 15 sqq.), although their language belongs decidedly to what

b **2.** The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided as follows:—

I. The South Semitic or Arabic branch. To this belong, besides the classical literary language of the Arabs and the modern vulgar Arabic, the older southern Arabic preserved in the Sabaean inscriptions (less correctly called Himyaritic), and its offshoot, the Ge'ez or Ethiopic, in Abyssinia.

II. The Middle Semitic or Canaanitish branch. To this belongs the Hebrew of the Old Testament with its descendants, the New Hebrew, as found especially in the Mishna (see below, § 3. 1) and Rabbinic; also Phoenician with Punic (in Carthage and its colonies) and the various remains of Canaanitish dialects preserved in names of places and persons, and in the inscription of Mêša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraeans, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee.' This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gen. 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and the sections Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezr. 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12–26, as well as by a considerable portion of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the so-called Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

For further particulars about the remains of Western Aramaic (including those in the New Test., in the Palmyrene and Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Lpz. 1884, p. 6 sqq.

d IV. The East Semitic branch[1], the language of the Assyrio-

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is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians, about which uncertainty long prevailed, has proved to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gen. 10, 22) is included among the sons of Shem.

[1] Cf. especially Hommel, 'On the philological position of the Ass.-Babylonian as compared with Western Semitic,' in *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen arabistisch semitologischen Inhalts*, Munich, 1892, p. 92 sqq.

Babylonian inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian research*, Lond. 1883, and *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T.*, Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.,' in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1889.

If the above division into four branches be reduced to two principal groups, No. I, as South Semitic, will be contrasted with the three North Semitic branches.

All these languages stand to one another in much the same relation as those *e* of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish; High and Low German in their earlier and later dialects), or as the Slavonic languages (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old Slavonic, Serbian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as the Phoenician and Assyrian, or preserved only in a debased form, as Neo-Syriac among Syrian Christians and Jews in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in the later Abyssinian dialects (Tigrê, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews (except in so far as they attempt a literary reproduction of the language of the Old Testament). Arabic alone has not only occupied to this day its original abode in Arabia proper, but has also forced its way in all directions into the domain of other languages.

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic, since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic as well as Gothic, along with the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see C. Abel, *Einleitung in ein ägyptisch-semitisch-indo-europäisches Wurzelwörterbuch*, Lpz. 1887; and *Ueber Wechselbeziehungen der ägyptischen, indo-europäischen u. semitischen Etymologie*, Lpz. 1889, pt. i; Hommel, 'On the extent of the relation between ancient Egyptian and Semitic,' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 342 sqq.; Erman, *Das Verhältnis des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen*, in the *ZDMG.* xlvi, 1892, p. 93 sqq.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic family of languages, *f* as compared with that of other languages, especially the Indo-Germanic, exhibits numerous peculiarities which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. These are—(*a*) among the consonants, which in fact form the substance of these languages, occur peculiar gutturals of different grades; the vowels proceeding from the three primary sounds (*a*, *i*, *u*)

are subject, within the same consonantal frame-work, to great changes in order to express various modifications in the signification of the same stem; (*b*) the word-stems are almost invariably triliteral, i. e. composed of three consonants; (*c*) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; and (*d*) the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.); and peculiar expedients are adopted for the purpose of indicating the case-relations; (*e*) the oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as of all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms immediately attached (suffixes); (*f*) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (with the exception of many proper names) and in the verb; (*g*) great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, e. g. the small number of particles, and the prevalence of simple co-ordination of clauses without periodic structure. Classical Arabic, however, forms a not unimportant exception as regards the last mentioned point.

g **4.** From a lexicographical point of view also the vocabulary of the Semites differs essentially from that of the Indo-Germanic languages, although there is here apparently more agreement than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems[1] agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions directly borrowed (see below), the actual similarity might be restricted to imitative words (onomatopoetica), and to those in which one and the same idea is represented by similar sounds in consequence of a formative instinct common to the most varied families of language. Neither of these proves any *historic* or *generic* relation, to establish which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzel-verwandtschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 sq.; McCurdy, *Aryo-Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881.

h As onomatopoetic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e. g. לָקַק, λείχω, *lingo*, Sanś. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; גָּלַל (kindr. אָגַל, עָגַל) κίλλω, κέλλω, κυλίω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַד, חָרַט, חָרַת χαράττω, Pers. *khârîdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A. T.'s*, Braunschw. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth*, *six*, *seven*, *horn*, *to sound*, *to measure*, *to mix*,

[1] On the distinction between stems and roots, see § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—G. W. C.]

to smell, to place, clear, to kneel, raven, goat, ox, &c. An example of a somewhat different kind is *am, ham* (*sam*), *gam, kam*, in the sense of the German *samt, zusammen;* in Hebrew עַמָּם (from which אֻמָּה *people*, properly *assembly*), עִם (*with*) *samt*, גַּם *also, moreover*, Arab. جمع *to collect;* Pers. *ham, hamah* (*at the same time*); Sans. *amâ* (*with*), Gk. ἅμα (ἄμφω), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (ὅμιλος, ὅμαδος), and harder κοινός, Lat. *cum, cumulus, cunctus;* with the corresponding sibilant Sans. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt, sammeln;* but many of these instances are doubtful.

Essentially different from this internal connexion, is the occur- *i*
rence of the same words in different languages, where one language has borrowed directly from the other. Such *loan-words* are—

(*a*) In Hebr.: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Egypt, Persia or India, e. g. יְאֹר, Egyptian properly *aur āa*, the great river, Coptic *yaro* or *yero*[1], nearly always of the Nile; אָחוּ (Egyptian) Nile-reed; פַּרְדֵּס (in Zend *pairidaêza*, circumvallation = παράδεισος) *pleasure-garden, park;* דַּרְכְּמוֹן *daric*, Persian gold coin; תֻּכִּיִּים *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tôgai* or *tôghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as קוֹף (Sans. *kapi*) ape, κῆπος, κῆβος; כַּרְפַּס (Pers. *kirbâs*, Sans. *karpâsa*) cotton, κάρπασος, *carbasus*.

(*b*) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e. g. בּוּץ βύσσος, *byssus;* לְבֹנָה λίβανος, λιβανωτός, *incense;* קָנֶה κάνη, κάννα, *canna*, cane; כַּמּוֹן κύμινον, *cuminum*, cumin; קְצִיעָה κασσία, *cassia;* גָּמָל κάμηλος, *camelus;* עֲרֻבּוֹן ἀῤῥαβών, *arrhabo, arrha*, pledge. Such transitions have probably been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. (Comp. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnwörter im älteren Griechisch,' in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 sqq.; E. Ries, *Quae res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint*, Breslau, 1890; Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin,' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiii. p. 35 sqq.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phöniz. Sprachzweige angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.)

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *k*
the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has essentially one remarkable defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are *arranged in line* as real letters[2], whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by representative consonants (comp. below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below

[1] According to Delitzsch, however (*Prolegg.* 145, v. sup. p. 2), יְאֹר is a genuine Semitic word.

[2] So also originally the Ethiopic writing, which afterwards represented the vowels by small appendages to the consonants, or by some other change in their form. On the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform writing, which likewise indicates the vowels, see p. 6, note 1, ad fin.

or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowels (see § 8). These are, however, superfluous for the practised reader, and are therefore often wholly omitted in Semitic manuscripts and printed texts. Semitic writing, moreover, almost invariably proceeds from right to left [1].

With the exception of the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform), all varieties of Semitic writing, although differing widely in some respects, are derived from one and the same original alphabet, now represented most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mêša', king of Moab (see below, § 2. 2), and in the old Phoenician inscriptions. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2. 2), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phoenician writing.

l See the Table of Alphabets at the beginning of the Grammar, which shows the relations of the older varieties of Semitic writing to one another and especially the origin of the present Hebrew characters from their primitive forms. For a more complete view, see Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 sqq., and pt. iii. tab. 1–5, also his article 'Paläographie' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.* Sect. iii. Bd. 9. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phoenician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Comp. especially the Tables of De Vogüé in vol. xi. of the *Revue archéol.*, Paris, 1865, and in the *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1868, after p. 141; further Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869, p. 75 sqq.; Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien monde*, Paris, 1875, tom. i. 2me éd. (to be used with some caution); Schlottmann, article 'Schrift u. Schriftzeichen' in Riehm's *Handwörterb. des bibl. Altert.*, p. 1434 sqq.; Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, &c., Lond. 1883, 2 vols.; Phil. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1891.— For the development of the *Hebrew* characters and the best Tables of Alphabets, comp. § 5. *a*, note 2.

m **6.** As regards the relative age of the Semitic languages, the oldest writings are to be met with in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions [2]; with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the Old Testament (see § 2).

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[1] The Sabaean (Himyaritic) writing runs occasionally from left to right, and even alternately in both directions (*boustrophedon*), but as a rule from right to left. In Ethiopic writing the direction from left to right has become the prevailing one; some few old inscriptions exhibit, however, the opposite direction. The cuneiform writing also runs from left to right, but this is undoubtedly borrowed from a non-Semitic people.

[2] Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 57, 'We possess written monuments of

The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (comp. Ezr. 6, 3 sqq.), those of the Arabic branch first appear in the earliest centuries A.D. (Sabaean inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth to fifth century, North-Arabic literature from the sixth century A.D.) It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and oftentimes the organic structure of a language is even considerably impaired before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a strange tongue. Thus in the Semitic department, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words[1]. Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached nearly the stage at which we find Hebrew as early as the Old Testament.

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the Assyrian kings Isme-Dagan and Samsi-Ramman I, who reigned about 1830 or 1816 B.C.: but Babylonian antiquities and Babylonian literature precede the Assyrian by a development of more than a thousand years.' According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 sqq., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from 3800 to 450 B.C.

[1] Even now the language of some of the Bèdawî is much purer and more archaic than that of the town-Arabs. It must, however, here be admitted that the former exalted estimate of the primitiveness of Arabic has been moderated in many respects by the most recent school of Semitic philology. Much apparently original is to be regarded with Nöldeke (*Die semit. Spr.*, p. 5 [= *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. SEMITIC LANGUAGES, p. 642]) only as a modification of the original. The assertion that the Arabs exhibit the Semitic character in its purest form, should, according to Nöldeke, be rather that 'the inhabitants of the desert lands of Arabia, under the influence of the extraordinarily monotonous scenery and of a life continually the same amid continual change, have emphasized some of the most important Semitic characteristics in a most one-sided manner.'

[In modern conversational Arabic, the Tènwin and the endings of inflectional forms are almost always neglected. Mr. E. T. Rogers, late British Consul at Cairo, told me that they are still pronounced in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo.—G. W. C.]

n Hence the phenomenon, that in its grammatical structure the ancient Hebrew agrees more with the modern than with the ancient Arabic, and that the latter, although it only appears as a written language at a later period, has yet in many respects preserved a more complete structure and a more original vowel system than the other Semitic languages. Thus it occupies amongst these a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic, and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect to its organic structure, already suffered more considerable losses than the Arabic, which appears much later on the historical horizon; (2) that, notwithstanding this fact, we cannot at once and in all points concede the priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which was only caused by the decay of its organic structure), is the oldest form of Semitic speech.

§ 2. *Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language.*

See Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, Lpz. 1815, §§ 5–18; Th. Nöldeke's article, 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Lpz. 1875, Bd. v; Bertheau, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, 2. Aufl. Bd. 5; W. Robertson Smith, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Edinb. 1880, vol. xi. p. 594 sqq.

a **1.** The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the Neo-Hebrew in Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3. 1). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is. 19, 18 the term *language of Canaan*[1], and יְהוּדִית *in the Jews' language* 2 Ki. 18, 26. 28 (comp. Is. 36, 11. 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews, Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names *Hebrews* (עִבְרִים Ἑβραῖοι) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also

[1] That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yam* (sea) for the west, *négeb* (properly dryness, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south, comp. Reuss, l. c., p. 53 sq.

a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gen. 40, 15. Ex. 2, 7. 3, 18 and elsewhere; Jon. 1, 9) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gen. 39, 14. 17. 41, 12 and elsewhere) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gen. 14, 13. 43, 32. Ex. 2, 11. 13. 21, 2). Its use in 1 Sam. 13, 3. 7 and 14, 21 is exceptional. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name Ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei[1], &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentilic עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֵבֶר *a country on the other side* with the derivative suffix ִי— (§ 86. 2, 5) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the *'eber*, i. e. the district on the other side of the Euphrates (or perhaps more correctly the Jordan?), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Euphrates or Jordan. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of either river it had been retained (by the Abrahamidae) as an old-established name, and within certain limits (see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic 'Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gen. 10, 21 (Num. 24, 24 does not apply) Shem is called the *ancestor of all the children of 'Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gen. 22, 20 sqq. and 10, 25 sqq. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentilic *'ibrí*, exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a decidedly larger variety of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.

The term Ἑβραϊστί is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue *c*
to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B.C.), and in the New Testament, Rev. 9, 11. On the other hand it serves in John 5, 2. 19, 13. 17 perhaps also 19, 20 and Rev. 16, 16 to denote what was then the vernacular (Aramaic) of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression Ἑβραΐς διάλεκτος in Acts 21, 40. 22, 2 and 26, 14 is doubtful (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 sq.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament for the language of the sacred books in opposition to the *lingua profana*, i. e. the Aramaic vulgar tongue.

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from *d*
the Phoenician inscriptions; see below, § 2. 3), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the

[1] The Graeco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic *'ebrāyā*, '*the* Hebrew.'

ruins of the city of Dîbôn (now Dhîbân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it, the Moabite king Mêša' (at the beginning of the ninth century B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (comp. 2 Ki. 3, 4 sqq.), his buildings, and other matters[1]; of old Hebrew (2) an inscription of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.[2]) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) twenty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names[3]; (4) coins of the Maccabaean prince John Hyrkanus (from 135 B.C.) and his successors[4], and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

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[1] This monument, unique of its kind, was first seen in August, 1868, on the spot, by the German missionary F. A. Klein. It was afterwards broken into pieces by the Arabs, so that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made. Most of the fragments are now in the Louvre in Paris. Comp. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (at that time head of the French consulate in Jerusalem), *La stèle de Mesa roi de Moab*, Paris, 1870, and 'La stèle de Dhiban,' in the *Revue Archéol.*, March, 1870, p. 184 sqq. (with an improved copy), also the *Journal Asiat.*, 1887, p. 72 sqq. Comp. for the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, especially the article in *Ausland*, 1874, No. 48, p. 951 sqq. A photograph of the two largest fragments was prepared by the Palestine Exploration Fund from drawings by Sir C. Warren. All preceding facsimiles are now, however, antiquated, owing to the excellent reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin, who from the fragments of the stone, and the squeeze taken in 1869 before its destruction, have established about eighty new characters (Freiburg im Baden, 1886). Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxxv sqq.

[2] Comp. for this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—which refers to the boring of the tunnel, Kautzsch in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina-Vereins*, 1881, pp. 102 sqq. and 260 sqq. (with a copy from a plaster-cast of the inscription), also 1882, p. 205 sqq.; Guthe, ibid. 1881, p. 250 sqq. and *ZDMG.* 1882, p. 725 sqq.; W. Wright in the *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.*, Feb. 7, 1882; J. Derenbourg in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscriptions*, 1881, tom. iv, and in the *Revue des études Juives*, 1881, Parts 3 and 4; in the *Oriental Series of the London Palaeographical Soc.*, Plate 87; Beswick in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Explor. Fund*, Oct. 1884. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process: v. Guthe in *ZDPV.* xiii. 286 sqq. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name שִׁלֹחַ (i.e. *emissio*) Is. 8, 6 refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B.C.

[3] See Rödiger in *ZDMG.* iii, 1849, pp. 243 and 347; de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Par. 1868, pp. 131–140; M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen, &c.*, Bresl. 1869, p. 33 sqq.

[4] De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la numismatique judaïque*, Paris, 1854, and his

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, § 2. 2), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences in style (see letters *b* to *w*), at about the same stage of development. In this form, it may at an early time have been fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the books contained in the Old Testament were handed down as *sacred* writings, must have contributed to this constant uniformity. *e*

To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phoenician[1] stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and signification which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, &c.; on 'Canaanite glosses' to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [fourteenth century B.C.] cf. Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1891, p. 154 sqq.[2]), and partly from the extant remains of the Phoenician and Punic languages. *f*

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1. 5) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, *Monumm. Phoenicia*, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 sqq., edited by the Paris Academy of Inscriptions. Among the inscriptions but few public documents are found, e.g. two lists of fees for sacrifices; by far the most are epitaphs or votive tablets. Of special importance is the inscription on the Sarcophagus of King Ešmûnazar of Sidon, found in 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately reproduced in *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris, 1856, by the Duc de Luynes; fully explained by Schlottmann, Halle, 1868, and by Kaempf, Prague, 1874; comp. also the reproduction in the *Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, tom. i, fasc. 1. To these may be added isolated words in Greek and Latin authors, and the Punic texts in Plautus, *Poenulus* 5, 1–3 (best treated by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, Lips. 1884, tom. ii, fasc. 5). From those monuments we learn the native orthography, from the Greek and Latin transcriptions the pronunciation and vocalization; the two together give a tolerably distinct idea of this language and its relation to Hebrew.

Numismatique de la terre sainte, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, Lond. 1864, and *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881 (vol. ii. of the *International Numismat. Orient.*); Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Comp. the literature in Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*, Lpz. 1890, i. p. 17 sqq.

[1] כְּנַעַן, כְּנַעֲנִי is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phoenicians, while they called themselves כנען on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.

[2] Cf. inter alia: *zu-ru-'u* = זְרוֹעַ, *abada* = אֲבָדָה, *ša'ari* or *ša'ri* = שַׂעַר, *baṭnu* = בֶּטֶן, *kilubi* = כְּלוּב, *ṣaduuq* = צָדֹק (צַדִּיק) &c.

g Phoenician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל *God*, אדם *man*, בן *son*, בת *daughter*, מלך *king*, עבד *servant*, כהן *priest*, זבח *sacrifice*, בעל *lord*, שמש *sun*, ארץ *land*, ים *sea*, אבן *stone*, כסף *silver*, ברזל *iron*, שמן *oil*, עת *time*, קבר *grave*, מצבת *monument*, מקם *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, שנים *two*, שלש *three*, ארבע *four*, חמש *five*, שש *six*, שבע *seven*, עשר *ten*, בן (= Hebr. היה) *to be*, שמע *to hear*, פתח *to open*, נדר *to vow*, ברך *to bless*, בקש *to seek*, &c. Proper names: צדן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, חנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. Comp. A. Bloch, *Phoenic. Glossar.*, Berl. 1890.

h Variations from Hebrew in Phoenician orthography and inflection are, e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7. 2), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קוֹל *voice*, צדן for צִידוֹן, כהנם for כֹּהֲנִים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods;* the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80. 2) beside א (*ô*), the relative אש (Hebr. אֲשֶׁר) &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the ו was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שׁפט *sûfēt* (judge), שלש *salûs* (three), רש = ראש *head; i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound *y*, e.g. הנגנו *ynnynnu* (ecce eum), את (איתּ) *yth;* the ע as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (comp. מַעֲכָה LXX, Gen. 22, 24 Μωχά). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoenicia*, p. 430 sqq.; in Movers' article, 'Phönizien,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, Sect. iii, Bd. 24, p. 434 sqq.; Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniz. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875.

i **4.** As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned in § 2. 2, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1. 5), and even now the written scrolls of the Law used in the synagogues must not, according to ancient custom, contain anything more. The present pronunciation of this consonantal text, its vocalization and accentuation, rest on the tradition of the Jewish schools, as it was finally fixed by the system of punctuation (§ 7 sqq.) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A.D.; comp. § 3. 2.

k An earlier stage of the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents in our possession, and when it must have stood nearer to the original language of the united Semitic family, can still be discerned in its principal features:—(1) from many archaisms preserved in the traditional texts, especially in the names of persons and places dating from earlier times, as well as in isolated forms chiefly occurring in poetic style; (2) in general by an *a posteriori* conclusion from traditional forms, so far as according to the laws and analogies of phonetic change they obviously point back to an older phase of the language;

and (3) by comparison with the kindred languages, especially Arabic, in which this earlier stage of the language has been frequently preserved even down to later times (§ 1. 6). In numerous instances in examining linguistic phenomena the same—and consequently so much the more certain—result is attained by each of these three methods.

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the primitive Semitic ground-forms and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable an undoubted progress from an earlier to a later character. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile. *l*

To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (*a*) of the prose and historical writings, most of the Pentateuch and Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (*b*) of the poetical, a part of the Psalms and Proverbs: (*c*) the writings of the earlier prophets in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel. The last two continued to flourish during the exile, to the close of which also some portions of Isaiah (especially chapters 40–66) belong. *m*

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different hands may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. Certain linguistic peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it was once customary to regard as archaisms, such as the epicene use of נַעַר *boy, youth*, for נַעֲרָה *girl*, and הוּא for הִיא, are merely to be attributed to a later redactor; cf. § 17 ad fin. The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (Analysis of Gen. 1–11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *Ztschr. f. d. Alttest. Wissensch.* 1881, p. 177 sqq., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 sqq. Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Pentateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 5th ed., Edinburgh, 1894; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*[4], Munich, 1895; and with regard to the linguistic character of the Old Testament writings in general, König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893. On the linguistic *n*

character of Deutero-Isaiah, comp. König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.*, Lpz. 1882, i. 211 sq.; Cheyne, *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 255 sqq.

o Moreover, there occur even in Jeremiah, and still more so in Ezekiel, decided approximations to the Aramaizing language of the second period (see § 2. 7); comp. Zimmer, *Aramaismi Jeremiani*, Halle, 1880, pt. i.

p **6.** Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces nearly a thousand years, we meet, as might be expected, with some considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of their composition, and partly to the individuality and power of the authors. Thus Isaiah, for example, writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah. Amongst the historical books of this period, the texts borrowed from earlier sources have a linguistic colouring perceptibly different from those derived from later sources, or passages which belong to the latest redactor himself. Yet the structure of the language, and, apart from isolated cases, even the vocabulary and phraseology, are on the whole the same, especially in the prose books.

q But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* consisting of more strictly balanced (parallel) members, but also by peculiar *words* and *meanings*, *inflexions* and *syntactical constructions* which it uses in addition to those usual in prose. This distinction, however, does not go far as, for example, in Greek. Many of these poetic peculiarities occur in the kindred languages, especially in Aramaic, as the ordinary modes of expression, and probably are to be regarded largely as archaisms which poetry retained. Some perhaps, also, are embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language [1].

The prophets, at least the earlier, in language and rhythm are to be regarded almost entirely as poets, except that with them the sentences are often more extended, and the parallelism is less regular and balanced than is the case with the poets properly so-called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, approaches nearer to prose.

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[1] That already in Isaiah's time (second half of the eighth century B.C.) educated Hebrews, or at least officers of state, understood Aramaic, while the common people in Jerusalem did not, is evident from 2 Ki. 18, 26 (Is. 36, 11).

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the Psalms by De Wette, Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others, especially H. Ewald, 'Allgemeines über die hebr. Dichtung und über das Psalmenbuch,' in *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, Gött. 1839, 2nd ed., 1866, Th. i. 1 Hälfte; J. Ley. *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, &c.*, Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A. T.'s*, Braunschw. 1881, p. 141 sqq. *r*

Of all views of this matter, the only sound one so far is Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZAW.* 1882, 6 sqq.; 1891, 234 sqq.; 1892, 31 sqq.), consisting of two members, the second at least one full word shorter than the other. The probability that a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, has been established by Duhm, Gunkel, and others, especially Zimmern, who adduces a Babylonian hymn in which the members are definitely marked (*Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, x. 1 sqq.). All the details, however, are as yet uncertain.

The ancient practice of writing certain poetical passages in verse-form (Ex. 15, 1–19. Deut. 32, 1–43. Jud. 5. 1 Sam. 2, 1–10. 2 Sam. 22. 23, 1–7. Ps. 18. 136. Prov. 31, 10–31. 1 Chron. 16, 8–36; cf. also Josh. 12, 9–24. Eccles. 3, 2–8. Est. 9, 7–10) has nothing to do with any question of metre.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e.g. אֱנוֹשׁ *man* = אָדָם; אֹרַח *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דָּבָר; חָזָה *to see* = רָאָה; אָתָה *to come* = בּוֹא. *s*

To the poetic *significations of words* belongs the use of certain poetic epithets for the substantive; thus, for example, אָבִיר *the strong one* for *God*; אַבִּיר *the strong one* for *ox, horse*; לָבְנָה *alba* for *luna*.

Of word-forms, we may note, e.g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103. 3) עָלַי = עַל, אֵלַי = אֶל, עָדַי = עַד; the endings ־ָי, וֹ to the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, ־ָמוֹ, ־ֵמוֹ for ם, ־ָם, ־ֵם (§ 58); the plural ending ־ִין for ־ִים (§ 87. 1, *a*). To the *syntax* belongs the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, of the accusative particle אֵת; the construct state even before prepositions; the shortened imperfect with the same meaning as the ordinary form (§ 109. 2, *b*, Rem.), and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least *t*

understood by the people[1]. When it had finally ceased to exist as a living language, it was still preserved as the *language of the Schools*—not to mention the numerous Hebraisms introduced into the Aramaic spoken by the Jews.

For particulars, see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, pp. 1–6. We may conveniently regard the relation of the languages which co-existed in this later period as similar to that of the High and Low German in North Germany, or to that of the High German and the common dialects in the south and in Switzerland. Even amongst the more educated, the common dialect prevails orally, whilst the High German serves essentially as the literary and cultured language, and is at least understood by all classes of the people. Wholly untenable is the notion, based on an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

u The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetical books of Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and a large part of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although there are parts which in purity of language and aesthetic value fall little short of the writings of the golden age; such, e.g. as the later Psalms, 120 sqq., 137, 139.

v *Later words* (Aramaisms) are, e.g. עִדָּן = זְמַן *time*; קְבֵל = לָקַח *to take*; סוֹף = קֵץ *end*; שְׁלַט = מָלַךְ *to govern*; תְּקַף = אָמַץ *to be strong*.—Later meanings are, e.g. אָמַר (to say) *to command*; עָנָה (to answer) *to begin a conversation*.—*Orthographical* and *grammatical* peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of וֹ and יִ—, e.g. דָּוִיד[2] (elsewhere דָּוִד), even קוֹדֶשׁ for קֹדֶשׁ, רוֹב for רֹב; the interchange of ה־ and א־ final; the more frequent use of substantives in וֹן, ־ָן, וּת, &c. (Comp. for the Psalms, especially, Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 sqq.)

But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine. There certain parts of Judges, amongst others, may have originated, as is indicated, e.g. by שֶׁ־, the common form in Phoenician (as well as אֹשֶׁר), for אֲשֶׁר (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

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[1] The very frequent employment of Hebrew in popular religious literature, hich is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this.

[2] דָּוִיד in the Minor Prophets throughout (Hos. 3, 5, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

Rem. 1. Regarding dialectical varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one express statement occurs in the Old Test., namely in Jud. 12, 6, according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the שׁ as ס. (Comp. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 sqq.) Whether in Neh. 13, 24 by the *speech of Ashdod* a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect, should be understood cannot be determined. On the other hand, many of the peculiarities in the above-mentioned North Palestine books (Judges and Hosea) are to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some exceptional forms in the Moabite inscription of Mêša' (see above, § 2. 2). *w*

2. It is evident, that in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature[1], the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical literature of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the once extant national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3. *Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.*

Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, §§ 19–39; Oehler's article, 'Hebr. Sprache,' in Schmid's *Encykl. des ges. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, vol. iii. p. 346 sqq. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 sqq.). Comp. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Ausführl. Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1866, i. p. 30 sqq.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des* 15. *bis zur Mitte des* 16. *Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 sqq., and 1885, p. 470 sqq.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually becoming extinct and the formation of the Old Test. canon was approaching conclusion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise the sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had come into use among them. The oldest *translation* is the Greek of the *seventy* (more correctly *seventy-two*) Interpreters (LXX), which was begun with the Pentateuch at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but not completed until a later date. It was drawn up by various authors, some of whom had a living knowledge of the original, and was intended for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Alexandria. Somewhat later the Aramaic translations, or Targums (תַּרְגּוּמִים i. e. *interpretations*) were gradually formed from recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual *a*

[1] According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the Old Test. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words. [Including proper names, 9,285.—G. W. C.]

law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of traditions are preserved in the *Talmud*, the first part of which, the *Mišna*, was finally brought to its present form towards the end of the second century; of the remainder, the *Gemāra*, one part (the *Jerusalem* or *Palestinian Gem.*) about the middle of the fourth century, the other (the *Babylonian Gem.*) about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The Mišna forms the beginning of the New-Hebrew literature; while the language of the Gemaras is for the most part Aramaic.

b **2.** To the interval between the completion of the Talmud and the earliest grammatical writers, belong mainly the vocalization and accentuation of the hitherto unpointed text of the Old Testament, according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7. 3), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical remarks which bears the name of Masōra (מָסוֹרָה *traditio*?)[1]. From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS., and is still the received text of the Old Testament, has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

c E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our Old Test. text was derived from Codices belonging to a single recension. J. G. Sommer (cf. Cornill, *ZAW.* 1892, p. 309), Olshausen (since 1853), and especially De Lagarde (*Proverbien*, 1863, p. 1 sqq.) have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Comp., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 sq. On the history of the Masora and the fixing of the Masoretic tradition, work has been done recently by Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.* iii. 78 sqq., and after him by Harris in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i. 128 sqq., 243 sqq.; S. Frensdorff, by his edition of the *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, Hanover and Lpz. 1876, part i; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts, &c.*, Lond. 1880 sqq., 3 vols.[2]; on the use of the Masora for the critical

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[1] On the name Masora (or Massora, as Strack in the *Prot. Real-Enc.*, 2nd ed., ix. 388 sqq., who compares 'Kappōreth,' &c., E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 sqq.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 sqq.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, comp. De Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, i. 91 sqq.; W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1891, p. 785 sqq.) from Ezek. 20, 37 (מָסֹרֶת; מסרה, i. e. מוֹסֵרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מָסֹרָה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מַסֹּרֶת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments.

[2] See Baer's criticism of this work in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 743 sqq.

construction of the Text, especially by S. Baer, in his excellent editions of the several books (only Exod.–Deut. have still to appear), edited since 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch and G. Dalman, and recently by Baer alone. Comp. also § 7. 3, Rem.

The various readings of the Qᵉrê (see § 17) form one of the oldest and most important parts of the Masora. The punctuation of the Text, however, is not to be confounded with the compiling of the Masora. The former was settled at an earlier period, and is the result of a much more exhaustive labour than the Masora, which was not completed till a considerably later time.

d **3.** It was not until about the beginning of the tenth century that the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Saʿadya[1], beyond fragments in the Commentary on the Sepher Yeṣira (ed. Mayer-Lambert, pp. 42, 47, 75, &c.), only the explanation in Arabic of the seventy (more correctly ninety) *hapax legomena* in the Old Testament has been preserved. Written likewise in Arabic, but frequently translated into Hebrew, were the still extant works of the grammarians R. Yehuda Ḥayyûǵ (also called Abu Zakaria Yaḥya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abû 'l-Walîd Merwân ibn Ǵanâḥ, about 1030). By the aid of these earlier labours, Abraham ben Ezra (commonly called Aben Ezra, ob. 1167) and R. David Qimḥi (ob. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

From these earliest grammarians are derived many principles of arrangement and technical terms, some of which are still retained, e.g. the naming of the conjugations and weak verbs according to the paradigm of פָּעַל, certain *voces memoriales*, as בְּגַדְכְּפַת and the like[2].

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[1] On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 39.

[2] On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 sqq., and the prefaces to the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; Baer and Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-tᵉamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher u. andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols.; Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus*, Hal. 1846, 4; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.,' in *ZDMG.* 1895, 1 sqq.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom* 10. *bis zum* 16. *Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892. On Abu Zakaria, Jastrow in *ZAW.* 1885, p. 193 sqq., and B. Drachmann, Breslau, 1885. A fragment of his Arabic work on the weak verbs is given by Peritz in *ZAW.* 1893, p. 193 sqq. Munk, 'Notice sur Abou 'l-Walid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du xᵉ et du xiᵉ

e **4.** The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522), to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. Like the grammarians who succeeded him, till the time of John Buxtorf the elder (ob. 1629), he still adhered almost entirely to Jewish tradition. From the middle of the seventeenth century the field of investigation gradually widened, and the study of the kindred languages, chiefly through the leaders of the Dutch school, Albert Schultens (ob. 1750) and N. W. Schröder (ob. 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

f **5.** In the nineteenth century[1] the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly endeavoured to refer linguistic formations to general laws and rationally to explain the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861), who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (see the bibliography at the head of § 3) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted the strictly scientific method of endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity.

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siècle,' in the *Journ. Asiatique*, 1850. The grammatical *Opuscules et traités* of Abu 'l-Walid have been edited by J. and H. Derenbourg, Paris, 1880; comp. also W. Bacher, 'Jos. Kimchi et Abulw. Mer.' &c. in vol. vi. of the *Revue des études Juives;* and *Die hebr.-arab. Sprachvergleichung des Abulw. Mer.*, Vienna, 1884; *Leben und Werke des Abulw. Mer.*, &c., Lpz. 1885; also by the same author, *Abr. ibn Esra als Grammatiker*, Strassb. 1882; and *Die gramm. Terminologie des Jehuda ben David Hajjug*, Vienna, 1882.

[1] Of the literature of the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliograph. Handbuch für hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

E. König[1] in his very thorough researches into phonology and etymology starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention is to be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853–69).

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe*[2] as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).

§ 4. *Division and Arrangement of the Grammar.*

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar follow the three constituent parts of every language, viz. (1) articulate *sounds* represented by *letters*, and united to form *syllables*, (2) *words*, and (3) *sentences*.

The first part (the elements) comprises accordingly the treatment of *sounds* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature

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[1] *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten.* 1st part, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; 2nd part, vol. i. 'Abschluss der speciellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' Lpz. 1895.

[2] Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. is corrupted to a greater degree than was formerly supposed. Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on the progress of *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years. Cf. especially Doorninck on Jud. 1–16, Leyden, 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nördl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxf. 1890; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Sammlung hebr.-deutscher Bibeltexte mit krit. Anmerkk.* (pt. i. Deutero-Isaiah), Munich, 1893. A critical edition of the O. T. with full textual notes, and with the various documents distinguished by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the O. T.* (Lpz. and Baltimore). Parts already published: *Job*, by Siegfried, 1893; *Leviticus*, by Driver and White, and *Samuel*, by Budde, 1894; *Joshua*, by Bennett; *Jeremiah*, by Cornill; *The Psalms*, by Wellhausen; *Chronicles*, by Kittel.

and relations of the sounds of a language, teaches the pronunciation of the written signs (orthoepy), and gives information concerning the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined in syllables and words, and specifies the laws and conditions under which this combination takes place.

The second part (etymology) treats of words in their character as parts of speech, and comprises: (1) the principles of the *formation of words*, or of the derivation of the different parts of speech from the roots or from one another; (2) the principles of inflexion, i. e. of the various forms which the words assume according to their relation to other words and to the sentence.

The third part (syntax, the principles of the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions which are met with in the language are used to express different shades of ideas, and how other ideas, for which the language has not coined any forms, are expressed by periphrasis; (2) states the laws according to which the parts of speech are combined in sentences (the principles of the sentence, or syntax in the strict sense of the term).

FIRST PART.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS.

§ 5. *The Consonants: their Form and Names.*

(Comp. the Table of Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manu- *a*
scripts of the Old Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּ׳ אַשּׁוּרִי)[1], are not those originally employed.

Old Hebrew (or *Old Canaanitish*) writing, as it was used on public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and towards the end of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of *Méša'*, as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Maccabaean coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, bear much resemblance to those found in these inscriptions (comp. § 2. 2). With this Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1. 5, § 2. 3 and the Table of Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history

[1] The name אַשּׁוּר (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; comp. Stade in *ZAW.* 1882, p. 292 sq. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing, comp. G. Hoffmann, *ibid.*, 1881, p. 334 sqq.; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des A. T.*, Lpz. 1891, p. 202.

of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with the writing on stone, a less antique and somewhat more conveniently rounded style was early developed, owing to the use of softer materials, skins, bark and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaean, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, one belongs to the year 176 B. C.[1]

b **2.** The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, 22 in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7. 2). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation and numerical value (Rem. 3):—

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[1] De Vogüé, in *Revue archéol.*, nouvelle série, ix. 1864, p. 205 sq., and Table vii. No. 2; comp. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG.* xix. p. 640; for the development of Hebrew writing in general, Merx, art. 'Schreiben,' in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, vol. v; Phil. Berger, art. 'Ecriture,' in Lichtenberger's *Encyclop. des sciences relig.*, Par. 1878, tom. iv. p. 227 sqq. (also published separately); H. Strack, 'Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei den Hebräern,' in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, 2nd ed., xiii. p. 689 sqq.; Driver, *Notes on the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. ix. sqq.; L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in d. hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894, p. 49 sqq.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, Freib. 1894, p. 278 sqq.; Nowack, *Lehrb. der hebr. Archäologie*, i. 279 sqq. On the palaeography of the Hebrew square character, Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler aus der Krim*, Petersb. and Lpz. 1876, p. 108 sqq. The best Tables of Alphabets are those by J. Euting, in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar* (trans. into English by S. J. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877); the Hebrew Alphabet, in pt. vii. of the *Oriental Series of the Paleogr. Society*, London, 1882; and lastly (the most complete of all) in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*, Petersb. 1882.

FORM.	NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	NUMERICAL VALUE.
א	*'Ālĕph*	*'* *spiritus lenis*	1
ב	*Bêth*	*b* (*bh*)	2
ג	*Gīmĕl* (*Giml*)	*g* (*gh*)	3
ד	*Dālĕth*	*d* (*dh*)	4
ה	*Hē*	*h*	5
ו	*Wāw*	*w*[1]	6
ז	*Záyĭn*	*z*, as in French (soft *s*)	7
ח	*Ḥêth*	*ḥ*, a strong guttural	8
ט	*Ṭêth*	*ṭ*, emphatic *t*	9
י	*Yôd*	*y*[1]	10
כ, final ך	*Kaph*	*k* (*kh*)	20
ל	*Lāmĕd*	*l*	30
מ, final ם	*Mêm*	*m*	40
נ, final ן	*Nún*	*n*	50
ס	*Sāmĕkh*	*s*	60
ע	*'Áyĭn*	*'* a peculiar guttural (see below)	70
פ, final ף	*Pê*	*p* (*ph*)	80
צ, final ץ	*Ṣādê*	*ṣ*, emphatic *s*	90
ק	*Qôph*	*q*, a strong *k*[2] formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	*Rêš*	*r*	200
שׂ	*Śîn*	*ś*	300
שׁ	*Šîn*	*š*, pronounced *sh*	
ת	*Tāw*	*t* (*th*)	400

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word כַּמְנְפָ֫ץ *Kamnăphäṣ*, or better, with König, כַּמְנְפֵ֫ץ i.e. *as the breaker in pieces*. *c*

[1] Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten ו and י,' in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 639 sqq., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic ו and י are certainly by usage consonants, although by nature they are vowels, viz. *u* and *i*, and consequently are consonantal vowels;' comp. § 8. 5.

[2] As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, as it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek *κόππα*).

Of these ך, ן, ף, ץ are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left[1]. In the case of ם the letter is completely closed.

d **4.** Hebrew is read and written from right to left. Words must not be divided at the end of the lines; but, in order that no empty space may be left, in MSS. and printed texts, certain letters suitable for the purpose are dilated at the end or in the middle of the line. In our printed texts these *literae dilatabiles* are the five following: א ה ל ת ם (mnemonic word אֶהָלְתֶּם). In MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as ד, כ, ר; comp. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.* 1882, No. 22.

e Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yôd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. יָד), but as a letter simply the sound י (*y*), with which this word begins; *'Ayĭn*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (עַיִן), stands for the consonant ע. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (ג, ו, ז, ט, ש) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

f The most probable meaning of the names of the letters of the alphabet[2] is: אָלֶף *ox*, בַּיִת *house*, גָּמָל *camel*, דָּלֶת *door*, הֵא *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), וָו *hook, nail*, זַיִן *weapon* (unless, with Nestle, we are to infer from the Greek ζῆτα, that the original name was זַיִת *olive-tree*), חֵית *fence, barrier*, טֵית *a winding* (?), perhaps *leather bottle*, according to others *snake*, יוֹד *hand*, כַּף *bent hand*, לָמֶד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נוּן *fish*, סָמֶךְ *prop* (?), עַיִן *eye*, פֵּא (also פֵּי) *mouth*, צָדֵי *fish-hook* (?), קוֹף *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head*, רֵישׁ *head*, שִׁין *tooth*, תָּו *sign, cross*.

g There is no doubt that this alphabet was first drawn up by Semites. It may be questioned, however, whether the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and the Hieratic writing derived from it, did not serve as the model,—perhaps less as regards the forms than the (akrophonic) principle. For the hieroglyphic pictures likewise

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[1] Chwolson, *Corpus Inser. Hebr.* col. 68, rightly observes that the original forms of these letters are practically preserved in the *literae finales*.

[2] Cf. Conder, 'The Alphabet (the Semitic Names),' in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1889, p. 17 sqq. The LXX give transcriptions of the Hebrew names in Lam. 1–4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e.g. the Cod. Amiatinus) in Pss. 111. 112. 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth, Zai, Sen* (the LXX also χσεν, comp. Hebr. שֵׁן *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth, Zain, Šîn*.

indicate mostly the initial sound of the name of the pictured object; e. g. *tot*, the hand, the letter *t; laboi*, the lion, the *l*[1].

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess an ancient testimony in the *h* alphabetic poems of the Old Test.: Pss. 9 (א–כ, comp. Ps. 10, 1 ל, and vv. 12–17 ת–ק); 25 and 34 (both without a separate ו-verse and with פ repeated at the end); 37. 111. 112. 119. 145; Lam. 1–4; Prov. 31, 10–31 (in the LXX with פ before ע); also in Nah. 1, 2–10, Frohnmeyer detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement; so Bickell, *Ztschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 sqq., in the assumed Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach, chap. 51, 18–38 (without ו and with פ repeated at the end). The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds ב, ג, ד, and of the three liquids ל, מ, נ, indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yôd*, *Kaph*), as also two (if *Qôph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, *'Ayin* and *Pê*), stand next to one another.

Both the order and the names of the letters, together with their numerical *i* values, have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters A–T are borrowed from the Old Semitic. So also the Old Italic alphabets as well as the Roman, and consequently all alphabets derived either from this or from the Greek, are directly or indirectly dependent on the Phoenician.

3. *a.* In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also *k* as numerical signs. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2. 2, 4). These numerical letters were afterwards employed principally for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א–ט, the tens by י–צ, 100–400 by ק–ת, the numbers from 500–900 by ת (=400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e. g. תק 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus יא 11, קכא 121. But 15 is expressed by טו 9+6, not יה (which is a form of the divine name, being the first two consonants of יהוה)[2]. For

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[1] Comp. above, § 1. 5, *l;* also Hitzig, *Die Erfindung des Alphabets*, Zürich, 1840; J. Olshausen, *Über den Urspr. des Alphabets*, Kiel, 1841; F. Böttcher, *Unseres Alphabetes Ursprünge*, Dresd. 1860; Ed. Böhmer, 'Das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung,' in *ZDMG.* xvi. 579 sqq.; E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, Paris, 1874; E. van Drival, *De l'origine de l'écriture*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1879. The attempt of Wuttke, in the 2nd ed. of his *Gesch. der Schrift*, and W. Deecke, *ZDMG.* xxxi. 102 sqq., to derive the Old Semitic alphabet from the later Assyrian cuneiform characters, fails even on chronological grounds. According to Peters, *Proceedings Am. Orient. Soc.*, 1880, p. xi sq., and Hommel, 'Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens,' p. 50 sqq., in Oncken's Series, 1885, it is derived from the old Babylonian writing. According to Ball, *Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeol.*, xv. 392 sqq., from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform.

[2] Compare for the rise of this custom (after יה had been originally written, and afterwards יהי), Nestle in *ZAW.* 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is referred to.

a similar reason טז is also mostly written for 16, instead of יו, which in compound proper names, like יואל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

The thousands are sometimes denoted by the units with two dots placed above, e.g. א 1000.

l *b.* The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה *after the creation*) follows either the *full chronology* (לפ׳ ג׳ or לְפְרַט גָּדוֹל), with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* (לפ׳ קָטוֹן), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240, the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.

m 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the Old Testament, but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews[1]. A point, or later an oblique stroke, serves as the sign of abridgement in old MSS. and editions, e.g. יש׳ for יִשְׂרָאֵל, פ׳ for פְּלֹנִי *aliquis*, ד׳ for דָּבָר *aliquid*, וגו׳ for וְגוֹמֵר *et complens*, i.e. *and so on*. Also in the middle of what is apparently a word, such strokes indicate that it is an abbreviation or a *vox memorialis* (comp. e.g. § 15. 3 תא״ם). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41, *c* Rem., onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs; comp. moreover יי׳ or יי (also ה׳) for יְהוָה.

n 5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the Old Testament text, which are already mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The *puncta extraordinaria* over single consonants (e.g. Gen. 16, 5. 19, 33), or whole words (e.g. Gen. 33, 4. Deut. 29, 28. Is. 44, 9. Ezek. 41, 20 and elsewhere), and both over and under Ps. 27, 13, all no doubt originally critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 sqq.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 sqq., and *Einleitung in die hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; Königsberger, *Jüd. Lit.-Blatt*, 1891, nos. 29–31, and *Aus Masorah u. Talmudkritik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 6 sqq. (2) The *literae majusculae* (e.g. ב Gen. 1, 1, ו Lev. 11, 42 as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Num. 14, 17, &c.), and *minusculae* (e.g. ה Gen. 2, 4). (3) The *literae suspensae* נ Jud. 18, 30 (which points to the reading מְנַשֶּׁה for מֹשֶׁה), ע Ps. 80, 14 (the middle of the Psalms)[2] and Job 38, 13. 15. (4) The 'mutilated' *Wāw* in שלום Num. 25, 12, and ק Ex. 32, 25 (בקמיהם), and Num. 7, 2 (הפקודים). (5) *Mêm clausum* in לחרבה Is. 9, 6, and *Mêm apertum* in המ פרוצים Neh. 2, 13. (6) *Nûn inversum* before Num. 10, 35, and after ver. 36, as also before Ps. 107, 23–28 and 40.

§ 6. *Pronunciation and Division of Consonants.*

P. Haupt, 'Die Semit. Sprachlaute u. ihre Umschrift,' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. vergleich. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, by Delitzsch and Haupt, Lpz. 1889, i. 249 sqq.

a **1.** An accurate knowledge of the original phonetic value of each consonant is of the greatest importance, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§ 18 sqq.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This

[1] Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Ph. Lederer, *Hebr. u. Chald. Abbreviaturen*, Frankfurt, 1893.

[2] See *Qiddûšîn*, chap. i. fol. 39.—G. W. C.]

knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange of sounds in Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews[1].

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern Polish and German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac, differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians, follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases.

b The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters[2]. As however corresponding signs for several sounds (ט, ע, צ, ק, שׁ) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time[3].

On the pronunciation of the modern Jews in North Africa, see Bargès in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1848; on that of the South Arabian Jews, J. Derenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871, Extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870.

c **2.** With regard to the pronunciation of the several gutturals and sibilants, and of ט and ק, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, א is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks, the use of which results from the correct observance of the fact, that a soft aspiration precedes every initial vowel in virtue of its nature. It may stand

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[1] Comp. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.,' in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 132, p. 146 sqq.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.,' in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 sqq. More exact physiological observations of the whole phonetic system and its formation by the organs of speech, are also important for this purpose; comp. E. Brücke, *Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik der Sprachlaute*, Vienna, 1856, 2nd ed. 1876; C. L. Merkel, *Physiologie der menschl. Sprache*, Lpz. 1866; F. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gramm., bes. die Hebräische*, Lpz. 1868; E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, Lpz. 1876 (2nd–4th ed. entitled *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, 1881, 1885, 1893); H. Sweet, *Handbook of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1877, 2nd ed. 1889, and *A Primer of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1890; F. Techmer, *Phonetik*, Lpz. 1880, pt. i; Trautmann, *Die Sprachlaute*, &c., Lpz. 1884–86, 2 pts.; P. Tassy, *Études sur les changements phonétiques et leurs caractères généraux*, Paris, 1891; Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, Lpz. 1893.

[2] Comp. on this, Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 sqq.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.,' Stargard, 1885.

[3] Numerous examples occur in *Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro geneseos*, edited by P. de Lagarde, Lpz. 1868; comp. the exhaustive and systematic discussion by Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieronymus,' in *ZAW.* 1884, pp. 34–83.

either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e.g. אָמַר *'āmár*, יֶאְשַׁם *yä'šám*. Even *before* a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habit*, *homme*. *After* a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e.g. קָרָא *qārā* for an original *qārā'*, Arab. *qărā'ă;* see further, § 23. 1, 27. 2 *c*.

d ה before a vowel, corresponds exactly to our *h* (spiritus asper); after a vowel it is *either* a guttural (so always at the end of a syllable which is not final, e.g. נֶהְפַּךְ *nähpakh;* at the end of a word the consonantal ה has a point —Mappîq—in it, according to § 14), *or* it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographical indication of a preceding vowel, e.g. גָּלָה *gālā;* cf. § 7. 2 and 75. 1.

e ע is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled *g* formed at the back of the palate, comp. e.g. עַזָּה, LXX Γάζα, עֲמֹרָה Γόμορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus* (*lenis* or *asper*), e.g. עֵלִי Ἡλί, עֲמָלֵק Ἀμαλέκ. In the mouth of the Arabs one hears in the former case a sort of guttural *r*, in the latter a sound peculiar to themselves formed in the back of the throat. It is as incorrect to omit the ע entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עֵלִי *Eli*, עֲמָלֵק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or *'g;* but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ', as אַרְבַּע *'arba'*, עַד *'ad*.

f ח is the strongest guttural sound, like the deep guttural *ch*, as sounded generally in Swiss German, somewhat as in the German *Achat*, *Macht*, *Sache*, *Docht*, *Zucht* (not as in *Licht*, *Knecht*), similar to the Spanish *j*. Like ע it was however pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

g As regards ר, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems to have been the prevailing one. Hence it is not merely classed with the liquids (*l*, *m*, *n*), but in some respects also with the gutturals (§ 22. 5). On the *lingual* ר, comp. § 6. 4.

h 2. The Hebrew language is unusually rich in sibilants. These have, at any rate in some cases, arisen from linguals which are retained as such in Aramaic and Arabic (see in the *Lexicon* the letters ז, צ and שׂ).

i שׁ and שׂ were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed texts) by only *one* form ש; but that the use of this one form to express two different sounds (at least in Hebrew) was due only to the poverty of the alphabet, is clear from the fact that they are differentiated in Arabic and Ethiopic (comp. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissensch. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as שׁ (*sh*) and שׂ (*ś*)[1].

k The original difference between the sounds שׂ and ס[2] sometimes occasions

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[1] The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce שׂ invariably as שׁ.

[2] The original value of ס, and its relation to the original value of שׁ and שׂ, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of D. H. Müller, 'Zur

a distinction in meaning, e.g. סָכַר *to close*, שָׂכַר *to hire*, סָכַל *to be foolish*, שָׂכַל *to be prudent, to be wise*. The Syrians always represent both sounds by ܣ, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָכַר for שָׂכַר *to hire*, Ezr. 4, 5; שִׂכְלוּת for סִכְלוּת *folly*, Eccles. 1, 17.

ז (transcribed ζ by the LXX) is a soft whizzing *s*, the French and English *z*, altogether different from the German *z*. *l*

3. ט, ק, and צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ת and כ, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and are often aspirated (see below, no. 3). צ is distinguished from every other *s* by its peculiar articulation, and in no way corresponds to the German *z* or *ts*; we transcribe it by *ṣ*. *m*

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard *mutae* *n*

(בְּגַדְכְּפַת) ב ג ד כ פ ת

have a twofold pronunciation, (1) a harder sound as *tenues* like *k*, *p*, *t*, or as *mediae* like *b*, *g* hard, *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*[1]. The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. בּ *b*, גּ *g*, דּ *d*, כּ *k*, פּ *p*, תּ *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphè* (§ 14. 2), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, ג, and ד, the distinction is less noticeable to our ear. Yet the German dialects mostly distinguish, e.g. in *beben*, the second *b*, influenced by the preceding[2] vowel, from the first, and in the same way the two *g*-sounds in *gegen*. In the case of כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and English *th*. The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: כּ κ, כ χ; פּ π, פ φ; תּ τ, ת θ.

Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 sqq.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *Nachrichten der Gött. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.*, 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW.* 1891, p. 267 sqq.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1893, p. 100 sq.

[1] So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose, replacing an earlier pronunciation as *aspiratae*. However, it cannot be determined whether the transition from *aspiratae* to *spirantes* took place in *all* these sounds and in *every* case.

[2] And also by the following vowel; for at the end of a word the *b* after a vowel is pronounced as a *tenuis*, comp. *gieb*, *bleib*, and on the other hand *Sieg*, *schweig*.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated ב as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רַב *rav*, בַּיִת *bais*.

o **4.** According to the organ of speech with which the consonants are pronounced, they are divided into—

(*a*) Gutturals	א ע ה ח	(אַהֲחַע);
(*b*) Palatals	י ג כ ק	(גְּיִכַּק);
(*c*) Linguals	ד ת ט with נ and ל	(דַּטְלֶנְתְּ);
(*d*) Dentals or Sibilants	ז ס ש צ (שׁ and שׂ)	(זְסָצֵשׁ);
(*e*) Labials	ו מ ב פ	(בּוּמַף).

In the case of ר its hardest pronunciation as a *palatal* (see above, letter *g* at the end) is to be distinguished from its more unusual sound as a lingual, in the front of the mouth.

Comp. on the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, Delitzsch, *Physiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 10 sqq.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note *a*, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

Independently of the organs of speech the liquids (ל, מ, נ, ר) are also grouped together as a distinct class.

p The Hebrew phonetic system may be more precisely represented in the following table:—

	MUTAE. w. m. e.	LIQUIDAE. vibr. nasal semivow.	SIBILANTES. w. m. e.	EXPLOSIVE SPIRANTES.
Guttural		ר		ח ה ע א
Palatal	ק כ ג	י		
Lingual / Dental	ט ת ד	[ר] נ ל	צ שׂ שׁ ס ז	
Labial	פ ב	ו מ		

q Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters in the heading is, w. = weak, m. = middle hard, e. = emphatic. Consonants which are produced by the same organ of speech are called *homorganic* (e.g. ג and כ as palatals), consonants whose sound is of the same nature *homogeneous* (e.g. מ and נ as liquids). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of a change of sound, as well within Hebrew itself as between the kindred dialects. In such cases the soft sound generally interchanges with the soft, the hard with the hard, &c. (e.g. ד = ז, ת = שׁ, ט = צ). Further transitions are not however excluded, as e.g. the interchange of ת and ק (ת = כ = ק). Here it is of importance to observe whether the change takes place in an initial, middle, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when

medial does not always prove the possibility of its change when initial. That in certain cases the character of the consonantal sound also influences the preceding or following vowel will be noticed in the accidence as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably as the pronunciation was handed down, in course of time certain nicer distinctions became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e. g. the stronger ע *ʿg*, which was known to the LXX (see above letter *e*), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans ע, as well as ח, was pronounced only like א (as in Ethiopic ע like א, ח like *ḥ*, שׁ like *ś*). *r*

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to designate especially as *weak*, are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. א, ו, י; as to ה, comp. § 23. 4; or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19. 2, 3, as again א, ו, י, and נ, and in certain cases ה and ל; finally ר for the reason assigned in § 22. 5 *a*. *s*

§ 7. *The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs.*

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *ĕ* by a modification from *ĭ* or *ă*; short *ŏ* from *ŭ*; *ê* from a contraction of *aĭ* (properly *ay*); and *ô* sometimes from a modification (obscuring) of *â*, sometimes from a contraction of *au* (properly *aw*). *a*

In Arabic writing there are vowel signs only for *a*, *i*, *u*; the combined sounds *ay* and *aw* are therefore retained uncontracted and pronounced as diphthongs (*aĭ* and *au*), e. g. שׁוֹט Arab. *sauṭ*, and עֵינַיִם Arab. *ʿainain*. It was only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation *ê* and *ô*, at least after weaker or softer consonants; comp. בֵּין Arab. *bain*, *bên*, יוֹם Arab. *yaum*, *yôm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e. g. in Greek and Latin (Καῖσαρ, *Caesar*; θαῦμα, Ionic θῶμα; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *aĭ* and *au*, and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, *Steen* for *Stein*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e. g. the *a* in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.)[1].

2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (ה, ו, י; א), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (comp. § 1. 5), must in the main have passed through the following stages[2]:— *b*

(*a*) The need of a written indication of the vowel to be read first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant,

[1] In Sanskrit, in the Old Persian cuneiform, and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not represented, but the consonant by itself is pronounced with short *a*.

[2] Comp. especially, Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 sqq.

or of an entire syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of the word. The first step in such a case was to retain the original final consonant, at least as a vowel letter, i. e. merely as an indication of a final vowel. In point of fact we find even in the Old Testament, as already on the Mêša' stone, a ה employed in this way (see below)—as an indication of a final *o*. From this it was only a step to the employment of the same consonant to indicate also other vowels when final (thus, e. g. in the inflection of the verbs ל״ה, the vowels *ā*[1], *ē*, *è*). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for *ô* and *û*, and of י for *ê* and *î*, had been established (see below, letter *e*), these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

c According to § 91. 1 and Rem. 1. *b*, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הוֹ. But in the places where this הוֹ with a preceding *a* is contracted into *ô* (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e. g. סוּתָה עֵירֹה Gen. 49, 11, comp. § 91. 1, Rem. 2; so throughout, on the Mêša' stone בִּיתֹה, אַרְצֹה (also בִּתֹּה), בְּנֹה, בֹּה, לֹה, הִלְחֲמֹה; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רֵעֻו. ימה Mêša', l. 8 = ימיו *his days* is unusual, as also רשה l. 20 if it = ראשיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read וַיַּחְלְפֶהָ (l. 6), וָאֶסְחֲבֶהָ (l. 12 sq.) and וַיִּגְרְשֶׁהָ (l. 19).

d As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the י of the constr. state plur. masc. if its *ê* (according to § 89. 2 *c*, Rem.) has arisen from an original *ay*. Against this assumption it may however be urged that the Phoenician inscriptions do not usually express this *ê*, nor any other final vowel[2].

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[1] According to Stade, l. c. p. 35, the employment of ה for *ā* perhaps first took place in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in ה_ָ, as קַדְמָה, אַרְצָה.

[2] Thus there occurs, e. g. in Melit. 1, l. 3 שנבנ = שְׁנֵי בְנֵי *the two sons*; elsewhere כ for כִּי (the inscriptions of Mêša' and Siloam exhibit the latter), ז for זֶה (the latter in the Siloam inscription), בנת = בָּנְתִי (so Mêša') or בָּנְיתִי, &c. Comp. on the other hand in Mêša', אנכי = אנכ (unless it was actually pronounced *'anôkh* by the Moabites!). As final *ā* is represented by ה and א and final *ê* by י, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by ו in Mêša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially ו and י) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, in 'Die Quiescentia הוי in der althebr. Orthogr.,' in *Travaux du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876, with many

(*b*) The employment of ו to denote *ô*, *û*, and of י to denote *ê*, *î*, may have resulted from those cases in which a ו with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ô*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *û*, and where י with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *ê*, or with a preceding *i* into *î* (comp. § 24). In this case also the previously existing consonants were retained as vowel letters and were further applied at the end of the word to denote the respective long vowels. Finally א also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal א with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *â*. *e*

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as on the Mêša' stone) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus אִשׁ, מִימִן, חֹצְבִם (or מִמִן); צֵר, שְׁלֹשׁ, קֹל, אַמּוֹת. On the other hand מוֹצָא (from *mauṣa'*), עוֹד (from *'aud*); מימן also, if it is to be read מְיִמַן, is an instance of the retention of a י which has coalesced with *i* into *î*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal א as a vowel letter are מָאתַיִם, מוֹצָא, and קָרָא, as also רֹאשׁ. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by ה: אַמָּה, הָיָה, זרה, נקבה. To this יָם alone would form an exception (comp. however the note on יוֹם, § 96), instead of יוֹם (Arab. *yaum*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mêša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, דיבן (= *Daibōn*, as the Δαιβών of the LXX proves), חורנן (*ô* from *au*), and בֵּיתֹה (*ê* from *ai*), but also even הושעני[1] instead of הוֹשַׁעֲנִי (from *hauš-*), ואשב = וְאוֹשִׁיב, בת four times, בֵּתֹה once, for בֵּית and בֵּיתֹה (from *bait*); ללה = לַיְלָה, אן = אַיִן or אֵין. *f*

(*c*) In the present state of Old Testament orthography as it appears in the Masoretic text, the striving after a certain uniformity cannot be mistaken, in spite of the inconsistencies which have crept in. Thus the final long vowel is, with very few exceptions (comp. § 9. 1 at the end, and the very doubtful cases in § 8. 4), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter *g*

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proofs. It cannot be proved (as L. Bardowicz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Orthographie im Althebräischen*, Frankfurt, 1894, seeks to show) that in Bible MSS. of the time of the Talmud and Midrash, the letters יוהא were not so frequently used as in the Masoretic text.

[1] השעני is the more strange since the name of king הוֹשֵׁעַ is represented as *A-u-si'* in cuneiform as late as 728!

in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of ו to mark an *ô* or *û*, arising from contraction, and of י for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal א rejected, and the simple phonetic principle taking the place of the historical orthography. On the other hand the number of exceptions is very great. In many cases (as e. g. in the plural endings ־ִים and וֹת) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was considered, either these laws were not consistently carried out in the further transmission of the text, or errors and confusion afterwards crept into it. Moreover much remained uncertain even in texts which were plentifully provided with vowel letters. For, although in most cases the context was a guide to the correct reading, yet there were also cases where, of the many possible ways of pronouncing a word, more than one appeared admissible[1].

h **3.** When the language had died out, and the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome, and there was a danger that the correct pronunciation might be finally lost, the vowel signs or vowel points were invented in order to fix it. By means of these points everything hitherto left uncertain was most accurately settled. It is true that there is no historical account of the date of this vocalization of the Old Testament text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians under the influence of different Schools in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of reading[2]. They mainly followed, though with independent regard

[1] Thus e.g. קטל can be read *qāṭal*, *qāṭāl*, *qāṭôl*, *qᵉṭōl*, *qôṭēl*, *qiṭṭēl*, *qaṭṭēl*, *quṭṭal*, *qèṭel*, and several of these forms have also different significations.

[2] The most important of these differences are, (*a*) those between the Orientals, i. e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools (comp. for their peculiar vowel system, p. 40, note, below), and the Occidentals, i.e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); (*b*) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices to his critical editions. Our printed editions present uniformly the text of Ben-Asher, with the exception of a few isolated readings of Ben-Naphtali, and numerous later corruptions.

to the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation[1].

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.* p. 182 sqq.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii. (where it is shown that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs[2]. Comp. also Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 sqq.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 sqq.); Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim-[Punctuators-]Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, Breslau, 1872, x. p. 10 sqq.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-textes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 sqq., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 sqq.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real-Enc.* ed. 2, ix. p. 388 sqq.; M. Schwab, *Des points-voyelles dans les langues sémitiques*, Paris, 1879; A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistencongresses zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1881, i. p. 164 sqq. and p. 188 sqq.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 sqq. and 395 sqq.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punktation*, Ruhrort, 1885, 4; Harris, 'The Rise ... of the Massorah,' *J. Q. R.* 1889, i. 128 sqq. and 223 sqq.; Mayer-Lambert, *Revue des études juives*, 1893, xxvi. p. 274 sqq. On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, comp. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, 1879, xiii. no. 25.

i **4.** This vowel system is really based on the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine, as it was then in use (about the sixth century A. D.). This again is based on a much older tradition, followed in the solemn public reading of the sacred writings in the Synagogues and Schools. The consistency of the system, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testifies to a high degree of faithfulness in the tradition. This was represented with such exactness, that special signs were invented even for the more minute gradations of the vowels and vowel trills (§ 10), as well as for the involuntary helping vowels which in other languages are but seldom indicated by the writing. At the same recension of the text also the various other signs for reading (§§ 11–14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

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[1] Comp. for this, Geiger, 'Massorah bei d. Syrern,' in *ZDMG.* 1873, p. 148 sqq.; J. P. Martin, *Hist. de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens*, Par. 1875; E. Nestle, in *ZDMG.* 1876, p. 525 sqq.; Weingarten, *Die syr. Massora nach Bar Hebraeus*, Halle, 1887.

[2] Jerome expressly states that punctuation was not found in the texts of his time. He refers however to the vowel signs, see his Commentary on Is. 26, 14. Jer. 9, 21, &c.; also Bleek's *Einleitung*, 3rd ed. § 330.—G. W. C.]

§ 8. *The Vowel Signs in particular.*

a **1.** The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10. 1, 2), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7. 1, 2), are as follows:—

First Class. A-sound.

A { 1. ◌ָ [1] *Qāměṣ, ā, á*[2], יָד *yād* (hand); רָאשִׁים *rāšîm* (chiefs).
2. ◌ַ *Páthăḥ, ă,* בַּת *băth* (daughter).

Also 3. ◌ֳ *Sᵉghôl,* an open *e, è* (*ä*), as a modification of *ă*[3], either in an untoned syllable and consequently as a short[4] vowel, as in the first syllable of יֲדֶכֶם *yĕdᵉkhèm* (your hand) from *yădᵉkhèm*—or in a tone-syllable as a half lengthening of *ă,* (the full lengthening would require Qāměṣ,) as in פֶּסַח *pèsăḥ* (πάσχα). Also with a following י, as גְּלָיְנָה *gᵉlèynā* (cf. § 75. 2); יָדֶיךָ *yādèkhā* (cf. § 91. 2, end).

Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

b *I* { 1. ◌ִי or ◌ִ (defectively written, see No. 4) *Ḥîrĕq longum* (*magnum*), *î,* e. g. צַדִּיקִים *ṣaddîqîm* (righteous).
2. ◌ִ *Ḥîrĕq breve* (*parvum*), *ĭ,* יִקְטֹל *yĭqṭōl.*

E { 3. ◌ֵי *Ṣērî* or *Ṣērê* with *yod,* and ◌ֵ *Ṣērê* without *yod,* the former *ê,* the latter mostly *ē,* e.g. בֵּית *bêth* (house), שֵׁם *šēm* (name). Less frequently ◌ֵ (defective, see No. 4) for *ê.*
4. ◌ֶ *Sᵉghôl, ĕ,* a modification of *ĭ,* e.g. חֶפְצִי *ḥĕphṣ* (ground-form *ḥĭphṣ*); שֶׁן־ (ground-form *šĭn*).

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[1] In early MSS. the sign for Qameṣ is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG.* 1892, p. 411 sq.), *Pathaḥ* with *Ḥolem,* the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameṣ* as *å* or *o.*

[2] The notation *â, ê, ô* expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation *ā, ē, ō* those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable; *ă, ĕ, ŏ* the short vowels. (On *è* comp. the remark at the end of the A-class.) As regards the others, the distinction into *î* and *ĭ, û* and *ŭ* is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark ˆ stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, especially if this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e. g. פֶּסַח. Comp. § 15, Rem. 2.

[3] These *Sᵉghôls,* modified from *ă,* are very frequent in the language. The Babylonian punctuation (see below, p. 40, note) has for it and tone-bearing Pathaḥ only one sign; see also Gaster in *ZAW.* 1894, p. 60 sqq.

[4] It must be mentioned that the Masoretes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as

Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

U

1. וּ *Šûrĕq*, *û*, מוּת *mûth* (to die), rarely also for *ŭ*. *c*
2. ֻ *Qibbûṣ*, both for *ŭ*, e.g. סֻלָּם *sŭllām* (ladder), and *û*, e.g. קֻמוּ (rise up) instead of the usual קוּמוּ.

O

3. וֹ and ֹ *Ḥōlĕm*, *ô* and *ō*, קוֹל *qōl* (voice), רֹב *rōbh* (multitude). Often also a defective ֹ for *ô*; rarely וֹ for *ō*.
4. ָ *Qāmĕṣ-ḥāṭûph*, *ŏ*, e.g. חָק *ḥŏq* (statute).
5. The tone-bearing *è* in אַתֶּם *'attèm* (you), and a few other cases (comp. § 27, Rem. 4 *b*), is perhaps to be considered as a weakening of an original *u*.

d The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פַּתַח *opening*; צֵרֵי *division, parting* (of the mouth), also שֶׁבֶר *breaking* (comp. the Arab. *kasr*); חִירֶק (also חִרֶק) *gnashing*; חֹלָם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i.e. of the mouth (also מְלֹא פוּם *fullness of the mouth*); שׁוּרֶק *a whistle* (συρισμός); קִבּוּץ *contraction* (of the mouth). קָמֶץ[1] has also the same signification.

That the long *a* and the short *o* (קָמֶץ חָטוּף *Qāmĕṣ correptum*) have the same sign and name, arises from the fact that the inventors of the vowel signs pronounced the *ā* rather obscurely and similarly to *o*, just as it afterwards passed into a full *o* among modern German and Polish Jews (comp. the Syriac *â* in the West-Syrian pronunciation = *ô*, the Swedish *å*, and the early weakening of *â* to *ô*, even in Hebrew, § 9. 10, 2)[2]. On the rules for distinguishing *ā* and *ŏ*, see § 9. 12, Rem. *Seghôl* (סְגוֹל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נְקֻדוֹת (*three points*) is another name for *Qibbûṣ*.

Moreover the names were mostly so formed, that the sound of each vowel *e* is heard in the first syllable; in order to carry out this consistently some even write *Sägôl*, *Qomeṣ-ḥaṭûf*, *Qibbûṣ*.

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possible, by means of writing. For a long time only שִׁבְעָה מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita, וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהוּ), Šureq and Qibbuṣ being counted as one vowel. The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 *a*, distinguishes the five long, as *mothers* from their five daughters).

[1] The usual spelling קָמֶץ takes the word (as also פַּתַח) as a Hebrew substantive; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קָמֶץ and פָּתַח are rather Aram. participles, like *Dageš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated by *Qâmēṣ* and *Pâthaḥ*.

[2] In the *Babylonian* punctuation (see the following note) *ā* and *ŏ* are carefully distinguished, as well as in many manuscripts with the common punctuation, and so in Baer's editions since 1880 (by addition of a *Šewâ* to indicate even the full vowel *ŏ*). It is however probable that the two signs were identical in the original system.

f **2.** As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly *under* the consonant, *after* which it is to be pronounced, בָ *rā*, בַ *ră*, בֵ *rē*, בֶ *rĕ*, בִ *rĭ*, &c. The *Pathaḥ* called *furtivum* (§ 22. 2 *b*) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced *before* the consonant, רוּחַ *rûªḥ* (wind, spirit). The *Ḥōlĕm* (without *wāw*) stands on the left above the consonant, בֹ *rō* (but לֹ = *lō*). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with *ō*, the point is placed over its right arm, thus בֹּא, רֹאשׁ. On the other hand, e. g. בֹּאָם, since א is here at the same time the initial sound of a syllable.

g No dot is placed for the Ḥolem when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *śîn* or before *šîn*. Hence שֹׂנֵא *śônē* (hating), נְשֹׂא *nªśō* (to bear), מֹשֶׁה *môšè* (not מֹשֵׁה); but שֹׁמֵר *šômēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *śin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e. g. יִרְפֹּשׂ *yirpōś* (he treads with the feet), הַנֹּשְׂאִים *hannôśªîm* (those who carry).

In the sign וֹ, the ו may be also a consonant. The וֹ is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e. g. לָוֶה *lôwè*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the ו, e. g. עָוֹן *ʿāwôn* (iniquity) for עָוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between וֹ (*wo*) and וֹ (i. e. either *ô* or, when another vowel follows the *wāw*, *ôw*[1]).

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[1] Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except וּ, are there placed *above* the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form, and some even as regards the sound which they denote: ◌ַ = *ā*, ◌ָ = tone-bearing *ă* and *è*, ◌ֵ = *ē*, ◌ֵי = *î*, ◌ֻ = *û*. In an unsharpened syllable ◌ָ = toneless *ă* and *ĕ*, and also Ḥaṭeph Pathaḥ; ◌ֱ = toneless *ĕ* and Ḥaṭeph Seghôl; ◌ֲ = *ĭ*, ◌ֳ = *ŭ*, ◌ֳ = *ŏ*, and Ḥaṭeph Qameṣ. Lastly before Dageš, ◌ַּ = *a*, ◌ֶּ = *ĕ*, ◌ִּ = *i*, ◌ֻּ = *ŭ*, ◌ֹּ = *ŏ*. Šᵉwâ is ◌ֽ. The accents differ less and stand in many cases under the line of the consonants. For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* (נְקוּד בַּבְלִי), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack's *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersb.*, S. Petersb. and Leipz. 1875, parts i. and ii. p. 223 sqq. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (S. Petersb., 1876, gr. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the Synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea (comp. Strack's *Prolegomena* on the history of the Codex, the entire literature on the Babylonian punctuation, and other MSS. with that system). Strack edited a fragment of this Codex in *Hosea et Joel prophetae ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, S. Petersb. 1875. Comp. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above at the end of § 7. 3, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; and G. Margoliouth, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, xv. 4. According to the opinion formerly prevailing, this Babylonian punctuation exhibits the system which was developed in the Eastern schools, corresponding to and contemporaneous with the Western

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of יִ *h*
in the middle and הָ, אָ, הָ at the end of the word (§ 9. 1, 3), represented *only* by vowel signs (§ 7. 2), but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter points, is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within them. Thus—

יִ may be combined with *Ḥîrĕq*, *Ṣērê*, *Sᵉghôl* (יִ, יֵ, יֶ).

וִ with *Šûrĕq* and *Ḥōlĕm* (וּ and וֹ)[1].

In Arabic the long *a* is also regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. *'Ālĕph* (אָ), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew א is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9. 1 and § 23. 3, Rem. 1.

4. The omission of the vowel letters with the *long* vowels of the *i*
I- and U-class, is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קוֹל, קוּם are written *plene*, קֹל, קֻם *defective*.

So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing *k*
is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *â*, *ô*, *ō*, *î*, *ê*, *ē*, as well as for *è* in חַוֵּה &c. (§ 9. 3), also generally with *â*, *ā* (comp. however § 9. *d*), e. g. יָדַי, קָטַלְתִּי, מַלְכֵי (but the Masora requires in Jer. 26, 6. 44, 8; Ezr. 6, 21; 2 Chr. 32, 13 גּוֹי which is for גּוֹיֵי; Zeph. 2, 9 גּוֹי for גּוֹיֵי; Is. 40, 31 וְקוֹי for וְקוֵּי; Jer. 38, 11 בְּלוֹי for בְּלוֵּי). On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e. g. גּוֹיִם (*nations*) for גּוֹיִים, מִצְוֹת (*commandments*) for מִצְוֹות.

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or Tiberian system. Of these a higher degree of originality, or approximation to the original of both systems of punctuation, was generally conceded to the latter. Recently, however, Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, Oxford, 1887, p. 142 sqq., has proved, from the accents, that the 'Babylonian' punctuation may certainly be *an* Oriental, but is by no means *the* Oriental system. It is rather to be regarded, according to him, as a later and not altogether successful attempt to modify, and thus to simplify, the system common to all the Schools in the East and West. G. Moore, *Proceedings of the American Or. Society*, Oct. 1888, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under *Arab* influence from the vowel letters יוא (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows *Syrian* influence.

[1] After the example of the Jewish grammarians the expression, 'the vowel letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel-sign,' has become customary. On the other hand, the vowel letters are also called by the grammarians, *matres lectionis* or *supports* (*fulcra*).

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7. 2 *c*), follows from the fact that now and then the same word is written very differently, e.g. הֲקִימוֹתִי Ez. 16, 60: הֲקִמּוֹתִי or even הֲקִמוֹתִי Jer. 23, 4; comp. § 25. 1. Only it may be observed,

(*a*) That the defective mode of writing was chosen in preference, when the word included also other vowel letters, so that the accumulation of them was avoided; comp. e.g. צַדִּיק, but צַדִּקִים; קוֹל, קוֹלוֹת; יְהוֹשָׁעַ, מְצָאֲהוּ.

(*b*) That in the later Books of the Old Test. the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

m **5.** In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. וֹ֫, וֹ֫, יֹ֫, יֹ֫, יֵ֫, יֵ֫, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*) is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, as the transcription of Hebrew names in the LXX further testifies. Thus such words as וָו, חַי, גּוֹי, עָשׂוּי, גֵּו, בַּיִת are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom[1] as *wāw*, *ḥay*, *gôy*, *ʿāsúy*, *gēw*, *bayith*, (or even as *wav*, &c.; comp. modern Greek *αν*, *εν* for *αὐ*, *εὐ*,) but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu*, *ḥai*, &c. The sound of יֹ֫ is the same as וֹ֫, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וֹ֫ is often written defectively for יֹ֫.

§ 9. *Character of the several Vowels.*

a Numerous as are the vowel signs in Hebrew writing, they are yet inadequate to express completely the various modifications of the vowel sounds, especially with respect to length and shortness. To understand this better a short explanation of the character and value of the several vowels is required, especially in regard to their length and shortness as well as to their changeableness (§§ 25, 27).

I. *First Class. A-sound.*

1. *Qameṣ* (֫) is everywhere long *a*, but according to its nature and origin is of two kinds:—

(1) the essentially long *â* (in Arabic regularly written א֫), which is not readily shortened and never wholly dropped (§ 25. 2), e.g. כְּתָב *kᵉthâbh* (writing), גַּנָּב *gănnâbh* (thief); very seldom with a following א, as רָאשׁ 2 Sam. 12, 1. 4 (see the examples in § 72, Rem. 1)[2].

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[1] In MSS. וֹ and יֹ, in such combinations as גּוֹ, חַי, are occasionally even marked with Mappîq (§ 14. 1).

[2] Of a different kind are the cases in which א has lost its consonantal sound by coalescing with a preceding *a*, § 23. 1, 2.

The writing of קָאם Hos. 10, 14 for קָם would only be justifiable, if the *ā* of this form were to be explained as a contraction of *ăă;* comp. however the note on § 72. 2; דָּאג Neh. 13, 16 for דָּג (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect. The rarity of the naturally long *â* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ô;* see below, No. 10. 2. *b*

(2) *ā*, lengthened only by prosody (i.e. tone-long or at all events lengthened under the influence of the tone, according to the laws for the formation of syllables, § 27. 2), as well in the tone-syllable itself, (or in the secondary tone-syllable indicated by *Mèthĕg*, see below,) as before or after it. This sound is invariably lengthened[1] from an original *ă*, and is found in open syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a vowel (§ 26. 3), e.g. לְךָ, קָטַל, יָקוּם, אָסִיר (Arab. *lăkă, qătălă, yăqûm, 'ăsîr*), as well as in closed syllables, i.e. those ending in a consonant, as יָד, כּוֹכָב (Arab. *yăd, kaukăb*). In a closed syllable however it can only stand when this has the tone, דָּבָר, עוֹלָם; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. דָּבָר, זָקֵן, לָכֶם. Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, comp. § 89. 1) the short *ă* (*Pathaḥ*) is apt to re-appear in a closed syllable; while in an open syllable *Qameṣ* becomes *Šᵉwâ* (§ 27. 3); חָכָם, constr. state חַכַם (*ḥᵃkhăm*); דָּבָר, דְּבַר (*dᵉbhăr*); קָטָל, קָטְלָם. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *a*, see § 16. 2 *a* and *b, a*; also § 93. 4, Rem. 3. *c*

In some terminations of the verb (תָּ in the 2nd sing. masc. perf., תָּן in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 2nd and 3rd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in אַתָּה *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes ךָ and הָ, the final *ā* can stand even without a vowel letter. A ה is however in these cases (except with הָ) frequently added as a vowel letter. *d*

2. *Pathaḥ*, or short *ă*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone (קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתָּם). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and became half open only by the insertion of a helping vowel (*ă, ĭ, ĕ*) in the second syllable, e.g. נַחַל (ground-form *naḥl*), בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28. 4, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26. 3 *b* and *c*. Otherwise *Pathaḥ* in an *e*

[1] In Arabic this *ă* is everywhere retained in an open syllable.

open syllable has almost without exception passed into *ā* (ָ), see above, No. 1. 2.

On the very frequent attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ*, comp. below, No. 5. On the rare, and only apparent union of Pathaḥ with א (אַ), see § 23. 2. On *ă* as a helping-vowel, § 22. 2 *b* (*Pathaḥ furtivum*), and § 28. 4.

f **3.** Seghôl (*ĕ*, *è*) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, more rarely to the third, and most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27, Rem. 1, 2, 4). It belongs to the first class when it is a modified form of *a*, (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*; *Land*, pl. *Länder*,) either in a toneless syllable, e. g. יֶדְכֶם (for *yaḏkhèm*), or with the tone, e. g. אֶרֶץ from *'arṣ*, קֶרֶן Arab. *qărn*, קֶמַח Arab. *qămḥ*. This *Seghôl* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of a prominent division of a sentence, (in *pause*,) as מֶלֶךְ, צֶדֶק. As a rule however in such cases the *Pathaḥ* which underlies the *è* is lengthened into *Qameṣ*, e. g. קָמַח, קָרֶן. A *Seghôl* apparently lengthened from *Šᵉwâ*, but in reality traceable to an original *ă*, stands in pausal forms, as פֶּרִי (ground-form *păry*), יֶהִי (*yăhy*), &c. On the cases where a י (originally consonantal) follows this Seghôl, see § 75. 2, and § 91. 2, Rem. 1.

II. *Second Class. I- and E-sounds.*

g **4.** The long *î* is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated by the letter י (a *fully* written *Ḥireq* ִי); but a naturally long *î* can, by an orthographic license, be also written *defectively* (§ 8. 4), e. g. צַדִּיק (*righteous*), plur. צַדִּקִים *ṣaddîqîm*; יָרֵא (*he fears*), plur. יְרֵאִוּ. Whether a *defectively* written *Ḥireq* is long, may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in יְרֵאִוּ from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16. 2).

h **5.** The *short Ḥireq* (always[1] written *defectively*) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (אִמִּי, קִטֵּל), and in toneless closed syllables (מִזְמוֹר *psalm*); comp. however וַיִּשְׁבָּ in a closed tone-syllable, and even וַיִּפֶן in a loosely closed tone-syllable. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from *ă*, as in דִּבְרֵי from דָּבָר, צִדְקִי (ground-form *ṣădq*)[2], or else it is the original *ĭ*, which in the tone-syllable

[1] At least according to the Masoretic orthography; cf. Wellhausen's *Text der Bb. Sam.* p. 18, Rem.

[2] Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives *ă* for *ĭ*.

had become *ē*, as in אֹיִבְךָ (*thy enemy*) from אֹיֵב (ground-form *'áyīb*). It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in בַּיִת, § 28. 4.

The earlier grammarians call every *Ḥireq* written *fully*, *Ḥireq magnum*; every one written *defectively*, *Ḥireq parvum*,—an inaccurate distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest *ê* ◌ִי (more rarely defective ◌ִ, e. g. עֵנִי for עֵינִי *i* Is. 3, 8; at the end of a word also ◌ֵה) is as a rule contracted from ◌ַי *ay* (*aí*), § 7. 1, e. g. הֵיכָל (*palace*), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Ṣere* without Yôdh mostly represents the tone-long *ē*, *k* which, like the tone-long *ā* (No. 1. 2), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before* the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original *ĭ*. It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (ground-form *sĭphr*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *sĭnăt*) *sleep*, or with Metheg (see § 16. 2 *a* and *b*, *a*) in the secondary tone-syllable, e. g. שְׁאֵלָתִי *my request*, נֵלְכָה *let us go*. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as בֵּן *son*, אֵלֵם *dumb*.

Exceptions: (*a*) *ē* is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in *l* monosyllabic words before Maqqeph, e. g. עֵין־ Num. 35, 18, as well as in the examples of *nāsôg 'āḥôr* mentioned in § 29. 3 *b*; (*b*) in a toneless open final syllable, Ṣere likewise occurs in examples of the *nāsôg 'āḥôr*, as יֵצֵא Ex. 16, 29; comp. Jud. 9, 39.

8. The Seghôl of the I(E)-class is most frequently an obtuse *ĕ*, *m* a modification of an original *ĭ*, either replacing (on loss of the tone) a tone-long *ē*, e. g. תֶּן from תֵּן (*give*), יְצֶרְךָ (*thy creator*) from יֵצֶר, or in the case discussed in § 93. 1, Rem. 2, חֶלְקִי, עֶזְרִי from the ground-forms *ḥilq*, *'izr*; comp. also § 64, Rem. 1. *Seghôl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סֶפֶר for *siphr*, יֶגֶל for *yigl* (§ 28. 4).

III. *Third Class. U- and O-sounds.*

9. In the U-sound there is to be distinguished— *n*

(1) the *long û*, either (*a*) written fully, וּ *Šureq* (corresponding to the ◌ִי of the second class), e. g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (*b*) defectively written ◌ֻ *Qibbûṣ* (analogous to the long ◌ִ of the second class), יֻתַּן, גֻּבְלוֹ;

(2) the short *ŭ*, *Qibbûṣ* proper (corresponding to the short *Ḥireq*), in a toneless closed syllable and especially in a sharpened syllable, in e. g. שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), סֻכָּה (*booth*).

o Sometimes also *ŭ* in a sharpened syllable is written *plene*, e.g. הוּבָּה Ps. 102, 5, כּוּלָּם Jer. 31, 34 for הֻבָּה, כֻּלָּם.

For this *u* the LXX put *o*, e.g. עָדֳלָּם 'Οδολλάμ, from which however it only follows, that this *ŭ* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Ḥireq* by ε, e.g. אֲמֹר='Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbûṣ* like the German *ü*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ü* in the time of the punctators must be admitted, at least as regards Palestine[1]; comp. the Turkish *bülbül* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyā* in Syria as *dünyā*.

p **10.** The O-sound bears the same relation to U, as the E does to I in the second class. It has four gradations:—

(1) The *ô* which is contracted from *aw* (=*au*), § 7. 1, and accordingly is mostly written fully; וֹ (*Ḥolem plenum*), e.g. שׁוֹט (*a whip*) Arab. *sauṭ*, עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עָוְלָה. More rarely *defectively* as שׁרְךָ (*thine ox*) from שׁוֹר Arab. *ṯaur*.

q (2) The long *ô* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, through an extensive obscuring, out of an original *â*[2], while the latter has been retained in Arabic and Aramaic. It is usually written *fully* in the tone-syllable, *defectively* in the toneless, e.g. קֹטֶל Arab. *qâṭîl*, Aram. *qâṭēl*, אֱלוֹהַּ Arab. *'ilâh*, Aram. *'ĕlâh*, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *ǧabbâr*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *ḫâtăm*, רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rŭmmân*; שִׁלְטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שֶׁלְטָן and שָׁלְטָן Arab. *sŭlṭân*; שָׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sălâm*. Sometimes the form in *â* also occurs side by side with that in *ô*, as שִׁרְיָן and שִׁרְיוֹן (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 at the end). Comp. also § 68. 1.

r (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ŭ*, or from an *ŏ* arising from *ŭ*, by the tone, or in general according to the laws for the formation of syllables. Besides the tone-syllable it also occurs in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. קֹדֶשׁ (ground-form *qŭdš*) *sanctuary*; בֹּרַךְ for *burrakh*, יִלְקֹטוּן Ps. 104, 28, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; בְּעָלוֹ, אֹהָלִים. As soon as the tone is lost, or the other reasons for the lengthening are no longer operative, either the original *ŏ* (*ŭ*), in a closed syllable, returns, or, in an open syllable, a weakening to *Šᵉwâ* takes place. Comp. כֹּל (*all*), כָּל- (*kŏl*), כֻּלָּם (*kŭllām*); יִקְטֹל, יִקְטְלֶךָ and יִקְטְלוּ, where it is weakened

[1] Comp. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 sq.

[2] Cf. § 8. 1 end. On Jerome's transliteration of *o* for *ā*, see *ZAW.* 1884, p. 75.

to *Šᵉwâ; yiqṭᵉlû*, Arab. *yaqtŭlû*. This tone-long *o* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) ◌ָ *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*, always short *ŏ*, stands in the same relation *s* to the *Ḥolem*, as the *Sᵉghôl* of the second class to the *Ṣere*, בֶּלֶ֫ *kŏl*, וַיָּ֫קָם *wayyāqŏm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameṣ*, see the Rem. after No. 12.

11. On the *Sᵉghôl* as an obtuse sound of an original *u*, comp. § 27, Rem. 4 *b*.

12. The following table gives a summary of the gradation of the *t* three vowel-classes according to the quantity of the vowels:—

First Class: A.	*Second Class:* I and E.	*Third Class:* U and O.
◌ָ original long *â* (Arabic א◌ָ).	◌ֵי *ê*, formerly diphthongal, from *ay* (*ai*).	◌ֹי *ô*, formerly diphthongal, from *aw* (*au*).
	◌ִי or ◌ִ long *î*.	◌ֹ or ◌ֹו obtuse from *â*.
		◌ֻ or ◌ֻו long *û*.
◌ָ tone-long *ā* (from *ă* or ◌ַ) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also before it.	◌ֵ tone-long *ē* (from *ĕ*) generally in the tone-syllable but also before it.	◌ֹ tone-long *ō* (from *ŏ* or *ŭ*) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
◌ַ (as a modification of *ă*) sometimes a tone-long *è* or at least one which bears the tone, sometimes *ĕ*.	◌ֶ *ĕ*.	◌ָ short *ŏ*.
◌ַ short *ă*.	◌ֶ short *ĕ*.	◌ֻ short *ŭ*, especially in a sharpened syllable.
[◌ֲ *ĕ* attenuated from *a*; see No. 5.]		
Utmost weakening to ◌ֲ[a], ◌ֱ[ă], or ◌ְ[e].	Utmost weakening to ◌ֱ or ◌ְ.	Utmost weakening to ◌ֳ or ◌ְ.

Rem. *On the distinction between Qameṣ and Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*[1]. *u*

According to § 8. 1, long *ā* (*Qameṣ*) and short *ŏ* (*Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign (◌ָ), e.g. קָם *qām*, בֶּלֶ֫ *kŏl*. (On the marking of the *ŏ* by the addition of a *Šewâ* (◌ָ֯) which is regularly done in many manuscripts, see Baer-Del., *Liber Jobi*, p. 43.) The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical origin of the words in

[1] These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16. 2).

question, (which is of course the surest guide,) may depend meanwhile on the following principal rules :—

1. *The sign* (ָ) *is ŏ in a closed syllable which has not the tone*, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26. 5). The above case occurs—

(*a*) When *Šᵉwâ* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חָכְמָה *ḥŏkh-mâ* (wisdom), אָכְלָה *'ŏkh-lâ* (food). With *Metheg* on the other hand (ָ) is *ā* and stands in an open syllable. The following *Šᵉwâ* is then a half-vowel (*Šᵉwâ mobile*), e.g. אָכְלָה *'ā-khᵉlâ* (she ate), according to § 16. 2.

(*b*) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e.g. חָנֵּנִי *ḥŏnnēnî* (have mercy upon me); but בְּתִּים (with *Metheg*, § 16. 2, 1 *b*) *bāttîm*.

(*c*) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqēph* (§ 16. 1), e.g. כָּל־הָאָדָם *kŏl-hā-'ādām* (all men). In Ps. 35, 10 and Prov. 19, 7 *Maqqēph* with כָּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Merᵉkha*); so by *Darga*, Jud. 19, 5 with סָעָד, and Ez. 37, 8 with וַיִּקְרַם (so Baer after Qimḥi; ed. Mant. ויקרם).

(*d*) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיָּקָם *wayyâqŏm* (and he stood up). In the cases where *â* or *ā* has in the final syllable become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16. 1) and yet must remain, e.g. פְּתַח־הַדָּת Esth. 4, 8, שֵׁת־לִי Gen. 4, 25, it has in correct manuscripts and printed texts a *Metheg* beside it.

In cases like הָלְאָה, לָמָּה *lâmmā*, the tone shows that (ָ) is to be read as *ā*.

v 2. The places in which (ָ) appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as *ŏ* require special consideration. This is the case, (*a*) when *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ* follows (e. g. פָּעֳלוֹ *his work*), or simple vocal *Šᵉwâ* (e. g. דָּרְבָן *ox goad*; בְּעָבְרוֹ Jos. 4, 7; שָׁמְרָה *preserve* Ps. 86, 2, comp. 16, 1; other examples are Obad. 11. Jud. 14, 15); *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* follows in לְמָשְׁחָךְ 1 Sam. 15, 1, לַהֲרָגֵךְ 24, 11, and יִפְנָשֵׁךְ (so Baer, Gen. 32, 18, others יִפְגָּשֵׁךְ); (*b*) before another *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*, e. g. פָּעָלֵךְ *thy work* (but יִרְבְּעָם *Yārobᵉ'ām*, because from imperf. יִרְבַּע; and אַרְהִ־לִי קָבְהִ־לִי Num. 23, 7, see § 67, Rem. 2); (*c*) in the two plural forms קָדְשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שָׁרְשִׁים *roots* (also written קָדְשׁ and שָׁרְשׁ). In all these cases the Masora puts a *Metheg* beside the (ָ), which according to the statement of the Jewish grammarians, is intended to indicate that the Masora reads the ָ as *ā*[1]; thus *pā-ºlô, dā-rᵉbān, pā-ŏlᵉkhā, qā-dāšîm*. This tradition is in point of fact expressly confirmed by the Babylonian punctuation (see above, § 8. 2, note), which carefully distinguishes between *ŏ* and *ā*. Nevertheless, neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor lastly the transcribing of the proper names in the LXX, admits of this tradition being regarded as correct, whether the *Metheg* originally had

[1] Comp. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, Lpz. 1875, Preface, p. vi.

another meaning or is due to an error[1]. It is better to divide and read *pŏᵒ-lô* (for *pŏ'-lô*), *pŏŏ-lᵉkhā*, *qŏdā-šîm* (strictly orthographic for *qᵒdāšîm*). Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into *ā* in בְּחָרְ־אָךְ (Ex. 11, 8), although it is so in בָּאנִי *bā-ᵒnî* (in the navy), since here the *ā* of the article appears under the ב.

§ 10. *The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider* (Šᵉwâ).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel sounds which may be called *half vowels*. The punctuation makes use of these to represent extremely slight sounds which are to be regarded as remains of fuller and more distinct vowels from an earlier period of the language. They generally take the place of vowels *originally short* standing in *open syllables*. Such short vowels, though preserved in the kindred languages, are not tolerated by the present system of pointing in Hebrew, but either undergo a lengthening or are weakened to Šᵉwâ. Under some circumstances however the original short vowel may re-appear. *a*

To these belongs first of all the sign ◌ְ, which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half *ĕ* (*ᵉ*). It is called *Šᵉwá*[2] or *simple Šᵉwâ* (*Šᵉwâ simplex*) to distinguish it from the compound (see No. 2), and *vocal Šᵉwâ* (*Šᵉwâ mobile*) to distinguish it from *Šᵉwâ quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see No. 3) under the consonant which closes the syllable. Of the *vocal Šᵉwâ* the following kinds are further to be distinguished: *b*

1. The real *Šᵉwâ mobile* under a consonant which is closely united, as a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, whether it be (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as קְטֹל *qᵉṭōl* (to kill), מְמַלֵּא *mᵉmallē* (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as קוֹטְלָה *qô-ṭᵉlā*, יִקְטְלוּ *yiq-ṭᵉlú*, קִטְלוּ *qiṭ-ṭᵉlú*. *c*

2. What is called *Šᵉwâ medium* or *wavering Šᵉwâ* under a consonant which stands at the end of a syllable containing a short vowel, and thus causes at least a partial closing of it, while serving at the same *d*

[1] It is just conceivable that פֹּעֲלוֹ &c. (§ 93. 1, A. 3) were really intended, and that *ō* was inaccurately represented by the similarly sounding *ā*.

[2] Instead of שְׁוָא it would be more correct to write שְׁבָא, since the name is very probably to be referred to Aram. שְׁבַת *rest*, and hence originally, like the Arab. *sukūn* (*rest*), indicated only the *Šᵉwâ quiescens*. Cf. C. Levias, *American Journ. of Philology*, xvi. 1, who considers שִׁיבָה or שֵׁבָה (a translation of *sukūn*) to be the original form.

time as a grace-note to the following syllable (§ 26. 2 *b*, Rem.). The *Šᵉwâ medium* accordingly stands half-way between the *Šᵉwâ quiescens* and the real *Šᵉwâ mobile*. In regard to pronunciation and other characteristics it is however to be reckoned with the latter; comp. e. g. לַמְנַצֵּחַ *la-mᵉnaṣṣēᵃḥ* (for לַמְּ׳), מַלְכִּי *ma-lᵉkhî*, בִּנְפֹל *binᵉphōl*, כִּנְפֹל *kinᵉphōl*.

e The sound *ĕ* may be regarded as normally representing simple *Šᵉwâ mobile*, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by ε, even by η, כְּרוּבִים Χερουβίμ, הַלְלוּ־יָהּ ἀλληλούια, more frequently by α, שְׁמוּאֵל Σαμουήλ, but very frequently in such a way that this slight sound accords with the following principal vowel, e. g. סְדֹם Σόδομα, שְׁלֹמֹה Σολομών (as well as Σαλωμών), צְבָאוֹת Σαβαώθ, נְתַנְאֵל Ναθαναήλ[1]. A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šᵉwâ* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages[2].

How the *Šᵉwâ* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e. g. in בְּרָכָה from *bărăkă*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. The latter language still regularly employs the full short vowel for the Hebrew *Šᵉwâ mobile*.

f **2.** With the *simple Šᵉwâ mobile* is connected the *compound Šᵉwâ* or *Ḥâṭēph* (*correptum*), i. e. a *Šᵉwâ* the pronunciation of which is more accurately fixed by the addition of a short vowel. There are three *compound Šᵉwâs* formed in this way, corresponding to the three vowel classes (§ 7. 1):—

(ֲ) *Ḥâṭēph-Páthăḥ*, e. g. חֲמוֹר *ḥᵃmôr*, ass.

(ֳ) *Ḥâṭēph-Sᵉgôl*, e. g. אֱמֹר *ᵉmōr*, to say.

(ֱ) *Ḥâṭēph-Qāmĕṣ*, e. g. חֳלִי, *ḥᵒlî*, sickness.

These *Ḥâṭēphs*, or at least the first two, stand chiefly under the four guttural letters (§ 22. 3), instead of a simple *Šᵉwâ mobile*, since these letters by their nature require a more precise utterance of the otherwise indeterminate *simple Šᵉwâ mobile*. Accordingly a guttural at the beginning of a syllable, where the *Šᵉwâ* is necessarily vocal, can never have a mere *Šᵉwâ simplex*.

g Rem. A. Only (ֲ) and (ֳ) occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* is found instead of *simple Šᵉwâ* (especially *Šᵉwâ mobile*), chiefly

[1] The same occurs frequently also in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phoenician words, e. g. מְלָכָא *Malaga*, גְּבוּלִים *gubulim* (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 sqq.). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in *τέτυφα*, *τετυμμένος*, and the old form *memordi*.

[2] See especially *Yehuda Ḥayyûǧ*, pp. 4 sq. and 130 sq. of the edition by Nutt (Lond. 1870), corresponding to p. 200 of the edition by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844); Ibn Ezra's *Ṣaḥoth*, p. 3; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, p. 68. The *Manuel du lecteur*, mentioned above, § 6. 1, also contains express rules for the various ways of pronouncing *Šᵉwâ mobile*: so too the *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 sqq. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW.* vi. 236 sqq.

(*a*) under doubled consonants, since this doubling causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Šᵉwâ mobile*, שִׁבְּלֵי *branches*, Zach. 4, 12. According to the rule given by Ben-Asher, the *Haṭeph* is *necessary*[1] when, in a doubled *medial* consonant with *Šᵉwâ* (consequently not in cases like וַיְהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathaḥ, the sign of the doubling (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e.g. הַלְלוּ *praise ye!* וַתְּאַלֲצֵהוּ Jud. 16, 16; no less universally, where after a consonant with *Šᵉwâ* the same consonant follows (for a sharper separation of the two, and hence with a *metheg* always preceding), e.g. סוֹרְרִים Ps. 68, 7; קַלְלָתְךָ Gen. 27, 13 (but not without exceptions, comp. e.g. חֻקְקֵי־ Jud. 5, 15. Is. 10, 1; צַלְלֵי Jer. 6, 5, and so always הִנֵּנִי *behold me*, הִנֵּנוּ *behold us*; on כְּ before the suffix דְּ, comp. § 20. 1 *c*, Rem.); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Rêš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e.g. תְּאַבְּלֶנָּה Gen. 3, 17; בְּרַכְּיִ Ps. 103, 1 (but וַיִּתְבָּרְכוּ Ps. 72, 17, cf. Jer. 4, 2. 1 Chr. 29, 20, because the tone is thrown back on to the *ā*. After *ē* *Šᵉwâ* remains even before the tone, as בֵּרְכוּ, &c.)[2]; (*b*) under initial sibilants after וְ copulative, e.g. וְזָהֵב Gen. 2, 12; cf. Jer. 48, 20; וְכַחַד Is. 45, 14; וְשָׁדַד Lev. 25, 34; וְשָׁקָה Gen. 27, 26; וְשָׁמַע Num. 23, 18. Is. 37, 17. Dan. 9, 18, cf. Jud. 5, 12. 1 Ki. 14, 21. 2 Ki. 9, 17. Job 14, 1. Eccl. 9, 7—to emphasize the vocal character of the *Šᵉwâ*. For the same reason under the emphatic ט in וְהוּטַלוּ Jer. 22, 28; cf. Job 33, 25; after *Qôph* in וְקָרְבוּ־ Ps. 55, 22; cf. Jer. 32, 9; under *Rêš* in וְרֵעַם Ps. 28, 9; even under ת Ez. 26, 21; under ב Esth. 2, 8; (*c*) under liquids, sibilants or *Qôph* after *ĭ*, e.g. יִצְחָק Gen. 21, 6, comp. 30, 38 and Ez. 21, 28 (under ק); אִמְרוֹת Ps. 12, 7; הִתְמַלְּכָה Jer. 22, 15; כִּנְרוֹת Josh. 11, 2; בְּסַבְּךָ־ Ps. 74, 5, for the same reason as the cases under (*b*)[3]; according to Baer also in שִׁפְמוֹת 1 Sam. 30, 28; יִפְנְשֶׁךָ Gen. 32, 18 after *ŏ* (comp. § 9. 12, Rem. 2), as well as after *a* in הִקְשִׁיבָה Dan. 9, 19; הִבְרְכָה Gen. 27, 38; הִמְצְרָעִים 2 Ki. 7, 8.

B. The *Haṭeph-Qameṣ* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, and *h* stands frequently for a simple *Šᵉwâ mobile* when an O-sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. at the beginning, in רָאִי (ground-form *rŏ'y*) *vision* (comp. § 93. 1, Rem. 6); בָּנָיָהוּ 2 Chr. 31, 12, &c., *Qᵉre* (*Kᵉth.* בונ״); עַמּוֹנִיּוֹת *Ammonitish women*, 1 Kings 11, 1 (sing. עַמּוֹנִית); יְרֵכֶךָ for the usual יְרֵכְךָ Ez. 35, 6, from יֶרֶךְ; חֻקְּבֵנוּ Num. 23, 25. Jer. 31, 33, and elsewhere before suffixes, comp. § 60; קָדְקֹדוֹ *his pate* (from קָדְקֹד) Ps. 7, 17 and elsewhere; אֲשְׁקָטָה Is. 18, 4 *Qᵉrê*. Further, like ֵ, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš* forte, as in לֶקָּחָה (for לֶקְחָה) Gen. 2, 23. In this example, as in וְסָעָרָה 1 Ki. 13, 7; וְסָאָה 2 Kings 7, 18; and וְצָעֲקִי Jer. 22, 20, the *Haṭeph-Qameṣ* is due to the influence of the following guttural as well as of the preceding

[1] See Delitzsch, 'Bemerkungen über masoretisch treue Darstellung des alttestam. Textes,' in the *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1863, vol. xxiv. p. 409 sqq.

[2] On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under (*a*), see *Minḥat shay* on Gen. 12, 3 and Jud. 7, 6.

[3] Ben-Asher requires ֱ for ֲ (even for *Šᵉwâ quiescens*) generally before a guttural or ר; therefore Baer reads in Ps. 18, 7 אֶקְרָא; 49, 15 לִשְׁאוֹל; 65, 5 תִּבְחַר; 68, 24 תִּמְחַץ; Prov. 30, 17 תִּלְעַג; Job 29, 25 אֶבְחַר; comp. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 4th ed. p. 149, note.

U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed in similar cases after ֫ *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* is preferred, see above letter *b*; but with לְקָחָהּ compare also סְבָבְלוֹ Is. 9, 3, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šᵉwâ* immediately following.) In וְטָהֳרוֹ (*û-ṭᵒhŏr*) Job 17, 10 it is also due to the influence of the following O-sound. In קְסָמַי 1 Sam. 28, 8 *Qᵉrê*, the original form is קֶסֶם, where again the *ō* represents an *ŏ*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נִקְרָאָה Esth. 2, 14; נִבְהַל Prov. 28, 22; נִכְרָחָה Jer. 49, 7; אֶפְשָׁעָה Is. 27, 4; וְאֶשְׁמְעָה Dan. 8, 13; שְׁמֻעָה Ps. 39, 13; בְּסַעֲרָה 2 Ki. 2, 1 (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); הַקְּהָתִים 2 Chr. 34, 12 (the Mantua edition and Opitius have הַקְּהָתִים). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (ק, ט, comp. also אֶלַקָּטָה Ruth 2, 2. 7), or of a sibilant is at the same time to be taken into consideration.

i **3.** The sign of the *simple Šᵉwâ* ־ serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šᵉwâ quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in *final* ך (to distinguish it better from final ן), e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in נֵרְדְּ *nard*, אַתְּ *thou* fem., קָטַלְתְּ *thou* fem. *hast killed*, וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he watered*, וַיִּשְׁבְּ *and he took captive*, אַל־תִּשְׁתְּ *drink thou not*; comp. on the other hand וַיִּרָא, חָטָא, &c.[1]

k However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šᵉwâ* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šᵉwâ*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. אַתְּ *'attᵉ* from אַתִּי *'attî*, קָטַלְתְּ from קָטַלְתִּי (comp. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאתְ, after a vowel, Gen. 16, 8. Mic. 4, 10 and elsewhere according to the readings of Baer), יִשְׁבְּ *yišbᵉ* from יִשְׁבֶּה, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נֵרְדְּ borrowed from the Indian, as also in קִשְׁטְ (*qōšṭ*) Prov. 22, 21; and in אַל־תּוֹסְפְ (*ne addas*) Prov. 30, 6 the final mute of itself attracts a vowel sound, although a very slight one.

l Rem. The proper distinction between *simple Šᵉwâ mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šᵉwâ* is always *mobile* (*a*) at the beginning of a word (except in שְׁתֵּים, שְׁתֵּי § 97. 1, note 1); (*b*) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e. g. גִּדְּפוּ *gid-dᵉphû*; (*c*) after another *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭᵉlû* (except at the end of the word, see above No. 3). (2) *Šᵉwâ* is *quiescens* (*a*) at the end of a word (even in the ־ְ); (*b*) before another *Šᵉwâ*.

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[1] On יתְ־ as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs ל״ה, see § 75, Rem. 1.

§ 11. *Other Signs which affect the Reading.*

In very close connexion with the vowel points stand the *reading-signs*, which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point over שׁ and שׂ, a point is placed *within* a consonant to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphè*) *over* a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger or double sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of doubling (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the hard (not aspirated) pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappîq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which may otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7. 2) especially in the case of ה at the end of the word (§ 14. 1). The *Rāphè*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14. 2).

§ 12. *Dageš in general*[1], *and Dageš forte in particular.*

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant[2], *a* denotes, according to § 11, (*a*) the *doubling*[3] of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e. g. קִטֵּל *qiṭṭēl;* or (*b*) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters בְּגֶדְכְּפַת (*Dageš lene*). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13. 2, Rem.

The root דגשׁ signifies in Syriac *to pierce through, to bore through* (with *b* sharp iron); hence the name *Dageš* is commonly explained, solely with reference to its form, by *puncture, point*. But the names of all similar signs are derived rather from their grammatical significance. Accordingly דגשׁ might have the meaning which the Masora assigns to it: *acuere* (*literam*), i. e. to *sharpen* a letter (by doubling it), as well as to *harden* it, i. e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. Consequently דָּגֵשׁ *acuens* (*literam*) is a sign of sharpening and hardening

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[1] Comp. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 sqq. and 473 sqq.

[2] *Wāw* with *Dageš* (וּ) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as *Šûrĕq* (וּ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ *û* is however easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

[3] Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, requires, instead of the term *doubling*, that of *strengthened pronunciation*, since the consonant in question is only once represented. No doubt this is correct, but the common expression is in some degree justifiable, since the transcription of one of these *strengthened* consonants can only be effected by writing it as double.

(like *Mappîq* מַפִּיק *proferens* as *signum prolationis*), for both of which purposes the same *prick* of the *pen*, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is רָפֶה *soft*, § 14. 2 (comp. for this § 22. 4, Rem. 1).

c **2.** Its use in the Grammar as *Dageš forte* or a *sign of doubling* is especially important, corresponding to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Luculus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over the German *m̄* and *n̄*. In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

For the different kinds of *Dageš forte*, comp. § 20.

§ 13. *Dageš lene.*

a **1.** *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the בְּגַדְכְּפַת letters (§ 6. 3) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlĕkh*, but מַלְכּוֹ *mal-kô*; תָּפַר *tāphár*, but יִתְפֹּר *yith-pōr*; שָׁתָה *šāthā*, but יִשְׁתֶּה *yiš-tè*.

b **2.** The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted may be learned from § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in אַפִּי *'appî*, רַבִּים *rabbîm* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַּל *yigdal* it is *lene*.

c A variety of the *Dageš lene* is the point which in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, is employed in consonants other than the *B*^{e}*gadk*^{e}*phath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (*a*) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g. בְּכָל־לְבָבִי Ps. 9, 2, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (*b*) in cases like מַחְפִּי Ps. 62, 8 = *maḥ-pî* (not *măḥ*^{o}*-pî*); (*c*) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לֹא in the combination לוֹ לֹא Deut. 32, 5, or לֹא לוֹ Gen. 38, 9. Hab. 1, 6. 2, 6 and elsewhere. For other cases see below, § 20. *e* and *g*.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonicum* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on Ps. 64, 12); comp. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.

d **3.** When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *B*^{e}*gadk*^{e}*phath*, the doubling excludes its aspiration, since the latter of the two consonants would necessarily have *Dageš lene*, e. g. אַפִּי (from אַנְפִּי) properly *'ap-pî*.

§ 14. *Mappîq and Rāphè.*

1. *Mappîq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters א ה ו י as a sign that they are to be regarded as full consonants and not as vowel letters. In most editions of the text it is confined solely to the consonantal ה at the end of words (since ה can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e. g. גָּבַהּ *gābháh* (to be high), אַרְצָהּ *'arṣāh* (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from אַרְצָה *'árṣā* (to the earth) which has a vowel ending. *a*

Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* at the end of a syllable. There are however examples where the consonantal character of this ה is lost (the Mappîq of course disappearing too), so that it has only the significance of a vowel letter; comp. § 91. 1, Rem. 2 on the 3rd fem. sing. *b*

The name מַפִּיק signifies *proferens*, i. e. a sign which distinctly brings out the sound of the vowel letter as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for *Dageš*, since both are intended to indicate a hard, i. e. a strong, sound. Hence *Rāphè* (see No. 2) is the opposite of both. *c*

2. In MSS. Mappîq is also found with א, ו, י, to mark them as consonants, e. g. גּוֹי (*gôy*), קָוּ. (*qāw*). Comp. for the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), Ginsburg, *The Massorah, letter* א, § 5, and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in *Die Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, 1882, i. p. 136 sqq. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to a difference of the schools on this subject; one school appears to have intended that every audible א should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with א (אּ or אְ), Gen. 43, 26. Lev. 23, 17. Ezr. 8, 18 and Job 33, 21 (רָאוּ; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*)[1]. *d*

Comp. Delitzsch, *Hiob.*, 2nd ed. p. 439 sqq.

2. *Rāphè* (רָפֶה i. e. soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the opposite of both *Dageš* and *Mappîq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בגדכפת letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlĕkh*, תְּפַר, שְׁתָה. In the more modern editions of the text, *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappîq* is to be expressly pointed out. *e*

[1 The Masora takes the point to be Dageš in these four cases.—G. W. C.]

§ 15. *The Accents.*

a Cf. generally: A. Büchler, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung u. Entwickelung d. hebr. Accente*, I. 'Die Ursprünge der vertikalen Bestandteile,' &c., Vienna, 1891; (cf. also *Theolog. Lit. Zeitung*, 1893, no. 17). Of later works on the ordinary accents (see below, 3 *a*), W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפְּטֵי הַטְּעָמִים [*The Laws of the Accents*], Rödelheim, 1808 (A compilation from older Jewish writing on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below), טעמי כ״א ספרים [*The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; A. Davis, London, 1892; S. P. Nathan, Hamb. 1893. The enumeration given below, follows Delitzsch's summary in Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's *Grundriss*, Lpz. 1877, pp. 18–21, with some modifications suggested by Wickes. On the accents of the Books תא״ם (see below, 3 *b*), S. Baer, תורת אמת [*Accentual Laws of the Books* אמ״ת], Rödelheim, 1852, and his addendum to Delitzsch's *Psalmencommentar*, Lpz. 1860, vol. ii, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome of this is to be found in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); comp. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' to Psalms 1–3, in his *Psalmencommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the critical accentuology of the text, &c., in the editions of the text by Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טעמי אמ״ת, Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 sqq.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 17 sqq.

b **1.** The design of the accents is *primarily* to regulate most minutely the musical enunciation (chanting) of the Sacred Text, and thus they are first of all a kind of musical notes[1]. Their value as such has, however, with the exception of a few traces, become lost in transmission. On the other hand, according to their original design they have also a twofold use which is still of the greatest importance for the grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (*a*) as *marking the tone*, (*b*) as *marks of punctuation* to point out the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence[2].

c **2.** As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably with that syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This

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[1] On the attempts of Christian scholars of the sixteenth century to express the Hebrew accents by musical notes, cf. Ortenberg, *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 534.

[2] At the same time however it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e. g. *'Athnâḥ* as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very strong caesura (thus Gen. 1, 4); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (thus Gen. 1, 1).

is mostly the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milraʿ* (Aram. מִלְרַע i.e. accented *below*), e.g. קָטַל *qāṭál;* a word which has the tone on the penultima, *Mil'él* (Aram. מִלְעֵיל, accented *above*), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlĕkh*. Moreover, in many cases a secondary tone is indicated in the word by Mèthĕg (comp. § 16). Examples such as נַעֲמָדָה יַחַד Is. 50, 8 (comp. 40, 18. Ex. 15, 8. Lam. 2, 16) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*[1].

d 3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). There is further to be distinguished a twofold system of accentuation: (*a*) that which is common in twenty-one Books (the כ״א i.e. twenty-one), and (*b*) the system of accents in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job (*vox memor.* אֱמֶת, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלּוֹת Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אִיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their sequence, תא״ם; thus טַעֲמֵי תא״ם signifies the accents [sing. טַעַם] of the three mentioned Books). The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

I. *The Common Accents.*

e Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand to the right over or under the initial consonant of the word; those marked as *postpositive*, to the left over or under the last consonant. Consequently in both cases the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent (comp. however below, Rem. 2).

A. Disjunctive Accents (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*)[2]. *f*

1. (ֽ—) Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before (׃) sôph pāsûq or verse-divider, e.g. הָאָרֶץ׃.

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[1] Comp. Delitzsch on Is. 40, 18.

[2] The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מְלָכִים *Reges* and מְשָׁרְתִים *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which has become common amongst Christian grammarians, originated from the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rost. 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order in which the accents are arranged in respect to their power as disjunctives, follows in general from the above classification revised according to Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained

2. (֣) 'Athnâḥ or 'Athnaḥtā (*rest*), the principal divider in the middle of the verse.

3*a*. (֒) Segôltā, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from the 'Athnâḥ (e. g. Gen. 1, 7. 28).

3*b*. (֓) Šalšèleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, as Great Šalšèleth, distinguished by the following Pâsēq[1]-stroke from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for Segôltā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; comp. Gen. 19, 16 and elsewhere.

4*a*. (֪) Zâqēph gādôl, and

4*b*. (֫) Zâqēph qāṭôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqēph is stronger than Great Zâqēph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.

5. (֭) Ṭiphḥā or Ṭarḥā, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillûq and 'Athnâḥ, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnâḥ; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is. 2, 18); also however in longer verses (Gen. 3, 21).

6. (֮) Rebhîa'.

7. (֯) Zarqā, *postpositive*.

8*a*. (֠) Pašṭā, *postpositive*[2], and

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notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3[a], 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3[b], 11, 12, 10); comp. Wickes, א"ב ט' p. 12 sqq.

[1] Pâsēq (i. e. the 'restrainer,' also incorrectly called Pesîq) nowhere appears as an independent but only as a constituent part of certain accents (comp. below, No. 13 and II. 11 *a*, *b*). Moreover Pâsēq is very frequently used as a mark for various purposes (see the Masoretic lists at the end of Baer's editions, and Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 120 sqq., where Pâsēq is divided into *distinctivum*, *emphaticum*, *homonymicum*, and *euphonicum*). The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 sq.), that Pâsēq and other accents also served to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated, has been further developed by E. v. Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Pâsēq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.,' in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, as well as in the article, 'Pâsēq u. Legarmeh,' in the *ZAW*. 1887, p. 301 sqq. (on the other hand, Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 sqq.). See also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 sqq., viii. 89 sqq.

[2] If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Pašṭā is placed also over it, e. g. תֹּהוּ Gen. 1, 2; comp. here Rem. 2 below.

8*b*. (֫) Yᵉthîbh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mᵉhuppākh. Yᵉthîbh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.

9. (֬) Tᵉbhîr.

10*a*. (֪) Gèreš or Ṭèreš, in conjunction with Qadmā (see below) also called 'Azlā, and

10*b*. (֭) Gᵉrāšáyim[1] or Double Gèreš, used for Gèreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.

11*a*. (֮) Pâzēr, and

11*b*. (֯) Pâzēr gādôl (Great Pâzēr) or Qarnê phārā (*cow-horns*) only used in sixteen places, always to express special emphasis.

12. (֩) Tᵉlîšā gᵉdôlā or Great Tᵉlîšā, *prepositive*.

13. (֨) Lᵉgarmēh, i.e. Mûnâḥ (see below) with a following Pâsēq.

B. Conjunctive Accents (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). *g*

14. (֣) Mûnâḥ.

15. (֥) Mᵉhuppākh or Mahpākh.

16*a*. (֦) Mêrᵉkhā, and

16*b*. (֧) Mêrᵉkhā kᵉphûlā or Double Mêrᵉkhā.

17. (֤) Dargā.

18. (֡) 'Azlā, when associated with Gèreš (see above) also called Qadmā.

19. (֠) Tᵉlîšā qᵉṭannā or Little Tᵉlîšā, *postpositive*.

20. (֖) Galgal or Yèraḥ.

[21. (֛) Mâyᵉlā, a variety of Ṭiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnâḥ, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. וַיִּצְאוּ־נֹחַ].

II. *The Accents of the Books* תא״ם.

A. Distinctivi. *h*

1. (֥) Sillûq (see above).

2. (֒) 'Ôlè wᵉyôrēd[2], a stronger divider than

[1] Wickes requires Geršáyim (גֵּרְשַׁיִם).

[2] Wrongly called also Mêrᵉkhā mᵉhuppākh (*Mêrᵉkha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mêrᵉkhā; comp. Wickes as above, p. 14.

3. (֑) 'Athnâḥ (see above). In shorter verses 'Athnâḥ suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses *'Ôlè wyôrēd* serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnâḥ as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.
4. (֒) Rᵉbhîaʿ gādôl (Great Rᵉbhîaʿ).
5. (֓) Rᵉbhîaʿ mugrāš, i.e. Rᵉbhîaʿ with Gèreš on the same word.
6. (֣) Great Šalšèleth (see above, I. 3 *b*).
7. (֪) Ṣinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from Ṣinnôrîth similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mêrᵉkhā or Mahpākh.
8. (֥) Rᵉbhîaʿ qāṭôn (Little Rᵉbhîaʿ) immediately before 'Ôlè wᵉyôrēd.
9. (֫) Deḥî or Ṭiphḥā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. יַחַד (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).
10. (֬) Pâzēr (see above).
11 *a*. (֡) Mᵉhuppākh lᵉgarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with Pâsēq.
11 *b*. (֡) 'Azlā lᵉgarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with Pâsēq.

i B. Conjunctivi.

12. (ֽ) Mêrᵉkhā (see above).
13. (ֽ) Mûnâḥ (see above).
14. (ֽ) 'Illûy or Mûnâḥ superior.
15. (ֽ) Ṭarḥā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).
16. (ֽ) Galgal or Yèraḥ (see above).
17. (ֽ) Mᵉhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above).
18. (ֽ) 'Azlā (see above).
19. (ֽ) Šalšèleth qᵉṭannā (Little Šalšèleth).

The last three are distinguished from the disjunctives of the same name by the absence of the Pâsēq.

[20. (ֽ) Ṣinnôrîth, see above under No. 7.]

Remarks on the Accents.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

k 1. As in Greek and English (comp. *εἰμί* and *εἶμι*, *compáct* and *cómpact*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally

distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. בָּנוּ *banú* (they built), בָּנוּ *bánu* (in us); קָמָה *qáma* (she stood up), קָמָה *qamá* (standing up, *fem.*).

2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paštā (see above, I. 8 *a*, note); e.g. טָרֵם יִשְׁכָּבוּ Gen. 19, 4; so the prepositive sign in cases like וַיְהִי Gen. 8, 13. *l*

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

3. In respect to this use of the accents, every verse is regarded as a period which closes with Sillûq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditio*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 sqq.). When two or more *equivalent* accents (Zâqēph, Rᵉbhîa') occur consecutively, the accent which precedes causes a greater division than the one which follows; comp. e.g. the Zâqēph, Gen. 1, 20 *a*. *m*

4. In general a conjunctive (*Servus*) unites only such words as are closely connected in sense, e.g. a noun with a following genitive or a noun with an adjective. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* is added (§ 16. 1). *n*

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of disjunctives with their proper conjunctives) conforms in the most minute details to strict rules, for a further investigation of which we must refer to the above-mentioned works. Here, to avoid misunderstanding, we shall only notice further the rule that in the accentuation of Books תא"ם, the *Rᵉbhîa'* *mugrāš* before *Sillûq*, and the *Dᵉḥî* before *'Athnâḥ*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose Sᵉwâ *mobile* after Qameṣ, Ṣere, or Ḥolem (with Metheg) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After 'Ôlè wᵉyôrēd the 'Athnâḥ does not necessarily act as pausal (comp. Delitzsch on Ps. 45, 6). In the corrupt condition of our common texts, the system of accents can only be studied with the help of such correct editions as those of Baer. *o*

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gen. 35, 22, from וישכב onward (where the later accentuation aims at uniting verses 22 and 23 into *one*); and in the Decalogue, Ex. 20, 2 sqq.; Deut. 5, 6 sqq. The later accentuation which closes the first verse with עברים (instead of פני) is adopted here also simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses to ten, the number of the Commandments; Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373. *p*

§ 16. *Of Maqqēph and Mèthĕg.*

a These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. Maqqēph (מַקֵּף i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are to be regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֵת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gen. 1, 29, אֵת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ *all that he had*, Gen. 25, 5.

b Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אֶל־ *to*, עַד־ *until*, עַל־ *upon*, עִם־ *with*, אַל־ *ne*, אִם־ *if, whether*, מִן־ *from*, פֶּן־ *lest*, are almost always found with a following Maqqēph, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל, מֵעִם, in which case Maqqēph as a rule does not follow. Occasionally Maqqēph is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9. 12, Rem. 1. *c*), as, according to the Masora, in Deut. 27, 9. 2 Sam. 20, 23. Jer. 25, 30. 29, 25. Eccl. 9, 4 in the case of אֶל־ כָּל־; Ps. 47, 5. 60, 2. Prov. 3, 12 in the case of אֶת־, the objective particle. Longer words are however connected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הִתְהַלָּךְ־נֹחַ Gen. 6, 9. וַיְהִי־כֵן Gen. 1, 7, also two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *seventeen*, Gen. 7, 11. Comp. the Greek proclitics *ἐν*, *ἐκ*, *εἰς*, *εἰ*, *ὡς*, *οὐ*, which as *ἄτονα* lean on the following word.

c **2.** Mèthĕg (מֶתֶג i.e. *a bridle*), a small perpendicular stroke under the consonant to the left of the vowel, indicates most frequently the secondary stress or counter-tone, as opposed to the principal tone marked by the accents. It serves however in other cases to point out that the vowel should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation, but should be allowed its full sound. Hence the other names of *Mèthĕg*, *Mă'arîkh*, i.e. *lengthener*, or *Ga'yā*, i.e. *raising* of the voice; and even *Great Ga'yā* with long vowels, elsewhere *Little Ga'yā*[1].

d Further it is to be distinguished into: 1. The *light Mèthĕg*. This is divided again into (*a*) the ordinary Mèthĕg of the counter-tone, as a rule on the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. הָאָדָם (comp. also such cases as מָלְכִי־צֶדֶק); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאַרְבָּעִים (also in such cases as

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[1] Comp. as the source of this article on *Mèthĕg*, the exhaustive statement by S. Baer upon the 'Mèthĕg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen,' in A. Merx's *Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test.*, Halle, 1867, Heft i. p. 56 sqq., and 1868, Heft ii. p. 194 sqq.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ṭe'amim*, p. 30 sqq.

עֶבֶד־הַמֶּלֶךְ), and when the third is not suitable for it, even on the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This Mèthĕg may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone, when it already stands in the second, e. g. שִׁבְעֹתֵיכֶם. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open ultima, which is joined by Maqqēph to a word beginning with a toneless syllable and so without Mèthĕg (e. g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קֶשֶׁת, לֹא־אֶהְיֶה), or to a word beginning with an initial *Šᵉwâ* before the tone-syllable, e. g. שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי, מִי־לְךָ, &c.; the object is to prevent the *Šᵉwâ* becoming *quiescent*.

e The ordinary *light Mèthĕg* never stands with a moveable וְ *copulative*, consequently we do not find וְבָנִים, &c. (nor even וְבָנַי, &c., contrary to *b*, *α*; but וְזָהָב, &c., according to *b*, *δ*, comp. § 10. 2, Rem.).

f (*b*) The *firm* or *indispensable Mèthĕg*. (*α*) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, וְ *copulative*, see above), which are followed by a *Šᵉwâ mobile* preceding the tone-syllable, e. g. קָטְלָה, יִרְאוּ, יִשְׁנוּ, &c. (*β*) To emphasize a long vowel immediately before Maqqēph, e. g. שֵׁת־לִי Gen. 4, 25 (not *šŏt-lî*); hence also with כֹּל־ Ps. 138, 2, and אֵת־ Job 41, 26 (for כָּל־ and אֶת־; cf. also מֵאֵת־ Jos. 15, 18 al.). (*γ*) With Ṣere, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Sᵉghôl*, e. g. אֹהֲבֵי דַעַת Prov. 12, 1 (not *'ŏhĕbh*). (*δ*) With all vowels before composite *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. יִעְמֹד, יְקֻבְּנוּ Is. 62, 2, צְעָקִים, &c., except when the following consonant is doubled, because the sharpening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mèthĕg*; so in the cases discussed in § 28. 3, where instead of a Ḥaṭeph a short vowel has arisen, as יְעַמְּדוּ, &c. (*ε*) In the initial syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, to emphasize more sharply the *Šᵉwâ quiescens* when it stands under the ה or ח, e. g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה (*yih-yè*, *tih-yè*), &c., comp. § 63, Rem. 5. (*ζ*) With the Qameṣ of the plural forms of בַּיִת *house* (thus בָּתִּים *bâttîm*, comp. § 96 under בַּיִת), and with אַנָּה[1] *prithee!* to guard against the pronunciation *bŏttîm*, *ŏnnā*. Every kind of light Mèthĕg may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. בָּתִּים 2 Chr. 34, 11, and elsewhere.

g 2. The *grave Mèthĕg* (*Gaʿyā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed in the following cases in order more distinctly to emphasize a short vowel or an initial Šᵉwâ: (*a*) with the Pathaḥ of the article or of the prefixes ל, כ, ב, when followed by *Šᵉwâ* under a consonant without *Dageš*, e. g. הַמַּסֵּכָה, לַמַּסֵּכָה, &c., but not before יְ (before which וַ also remains without *Mèthĕg*, with the exception of וַיְהִי and וַיְחִי, when they are followed by *Maqqēph*, or accented with *Pašṭā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common *Mèthĕg*; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (*b*) with the interrogative הַ with *Pathaḥ* (except when it precedes יְ, *Dageš forte* or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g.

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[1] The common form is אָנָּא, or even with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimḥi, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone comp. Is. 38, 3. Jon. 1, 14. 4, 2. Ps. 116, 4.

הָאֹהֶלָה. When a *Šᵉwâ* follows the ה and after the *Šᵉwâ* there is an untoned syllable, the *Mèthĕg* stands to the right of the *Pathaḥ*, e. g. וַתִּבְרָכֵהוּ Gen. 27, 38. The *Šᵉwâ-Ga'yā* (ֽ) is especially important in the accentuation of the Poetical Books, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. וְהָיָה Ps. 1, 3.

h 3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, for the distinct pronunciation of those consonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; פַּדָּנָה אֲרָם (here to avoid an hiatus) 28, 2, or in such cases as רוּחַ־אֵל Job 33, 4, &c.

i *Mèthĕg* (especially in the cases mentioned in 1. *b*, *a*) gives an indication of the correct pronunciation, since it distinguishes *ā* from *ŏ*, and *ê* from *ĕ*; e. g. אָכְלָה *'ā-khᵉlā* (she has eaten), but אֹכֶלָה *'ŏkhlā* (food), since the (ָ) stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ *yî-rᵉ'û* (they fear), but יִרְאוּ *yir'û* (they see), יִשְׁנוּ (they slept), but יִשְׁנוּ (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians however do not consider the syllables lengthened by Mèthĕg as open. They regard the Šᵉwâ as *quiescent* in cases like אָכְלָה, and belonging to the preceding syllable (comp. Baer, *Thorat 'Emeth*, p. 9, and in Merx's *Archiv*, i. p. 60, Rem. 1, and especially *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 13); although, as König rightly maintains, the absence of Dageš in the consonant which follows Šᵉwâ (as e. g. כָּתְבָה) is opposed to this.

§ 17. *Of the Qᵉrê and Kᵉthîbh.*

a 1. The margin of Biblical MSS. and editions exhibits various readings of an early date (§ 3. 2), called קְרִי[1] *to be read*, since, according to the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the כְּתִיב, i.e. what is *written* in the text, and are to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Qᵉrê*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be attached to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *Kᵉthîbh*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer. 42, 6 אֲנַנוּ occurs in the text, in the margin קרי אנחנו. Read אֲנַנוּ *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנוּ) in the text, in the margin אֲנַחְנוּ. A small circle or asterisk over a word in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

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[1] On the necessity of the punctuation קְרִי (instead of קְרִי *Qᵉrî*, formerly common, and used in earlier editions of this Grammar), comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called כְּתִיב וְלֹא קְרֵי (*scripta et non legenda*), e.g. את Jer. 38, 16; אם 39, 12; ידרך 51, 3. Conversely, words not preserved in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called קְרֵי וְלֹא כְתִיב, e.g. 2 Sam. 8, 3. Jer. 31, 38. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Diqduqe ha-ṭᵉamim*, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 sqq. *b*

3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *Kᵉthîbh*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Qᵉrê* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. The instances in which this *Qᵉrê perpetuum* occurs, are הִוא (Q. הִיא) in the Pentateuch wherever הוא stands for the feminine (§ 32, Rem. 6); נַעֲרָ (Kᵉthîbh נער, Qᵉrê נַעֲרָה) always in the Hebrew (*not* in the Samaritan) Pentateuch, except Deut. 22, 19. The ordinary explanation, on the analogy of Greek *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; cf. § 2. 5, Rem. Other instances are: יִשְׁשָׂבָר (Q. יִשָּׂשכָר) Gen. 30, 18 &c., comp. Ges. *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47. 2; יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (Q. יְרוּשָׁלֵם), properly יְרוּשָׁלֵם; יְהוָֹה (Q. אֲדֹנָי *the Lord*), or (after אֲדֹנָי) יֱהוִֹה (Q. אֱלֹהִים), properly יַהֲוֶה *Yahwè* (comp. § 102. 2, Rem.); perhaps also שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם for שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, comp. § 97. 2. *c*

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

The changes which take place in the forms of the various parts of speech, depend partly on the peculiar nature of certain classes of letters and the manner in which they affect the formation of syllables, partly on certain laws of the language in regard to syllables and the tone.

§ 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

a The changes which take place among consonants, owing to the formation of words, inflexion, euphony, or to influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection, addition, transposition, softening.*

1. *Commutation*[1] may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (comp. § 6. *q*), e. g. עָלַץ, עָלַם, עָלַז *to exult*, לָאָה, לָהָה, Aram. לְעָא *to labour*, לָחַץ and נָחַץ *to press*, סָגַר and סָכַר *to close*, מָלַט and פָּלַט *to escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds were changed into the softer, e.g. צָחַק into שָׂחַק *to laugh*, גָּעַל into גָּאַל *to reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ד, שׁ into ת, צ into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

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[1] Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 sqq. ('Lautverschiebungen').

The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of roots[1] than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong (*a*) the interchange of ת and ט in *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 54. 2); (*b*) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), יָלַד for וָלַד, &c.

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, and forms with it a double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συνλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs, *b*

(*a*) most frequently with נ, e.g. מִשָּׁם (for *min-šām*) *from there*, מִזֶּה (for *min-zè*) *from this*, יִתֵּן (for *yintēn*) *he gives*. נ is *not* assimilated after the prefix לְ, e.g. לִנְגֹּף, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ח), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. שָׁבַנְתָּ (comp. however נָתַתָּ for *nāthántā*), except when another *Nun* follows, comp. § 44, Rem. 6; nor in some isolated cases, as Deut. 33, 9. Is. 29, 1. 58, 3, all in the principal pause; on הִנָּדֹף and תִּנָּדֹף Ps. 68, 3, cf. § 51, Rem. 1, and § 66, Rem. 1. *c*

(*b*) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ת, ד, e.g. יִקַּח (for *yilqaḥ*) *he takes*; תִּתַּשֵּׁא for תִּתְנַשֵּׂא; אַחַת for *'aḥadt*. *d*

(*c*) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אָנָּא *prithee!* from אָהּ נָא; ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71. *e*

In all these cases, instead of the assimilated letter, a *Dageš forte* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the doubled consonant would stand at the end of the word, since the doubling would then be inaudible (§ 20. 3 *a*), e.g. אַף *nose* (from *'anp*), תֵּת *to give* (from *tint*). *f*

The cases are less frequent where a following weaker sound is lost in pronunciation[2], and in place of it the stronger sound preceding is sharpened, i. e. takes *Dageš*, e. g. קִטַּלְתִּהוּ from קִטַּלְתָּהוּ (§ 59, Rem. 3). אֶפֶס for אֶסְלַח (§ 66. 2) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the liquids נ and ל, the aspirates א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Rejection takes place, *g*

(*a*) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, י, ל, נ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have *h*

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[1] See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

[2] The German grammarians inaccurately call such a suppression of a sound 'Rückwärts-Assimilation.'

only Šewâ, e.g. נַחְנוּ *we*, also אֲנַחְנוּ; דַּע for וְדַע; קַח for לְקַח; גַּשׁ for נְגַשׁ, הִי for נְהִי Ezek. 2, 10.

i Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel perhaps occurs in רַד Jud. 19, 11 for יָרַד; in תַּתָּה 2 Sam. 22, 41 for נָתַתָּ; in שׁוּב for יָשׁוּב Jer. 42, 10; on קָח Ezek. 17, 5 for לָקַח, and in קָחֶם Hos. 11, 3 for לָקְחָם, see § 66, Rem. 2 ad fin. In reality, however, these forms are to be regarded rather as old textual errors.

k (*b*) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when Šewâ precedes the weak consonant[1]; thus in the case of א (see further § 23. 2, 3, and § 68, Rem. 1, 2), e.g. in מוּם for מְאוּם. As a rule in such cases, however, the א is orthographically retained, e.g. לִקְרַאת for לִקְרָאת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לַמְּלָךְ for לַהַמְלָךְ (§ 23. 4 and § 35, Rem. 2), יַקְטִיל for יְהַקְטִיל (§ 53, 1).

Syncope of א with Šewâ occurs in such cases as בַּאדֹנָי for בַּאֲדֹנָי (comp. § 102. 2 *d*, Rem.)[2]; וְאֶעְשֶׂר Zech. 11, 5. On the cases where א is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35. 2, 1 Rem.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs ל״ה (§ 75. 3) is an instance of syncope. On the syncope of ה between two vowels, comp. § 23. 4 *b*.

l (*c*) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלֹּה pr. name of a city (comp. גִּילֹנִי Gilonite); וַיִּרְא, where א really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל״ה, see § 24. 2, Rem. and § 75.

Bolder changes, (especially the apocope of strong consonants,) were made in earlier periods of the language. For instance, especially the weakening of the feminine ending ת_ *âth* to ה_ *ā*, see § 44. 1 and § 80. 1.

m **4.** To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic[3] with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֱזְרוֹעַ and זְרוֹעַ *arm* (comp. *χθές*, *ἐχθές*; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).

n **5.** *Transposition*[4] seldom occurs in the grammar, e.g. הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for

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[1] Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in בִּי *prithee!* if this stands for בְּעִי (see *Lexicon*), also in ונשקה Am. 8, 8, *K^ethîbh* for וְנִשְׁקָעָה (comp. וְיִשְׁקָעָה 9, 5), and in בָּלָה Jos. 19, 3 for בַּעֲלָה (as in 15, 29). Probably however ונשקה and בלה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֹר Am. 8, 8 for כַּיְאֹר (9, 5).

[2] Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 sq., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent א.

[3] This term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Alef protheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 sqq.

[4] Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 sqq.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 451 sqq.

הִתְשַׁמֵּר (§ 54. 2) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּשֶׂב *lamb*, שִׂמְלָה and שַׂלְמָה *garment*), but is mostly confined to sibilants and liquids.

6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כּוֹכָב *star*, from *kaukabh* = *kawkabh* for *kabhkabh* (comp. Syriac *raurab*=*rabrab*); טוֹטָפוֹת *phylacteries* for *ṭaphṭāphôth;* according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ *man* from *'inš*, comp. however § 96. *o*

§ 20. *The Doubling (strengthening and sharpening) of Consonants.*

1. The doubling of a consonant, indicated by *Dageš forte*, takes place, and is necessary and essential (*Dageš necessarium*) *a*

(*a*) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession without an intermediate vowel or *Šᵉwâ mobile;* thus we have נָתַנּוּ for נָתַנְנוּ *nāthăn-nû* and שַׁתִּי for שַׁתְתִּי;

(*b*) in cases of assimilation (§ 19. 2), e.g. יִתֵּן for *yintēn*. In both these cases the *Dageš* is called *compensativum;*

(*c*) when it is characteristic of a grammatical form, e.g. לָמַד *he has learned*, לִמֵּד *he has taught* (*Dageš characteristicum*). In a wider sense this includes the cases in which a consonant is sharpened by Dageš forte, to preserve a preceding short vowel (which in an open syllable would have to be lengthened by § 26. 3), e.g. גְּמַלִּים *camels* for *gᵉmālîm;* cf. § 93. 2, Rem. 1 and Rem. 2 ad fin.; § 93. 3, Rem. 1.

This coalescing of two consonants does not take place when the first has a vowel or *Šᵉwâ mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, it should be written with a *compound Šᵉwâ* preceded by *Mèthĕg*, e.g. הוֹלְלִים, קְלָלַת, &c. (comp. § 16). This pointing is not found before the suffix ךָ, e.g. תְּבָרֶכְךָּ Gen. 27, 4, although the first כ has a *vocal Šᵉwâ*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lene*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already doubled by *Dageš forte*, since as it must have at least a *vocal Šᵉwâ*, any further contraction is impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below 3. *b*), e.g. הַלְלוּ properly הַלֲלוּ = *hal-lᵉlû*. The form חַנְּנֵנִי Ps. 9, 14 (not חָנְנֵנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'ēl = חַנֵּנִי; in the imperat. *Qal* the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׁדְדוּ Jer. 49, 28, and in the imperf. יְשַׁדְּדֵם Jer. 5, 6. *b*

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony* (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the doubling is then not so essential. This occurs[1]— *c*

[1] Comp. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his

(*a*) when two words are closely united in pronunciation by *Dageš forte conjunctivum:* (1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word having the tone on the first syllable[1], which is preceded by a word closely connected with it by *Maqqēph*, and ending in a tone-bearing ה־ with *Šᵉwâ mobile* preceding (except when ה־ is the ending of the 3rd masc. sing. perf. of a verb ל״ה), or tone-bearing ה֫, the דְּחִיק (i.e. *compressed*) of the Jewish grammarians.

Some limit the use of the *Dᵉḥîq* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following *Bᵉgadkᵉphath.* However, it also applies to cases like לְבָה־נָּא Num. 22, 6; לֶקְחָה־זֹּאת Gen. 2, 23; יְצַוֶּה־לָּךְ Ps. 91, 11; and even in *Réš*, מַעֲנָה־דָּךְ Prov. 15, 1; וּמִשְׁנֵה־כֶּסֶף Gen. 43, 15. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the Maqqēph, would be on the ultima of the first word.

d Rem. 1. When the short words זֶה *this*, and מַה (properly מָה) *what?* have *Maqqēph* after them, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in וְזֶה־שְּׁמוֹ Jer. 23, 6 (where שְׁמוֹ is counted as *one* syllable), but also in מַה־פָּרַצְתָּ Gen. 38, 29, comp. 28, 17. 31, 36. 44, 16; וְזֶה־פְּרִיהָ Num. 13, 27. 1 Chr. 22, 1. In הִנֵּה נָא־ Gen. 19, 2 (where Maqqēph is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9. 12, Rem. 1. *c*, and § 16. 1, Rem.), the Sᵉghôl belongs to the secondary-tone syllable.

e 2. Such cases as נָאֹה נְאָה Ex. 15, 1. 21; כָּמֳכָה ver. 11, and perhaps also גְּאֻלָּתְ, בָּאֻלָּם ver. 13, בָּאֻבָן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lene*, see § 21. 1, Rem. 2.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *milʿêl*, ending in ה־ or ה֫. Such a milʿêl is called by the Jewish grammarians אָתֵי מֻרְחִיק *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is for the sake of rhythm, e. g. שָׁבְתִּ שְּׁבִי Ps. 68, 19; הִרְחֵיבָה שְׁאוֹל Is. 5, 14; עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי Gen. 1, 11; אֶרְצָה כְּנַעַן 11, 31; הִשְׁבָּעָה לִי 21, 23. The prefixes לְ, כְּ, בְּ and וְ alone do not take a Dageš in this case, except in לָךְ, which has always Dageš, and לְלַיְלָה Ps. 19, 3. Such forms as מְלֵאָה שְׂחַק Ps. 26, 10; רְחַקָּה מֻנִּי Job 21, 16; and even נַעֲמָדָה יַחַד Is. 50, 8,

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Introduction to *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lpz. 1880, pp. vii–xv; F. Praetorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 17 sqq.

[1] לֵאמֹר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably retains the *Dageš forte conj.* when מֹשֶׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex. 6, 10. 29. 15, 24, &c.

i. e. the cases where the accent of the ultima is thrown back on the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*, are likewise regarded as *mil'êl*. On the other hand, e. g. חָרָה־לְךָ Gen. 4, 6, not לְךָ since the first *ā* of חָרָה could not have *Metheg*. The Imperfects and Participles of verbs ל״ה are, however, exceptions. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, as a secondary tone, appears instead of the accent, comp. עֲשֵׂה־פְרִי Gen. 1, 12; הַגִּידָה־נָּא Gen. 32, 30, and elsewhere. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, הֲמַה יִרְשׁוּ Ps. 37, 9; אֱלֹהֵי־יַעֲקֹב Is. 44, 21; עָשִׂיתָ קְעָרֹתָיו Ex. 25, 29, provided that the second word does not begin with a *B^egadk^ephath* letter (comp. e. g. אֱלֹהֵי תְהִלּוֹת Gen. 2, 4).

Rem. Such cases as קָבֶךָ Deut. 32, 6, and בָּשִׂיתָ 32, 15, and נָעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 Sam. 1, 13 are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with a B^egadk^ephath, בָּאֵלֶּם Ex. 15, 11 (comp. however above, Rem. 2); תֵּל־ Jos. 8, 28; בְּזוֹרֹעַ Ps. 77, 16; כֵּן־הָיִא Job 5, 27. It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *â*, such as קוּמוּ צְאוּ Gen. 19, 14; comp. Ex. 12, 31; Ex. 12, 15 (שְׁאֹר). Deut. 2, 24; also לֹא Gen. 19, 2. 1 Sam. 8, 19; לוֹ Judg. 18, 19. Esth. 6, 13; מְעָט Hos. 8, 10; גְּרוּ Jer. 49, 30: יְרוּ 1 Sam. 15, 6. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13. 2, Rem., and Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 4th ed. on Ps. 94, 12 *a*), we especially referred to those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *Š^ewâ*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems however to indicate that these are cases of the אָתֵי מְרָחִיק, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in י after a preceding *î* (Ps. 118, 5. 18), and even after *û* (Ps. 94, 12), is to be explained as an attempt to preserve its consonantal power by sharpening; see König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 54, *b*. *g*

(*b*) When a consonant with *Š^ewâ* is sharpened by *Dageš forte dirîmens* to make the *Š^ewâ* more audible. In almost all cases the sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the consonant itself, which is almost always a Liquid, Sibilant or the emphatic *Qôph*; comp. עִנְּבִי Lev. 25, 5. Deut. 32, 32 (for עִנְבִי); בַּגְּלָלְתְּךָ Is. 33, 1 (where, however, בְּכַלּוֹתְךָ is to be read); comp. Nah. 3, 17. Job 9, 18. 17, 2. Joel 1, 17 (with מ); Is. 57, 6 (with ל); Judg. 20, 43[1]. 1 Sam. 1, 6 (with ר); Gen. 49, 10. 17 (and so always in עִקְּבֵי Judg. 5, 22. Song 1, 8 *h*

[1] The ordinary reading הִרְדִּיפֻהוּ, where ד is without *Dageš*, assumes the ר to have *Dageš*.

and עֲקֻבוֹת Ps. 77, 20. 89, 52); Ex. 15, 17. Deut. 23, 11. Judg. 20, 32. 1 Sam. 28, 10 (ק); Ex. 2, 3. Is. 58, 3. Am. 5, 21. Ps. 141, 3. Prov. 4, 13. 15, 13 (צ); Prov. 27, 25 (שׁ); Is. 5, 28. Ps. 37, 15. Jer. 51, 56. Neh. 4, 7 (שׂ). Moreover, with כ Hos. 3, 2; with ב Is. 9, 3. Jer. 4, 7; with ת 1 Sam. 10, 11. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

i (*c*) When a vowel is to be made more emphatic, especially in the principal *pause*, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following Liquid, Judg. 5, 7 (תֶּחְדַּלְנָה). Job 29, 21 (וְיִחֲלּוּ); 22, 12 (רֻמּוּ); Ezek. 27, 19 (in נ); in ת Is. 33, 12. 41, 17. Jer. 51, 58, perhaps also Job 21, 13 (יְבַלֵּתוּ).

k (*d*) When a Liquid is doubled by *Dageš forte firmativum* in the pronouns הַזֶּה, הַלָּזֶה, אַלֶּה, and in לָמָּה *why?* cf. also בַּמֶּה, בַּמָּה *whereby?* בַּכַּמָּה *how much?* (§ 102. 2 *d*), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

l **3.** Omission of the doubling, or at least the loss of the *Dageš forte* occurs,

(*a*) *almost always* at the end of a word, since here a double consonant cannot easily be pronounced[1]. In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27. 2 *b*), e. g. רֹב *multitude*, from רבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent and after the article עָם, from עמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant sharpened. On the exceptions אַתְּ *thou* (fem.) and נָתַתְּ *thou hast given* Ezek. 16, 33, comp. § 10. 3, Rem.

m (*b*) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šᵉwâ mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the doubling to be less audible. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on יְ and יִ after the article, see § 35. 1, Rem.; on יְ after מַה־, § 37. 1, Rem.), and in the liquids מ[2], נ and ל, less frequently in the sibilants, and this chiefly when a guttural follows; (comp., however, Is. 62, 2, מְאַסָּפִיו, as ed. Mant. correctly reads, while Baer has מְאֻסָּף with compensatory

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[1] So in Latin *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis; mel, mellis; os, ossis*. In Middle High German the doubling of consonants never takes place at the end of a word, but only in the middle (as in the Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles; swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

[2] *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in מְ when it is the prefix of the participle, hence Ps. 104, 3 הַמְקָרֶה *who layeth the beams*, but הַמִּקְרָה *the roof* Eccles. 10, 18 (comp. הַמִּלְאכָה *the work*, &c.).

lengthening, and others even מְאָס׳; מְשָׁמַנִּי Gen. 27, 28. 39; 38, 24 מִשְׁלֹשׁ for מִשׁ׳, הַשַּׁלְבִּים 1 Ki. 7, 28; אֶשֶׁקֶה־ 1 Ki. 19, 20 from נָשַׁק, הַשְׁפַּתַיִם Ezek. 40, 43 and לַשְׁפָנִים Ps. 104, 18; מְשְׁתִּים Jon. 4, 11, הַצְפַרְדְּעִים Ex. 8, 1 and elsewhere), and finally in the emphatic ק[1].

Of the *B^egadk^ephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מִבְצִיר Judg. 8, 2, ג in מִגְבּוּרָתָם Ezek. 32, 30, ד in נִדְחֵי (Is. 11, 12. 56, 8. Ps. 147, 2; *not* in Jer. 49, 36), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָדַח; lastly, ת in תִּתְצוּ Is. 22, 10. Comp. moreover, הֲגִיוֹן and זִכְרוֹן, the *constr. st.* of הִגָּיוֹן and זִכָּרוֹן, also שִׁגְיֹנוֹת the *constr. st. plur.* of שִׁגָּיוֹן.—Examples, עֲוִרִים, וַיְהִי (so always the preformative יְ in the *imperf.* of verbs), יִקְחוּ, יִשְׂאוּ, פָּקְחִי, מָלְאוּ, הַלָּלוּ, הִנְנִי, לַמְנַצֵּחַ, מַקְלוֹת, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover, the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in an open syllable, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of a *Dageš forte implicitum* (see § 22. 1, Rem.).

(*c*) In the Gutturals, see § 22. 1.

Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the doubling is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, which is mostly *ḥireq* (comp. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יְחִיתָן *he makes them afraid*, for יְחֻתֵּן (Hab. 2, 17, where perhaps however it is more correct to suppose with König, a formation after the analogy of verbs ע״ו, and moreover to read יְחִיתֻךְ with the LXX), זִיקוֹת Is. 50, 11 for זִקּוֹת. *n*

2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the doubling is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following נ. Thus for מְעֻזֶּנְיָה Is. 23, 11, מְעֻזֶּיהָ (or מְעֻנֶּיהָ) is to be read; and for תָּמְנוּ Lam. 3, 22, תַּמּוּ is the correct reading. קָבְנוֹ Num. 23, 13 is not an instance of compensation (see § 67, Rem. 2 at the end). *o*

§ 21. *The Aspiration of the Tenues*[2].

The *harder* sound of the six *B^egadk^ephath* letters, indicated by *Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6. 3 and § 13). The original hard *a*

[1] According to some also in ט in תִּטְעִי Is. 17, 10; but see Baer on this passage.

[2] Comp. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 sqq.

pronunciation is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Šᵉwâ mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e. g. פָּרַץ *pāraṣ*, יִפְרֹץ *yiphrōṣ*, כֹּל *kōl*, לְכֹל *lᵉkhōl*. Hence the *Bᵉgadkᵉphath* take *Dageš lene*,

b (1) at the beginning of words: (*a*) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e. g. עַל־כֵּן *ʿal-kēn* (*therefore*), עֵץ פְּרִי *ʿēṣ pᵉrî* (*fruit-tree*); (*b*) at the beginning of a chapter, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gen. 1, 1, and at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15. 3), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel having an influence on the following tenuis, e. g. וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר *and it was so, that when*, Judg. 11, 5 (on the other hand וַיְהִי־כֵן Gen. 1, 7).

c Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, י, ו, א, as such, naturally do not close a syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *Bᵉgadkᵉphath*, e. g. וּמְצָא בָהּ, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (exceptions קוֹרֹתֹהִי Is. 34, 11; שָׁלֵן בָּהּ Ezek. 23, 42; and אֲדֹנָי בָּם Ps. 68, 18), as well as by ה with *Mappîq*, hence e. g. there is *Dageš lene* in עָלַי פִּיהֶם and always after יְהוָה, since the *Qerê perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) presupposes the reading אֲדֹנָי.

d 2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in close connexion. This almost always occurs in the prefixes בְּ and כְּ when in the combinations בְּבַ, בְּכַ, בְּפַ (i. e. in the *Bᵉgadkᵉphath* with Šᵉwâ before the same or a kindred aspirate) and בְּמַ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*[1], 1880, p. 92, on Ps. 23, 3); comp. e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 1. Is. 10, 9. Ps. 34, 2. Job 19, 2; כְּגַ is uncertain; כְּדַ, בְּדַ, כְּתַ, and בְּתַ according to David Qimḥi should remain aspirated, also כְּגַ, כְּבַ, and כְּפַ according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *Bᵉgadkᵉphath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ח in בַּחֲמִשָּׁה 1 Ki. 12, 32). Here also belong the cases mentioned above, § 20. *e* (mostly *tenues* before א). In all these cases the object evidently is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the כ and פ, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Χαλδαῖοι, Φαρφάρ, &c. The forms כַּדְכֹּד (after וַיִּשַּׁמְתִּי) Is. 54, 12, and כַּלְכֵּל (after וְנִלְאֵיתִי) Jer. 20, 9 are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Šᵉwâ quiescens*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant[2],

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[1] Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-ṭᵉamim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.* i. p. 62).

[2] יָקְתְאֵל Jos. 15, 38 (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), 2 Ki. 14, 7, and יָקְדְעָם Jos. 15, 56 are inexplicable exceptions.

e. g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (*he heals*), קְטַלְתֶּם *ye have killed;* on the other hand after *Šᵉwâ mobile* there is the soft pronunciation, e. g. רְפָא *rᵉphā* (*heal thou*), כִּבְדָה *she was heavy*.

On וַיִּשְׁבַּ, קָטַלְתְּ and similar forms, see § 10. 3. *f*

Whether *Šᵉwâ* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the respective forms. It is almost always vocal,

(*a*) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. רִדְפוּ *pursue ye* (not רְדָפוּ) from רָדַף; מַלְכֵי (not מַלְכֵּי), because it is properly *mălăkhê* (but מַלְכִּי from the ground-form *malk*).

(*b*) With the כ of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. ־ְךָ, ־ְכֶם, ־ְכֶן, since the Šᵉwâ mobile is characteristic of this form (see § 58. 3 *b*; § 91. 1).

Rem. Forms like שָׁלַחְתְּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ת after the vowel, were originally שָׁלַחַתְּ, &c.; Pathaḥ being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the tenuis; comp. § 28. 4. *g*

§ 22. *Peculiarities of the Gutturals.*

The four gutturals ח, ה, ע, א, in consequence of their peculiar pronunciation, have special characteristics, but א, as the weakest of these sounds, and sometimes also ע (which elsewhere as one of the harder gutturals is the opposite of א) differ in several respects from the stronger ה and ח. *a*

1. They do not admit of *Dageš forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 1), the doubling of the aspirates was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn here between (*a*) the complete omission of the doubling, and (*b*) the mere *trace* of the doubling, commonly called *half*, or better, *virtual* doubling. *b*

In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened[1]. But a distinction must be again drawn between the full lengthening of *Pathaḥ* into *Qameṣ*—mostly before א (always under the ה of the article, see § 35), as a rule also before ע, less frequently before ה, and least often before ח—and the half lengthening of *Pathaḥ* into *Sᵉghôl*, mostly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*. In the other case (*virtual* *c*

[1] Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle;* German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the doubling shows a deterioration of the language. The fresher and more original phonetic system of the Arabic (§ 1. 6) still admits everywhere of the doubling of the gutturals.

doubling) the *Dageš* is omitted, but the doubling is regarded as having taken place, and therefore the preceding vowel remains short. This *virtual* doubling consequently occurs most frequently with ח, usually with ה, less frequently with ע, and very seldom with א. Examples of (*a*) מֵאַיִן for *mi"ēn;* הָאָדָם for *ha"ādām;* הָעָם, הָהָר, יֶחְבָּא (for *yiḥḥābē'*); further אֶחָד, הֶחָג, הֶהָרִים, הֶעָנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ע in § 35).—Of (*b*) הַחֹדֶשׁ, מְחוּט (from *minḥût*), הַהוּא, בְּעֵר, נְאֻם, &c.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dageš forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageš forte implicitum, occultum,* or *delitescens*).

d **2.** They prefer before them, sometimes also after them, a short A-sound (comp. Rem. 1), because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the guttural sounds[1].

Hence (*a*) before a guttural, *Pathaḥ* readily takes the place of another short vowel as well as of a rhythmically long *ē* and *ō*, e. g. זָבַח *sacrifice*, not *zèbĕḥ;* שָׁמַע *report*, not *šĕmĕ'*. This is more especially so, when *a* was the original vowel of the word, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imper. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שְׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yišlōḥ*); Perf. Pi'el שִׁלַּח (not *šillēḥ*); יַחְמֹד *he will desire* (not *yiḥmōd*); נַעַר *a youth*. In the last three cases *ă* is the original vowel.

e Rem. That Seghôl remains before א in such cases as דָּשְׁאָ, טָנָא, פָּלָא, פָּרָא, is to be explained from the fact that א here has lost its consonantal value, and is only retained as a vowel letter (see § 23. 1).

f (*b*) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i. e. after all except *Qameṣ*, the hard gutturals (consequently not א) require, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ă* (*Pathaḥ furtive*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathaḥ* is placed under the guttural, but sounded before it. It is, therefore, merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. רוּחַ *rû^aḥ*, נוֹעַ, רֵעַ, הִשְׁלִיחַ, גְּבוֹהַּ (when consonantal ה is final it necessarily takes Mappîq). But at the beginning of a syllable, e. g. רוּחִי &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ă* is no longer heard.

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[1] Like the gutturals, the A-sound is produced by opening the mouth and directly emitting a breath, while the vowels of the I-class are formed partly by the palate, and those of the U-class by the lips.

I^{a}ch for *ich*, &c., are analogous instances amongst some of the Swiss[1]; a *Pathaḥ furtive* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesîaḥ*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. *ZAW.* iv. 79) write ε, sometimes α, instead of *Pathaḥ furtive*, e. g. נַח Νῶε, יְהוּדָע Ἰεδδούα (also Ἰαδδού). *g*

Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the *following* vowel, especially in the Segholate forms, e. g. נַעַר (not *naʿăr*) *a youth*, פֹּעַל (not *pōʿĕl*) *deed*. The only exceptions are אֹהֶל, בֹּהֶן, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם. *h*

2. Where in the present form of the language *ĕ*, attenuated from *Pathaḥ*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S^{e}ghôl* as being between *ă* and *ĭ* is frequently used instead, e. g. יֶחְבַּשׁ (also יַחְבֹּשׁ), יֶהְגֶּה, חֶבְלִי, עֶמְדָּה, נֶאְדָּר, &c. *i*

On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Ḥireq* is retained even under gutturals when the syllable is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e. g. חַגָּה, הַלֵּל, חַטָּה; but when this sharpening falls away, S^{e}ghôl is apt to reappear, e. g. חֶגְיוֹן constr. חֶגְיוֹן, חֲזִיוֹן constr. חֶזְיוֹן. *k*

3. Instead of *simple Šᵉwâ mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a *compound Šᵉwâ*, e. g. שְׁחָטוּ, אֲמַר, אֲהָלִים, &c. *l*

4. When a guttural with *quiescent Šᵉwâ* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strong closed syllable (with *quiescent Šᵉwâ*) can remain, especially with ח and ע at the end of the tone syllable, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ, יָדַעְתָּ, but also *before* the tone (see examples under No. 2, Rem. 2), and similarly with ה and א. *m*

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially, by a *Ḥaṭeph* taking the place of a *quiescent Šᵉwâ* (owing to the nature of the gutturals), and especially the *Ḥaṭeph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יַחְשֹׁב- (also יַחְשֹׁב); יֶחֱזַק- (also יֶחְזַק); פָּעֳלוֹ *pŏʿŏlô* (for פָּעְלוֹ). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Ḥaṭeph* is weakened into *Šᵉwâ mobile*, then instead of *Ḥaṭeph* its vowel alone is written, e. g. יַעַמְדוּ (from יַעֲמֹד-), נַעַרְמוּ, פָּעָלְךָ (from פֹּעַל). The original forms, according to § 28. 3, were *yaʿᵐdhû*, *naʿʳmû*, *pŏʿᵏkhā*. Hence יַעַמְדוּ-, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יַעֲמְדוּ-, &c., and would be better transcribed by *yaʿᵃmᵉdhû*, &c.

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Šᵉwâ* under the gutturals *hard* (דָּגֵשׁ), and the *compound Šᵉwâ* they call *soft* (רָפֶה). See further in the observations on verbs with gutturals, §§ 62–65. *n*

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[1] Comp. also our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after *ē*, *ī*, *ū* and *ou*, e. g. *here* (pronounced *hēᵉr*), *fire* (*fīᵉr*), *pure* (*pūᵉr*), and *our* (*oūᵉr*).—G. W. C.]

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *compound Šᵉwâs*, it may be remarked, (*a*) א, ה, ח, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer ֱ, but א prefers ֲ, e. g. חֲמוֹר *ass*, הָרֹג *to kill*, אֱמֹר *to say*; when however the tone syllable is moved further forward, the ֲ under א changes into the lighter ֱ, e. g. אֱלֵי (poetic for אֶל־) *to*, but אֲלֵיכֶם *to you*, אֱכֹל *to eat*, but אָכַל־ (*ᵃkhŏl*, toneless on account of Maqqēph). Comp. § 27, Rem. 5. Likewise ֱ is naturally found under א in cases where the *Ḥaṭeph* arises from a weakening of an original *ā* (e. g. אֲרִי *lion*, ground-form *'ary*), and ֳ if there be a weakening of an original *u* (e. g. אֳנִי *a fleet*, עֳנִי *affliction*, comp. § 93, Rem. 3 and 6. *c*).

p (*b*) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* occurs instead of a *simple Šᵉwâ mobile*, e. g. מְאֲנָה, הָעֲלָה (see § 63, Rem. 4); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Ḥaṭeph* is regulated by it, e. g. *Perf. Hiph.* הֶעֱמִיד (see above, No. 2, Rem. 2), *Infin.* הַעֲמִיד (after the form הַקְטִיל); *Perf. Hoph.* הָעְמַד (after הָקְטַל); but cf. שְׁחֲדוּ Job 6, 22 (§ 64. 1).

q **5.** The ר, which in sound approximates to the gutturals (§ 6. *c*), shares with the gutturals proper their first, and to a certain extent their second, peculiarity, viz.

(*a*) The exclusion of the doubling, to compensate for which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e. g. בֵּרַךְ *he has blessed* for *birrakh*, בָּרֵךְ *to bless* for *barrēkh*.

r (*b*) The preference for *ă* as a preceding vowel, e. g. וַיַּרְא *and he saw* (from יָרְאָה); וַיָּסַר for וַיָּסָר *and he turned back*, also for וַיָּסֶר *and he caused to turn back*.

s The exceptions to letter *a* are מָהֳרַת *mŏrrăth*, Prov. 14, 10; כָּהֳרַת *khŏrrăth* and שָׁהֳרֵךְ *šŏrrēkh*, Ezek. 16, 4 (comp. Prov. 3, 8); שַׁהֲרוֹת Song 5, 2; הַהֲעָמָה 1 Sam. 1, 6; הַהֲרָאיתֶם 1 Sam. 10, 24. 17, 25. 2 Ki. 6, 32; הַהֲרִיפֵהוּ Jud. 20, 43 (cf. § 20. 2 *b*); מַהֲדֹךְ 1 Sam. 23, 28. 2 Sam. 18, 16; also on account of דחיק (§ 20. *c*) Jer. 22, 22. Prov. 15, 1. 20, 22. 2 Chron. 26, 10; and אתי מרחיק (§ 20. *f*) 1 Sam. 15, 6. Jer. 39, 12. Hab. 3, 13. Prov. 11, 21. Job 39, 9. Ezra 9, 6. A kind of virtual doubling (after מִ for מִן) is found in מֵרֲנֵךְ Is. 14, 3. In Samaritan and Arabic this doubling has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e. g. Σάρρα for שָׂרָה.

§ 23. *The Feebleness of the Aspirates* א *and* ה.

a **1.** The א, a light and scarcely audible guttural, as a rule entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e. g. מָצָא, מָלֵא, הוֹצִיא (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to No. 2, e. g. מְצָאַנִי, הוֹצִיאַנִי, since the א then stands at the

beginning of the syllable, not מְצָאנִי, הוֹצִיאנִי), מְצֹא, בָּלוֹא (comp., however, § 74. 1), מָצָאתָ (for *māṣa'tā*), תִּמְצָאנָה. Similarly in cases like חֵטְא, וַיְרָא, שָׁוְא, &c. (§ 19. *l*), and even in אַפֶּלָא, דָּשֶׁא (see above, § 22. *e*), the א has only an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand, א is generally retained as a strong consonant *b* whenever it begins a syllable, e.g. אָמַר, מַיְאַסּוּ, or when it is protected by a *Ḥateph* in a partially closed syllable, e.g. לֶאֱכֹל, and, as an exception, even in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šᵉwâ* after a preceding *Sᵉghôl*, e.g. נֶאְדָּר, וַיֶּאְסֹר *ne'dār*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of א may be entirely lost,

(*a*) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of *c* a word after *Šᵉwâ mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šᵉwâ*, and the א is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. רָאשִׁים *heads* (for *rᵉ'āšîm*), מָאתַיִם *two hundred* (for *mᵉ'ātáyim*), שָׁאטְךָ Ezek. 25, 6 for שָׁאֲטְךָ; בּוֹדָאם Neh. 6, 8 for בְּוֹדְאָם; מאום Job 31, 7. Dan. 1, 4 for מְאוּם; פֵּארָה for פְּאֵרָה Is. 10, 33; חֹטָאִים *ḥôṭîm*, 1 Sam. 14, 33 for חֹטְאִים (comp. § 74, Rem. 2, and § 75, Rem. 21); הָרֹאבְנִי Num. 34, 14, from רָאוּבֵן; so always חַטֹּאת or חַטֹּאות 1 Kings 14, 16. Mic. 1, 5, &c., for חַטָּאוֹת. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the א occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלָאכָה *work* for מַלְאָכָה, יִשְׁמָעֵאל for יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; שְׂמֹאל or שְׂמֹאול *the left hand*, ground-form *sam'āl*.

(*b*) When it originally closed a syllable. In Hebrew א is then gen- *d* erally (by § 22. 4) pronounced with a *Ḥateph*, ֱ or ֲ. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following א only orthographically, e.g. וַיָּאצֶל Num. 11, 25 for וַיֶּאֱצֶל (comp. Judg. 9, 41), and פָּארוּר Joel 2, 6 for פְּאֵרוּר; יאכֶל obscured from יֶאֱכַל for יֶאֱכֶל (comp., however, § 68. 1); לָאמֹר for לֵאמֹר, &c. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וְאֹרָנִי, &c. (see § 102. 2), וַיֵּאת Is. 41, 25, וָאבֶךְ Ezek. 28, 16 for וַאֲאַבֶּדְךָ; comp. Deut. 24, 10. 1 Kings 11, 39. Is. 10, 13.

Instead of this א which has lost its consonantal value, there is often written one of *e* the vowel letters ו and י according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ô* and the latter with *ê* and *î*, e.g. בּוֹר *cistern* for בְּאֵר, רִים *buffalo* for רְאֵם; comp. also לוֹ for לֹא *not* 1 Sam. 2, 16 and frequently in the *Kᵉthîbh*. At the end of the word ה also is written for א, יְמַלֵּה *he fills* for יְמַלֵּא Job 8, 21 (see below, No. 4, Rem.).

f **3.** When א is only a vowel letter or an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is also sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19. *k*), e. g. יָצָתִי Job 1, 21 for יָצָאתִי; מָלֵתִי Job 32, 18 for מָלֵאתִי; תּוֹמִם Gen. 25, 24 for תְּאוֹמִם; אֲחַטָּנָה 31, 39 for אֲחַטָּאֶנָּה; שְׁלָחֵךְ 1 Sam. 1, 17 for שְׁאֵלָךְ; רֵמִים Ps. 22, 22 for רְאֵמִים; גְּוָה Job 22, 29 for גֵּאֶוָה; הַבְּרֹתִי 1 Chron. 11, 39 for הַבְּאֵר, and so 2 Sam. 23, 37; שֵׁרִית 1 Chron. 12, 38 for שְׁאֵרִית; לְהַשְׁוֹת 2 Ki. 19, 25 *K*e*thîbh* for לְהַשְׁאוֹת (comp. Is. 37, 26); חֵמָה Job 29, 6 for חֶמְאָה[1]. In מַפֶּלֶת 1 Ki. 5, 25 (for מַמְאֶבֶת) the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; but in מָסֹרֶת Ezek. 20, 37 (if for מַמְאֶסֶת) the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, No. 2. On אֹמַר for אֹאמַר see § 68. 2.

g Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long *a*, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qameṣ; as in קָאם Hos. 10, 14 for קָם *he rose up;* רָאשׁ Prov. 10, 4. 13, 23 for רָשׁ *poor;* but in 2 Sam. 11, 1 the *K*e*thîbh* הַמַּלְאָכִים *the messengers*, is the proper reading; comp. § 7. 2.

h 2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of taking a compound *Šᵉwâ*, retains the corresponding long vowel, e. g. אֵזוֹר *girdle* for אֶזוֹר; cf. § 84. *a*, No. 12, Rem., and the analogous cases in § 52, note, § 63, Rem. 4, § 76. *d*, and § 93, Rem. 3 (אֹהָלִים).

i 3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final *û*, *î*, and *ô*, e. g. הָלְכוּא for הָלְכוּ Jos. 10, 24 (before א!), אָבוּא Is. 28, 12. These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography,' as early scribal errors, as in יִנָּשְׂאוּא Jer. 10, 5 for יִנָּשְׂאוּ; and in נָשׂוּא Ps. 139, 20 for נָשְׂאוּ. Comp. also יְהוּא Eccl. 11, 3 (§ 75, Rem. 3. *e*); נָקְיָא for נָקִי *pure;* לוּא for לוּ *if;* אֶפוֹא for אֵפוֹ *thus;* רְבוֹא for רִבּוֹ *myriad*, Neh. 7, 66. 72. On הוּא and הִיא see § 32, Rem. 6.

k **4.** The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its consonantal sound (i. e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word[2]; on the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless it is expressly marked by *Mappîq* as a strong consonant (§ 14. 1). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost,

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[1] In Jer. 22, 23, נֶחְנַתְּ is unquestionably a corruption of נֶאֶנַחְתְּ for נֶאֱנַחְתָּ.

[2] Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֲשָׂהאֵל, פְּדָהצוּר, which are compounded of two words and consequently are sometimes divided. Cf. forms like חֲזָהאֵל for חֲזָאֵל. Here belongs also יְפַהפִיָּה, which occurs in many MSS. for the artificially divided form יְפֵה־פִיָּה in the printed texts, Jer. 46, 20.

and a simple ה or more correctly ה (with *Rāphè* as an indication of the weakening) takes its place, e.g. לָהּ *to her* for לָהָּ, Zech. 5, 11 and elsewhere (comp. § 103. *g*, also § 58. *g*, and § 91. *e*). Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope:* (*a*) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *Šwâ mobile* (see above, letter *c*, with א), e.g. לַבֹּקֶר for לְהַבֹּקֶר (the ה of the article being syncopated as it almost always is); בָּאָרֶץ for בְּהָאָרֶץ; יַפְקִיד *Impf. Hiph'il* for יְהַפְקִיד; יְוֹנָתָן for יְהוֹנָתָן; בְּנֵיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֵם Ezek. 27, 32. (*b*) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סוּסוֹ (also written סוּסֹה) from *sûsahu* (*a*+*u*=*ô*). A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in בָּם (from בָּהֶם), &c.

Rem. In connexion with *ō* and *ē*, a ה which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into ו or י (חָבָה = חַבִּי, רָאָה = רָאוֹ Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases into א in the later Aramaic orthography, especially with *ā*, e.g. שְׁנָא *sleep* Ps. 127, 2 for שְׁנָה; נָשָׂא Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׂה, &c. Thus it is evident that final ה as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance. *l*

§ 24. *Changes of the Weak Letters* ו *and* י.

The ו *w* and י *y* are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly to the corresponding vowels *u* and *i* (comp. § 5. *b*, note 1), that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important for the formation of those weak stems, in which ו or י occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 sqq., § 85, § 93). *a*

1. The cases in which ו and י lose their consonantal power, i. e. merge into a vowel, belong almost exclusively to the middle and end of words; at the beginning they remain as consonants[1].

The cases are to be further distinguished—

(*a*) When either ו or י with *quiescent Šwâ* stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel (*u* or *i*), it has not strength enough in this position to maintain the consonantal sound, but merges in the homogeneous vowel. More accurately they pass into vowels (ו into *u*, י into *i*), and are thus contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel which is necessarily long, but they are mostly retained orthographically as vowel letters. Thus הוֹשַׁב for הָוְשַׁב; *b*

[1] וְ for וַ *and*, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. 1 and § 104. *e*. [It is more probable a וְ is here written defectively after ו, than that this should be an exception to such a fundamental principle.—G. W. C.] On the cases where י is softened to *i* at the beginning of a word, comp. § 47. 2, note.

יִיתֵן for יִתֵּן; so also at the end of the word, e.g. עִבְרִי *a Hebrew*, properly *'ibrîy*, hence fem. עִבְרִיָּה; עָשׂוּ Job 41, 25 for עָשׂוּוּ (comp. עֲשׂוּוֹת 1 Sam. 25, 18 *K'thîbh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, ו and י are retained as strong consonants (see § 8. 5), e.g. שָׁלְוִי *quiet*, וְוִי *the month of May*, גּוֹי *nation*, גָּלְוֹי *revealed*. But with a preceding *ă* the ו and י are mostly contracted into *ŏ* and *ĕ* (see below, 2, *b*), though at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, 2, *b*, Rem.).

c Thus an initial יְ coalesces after the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ, which are then pronounced with *ĭ* (comp. § 28. 1), and also almost always after מִ (see § 102. *b*), with the *ĭ* to *î*, e.g. בִּיהוּדָה *in Judah* (for בְּיְ׳), וִיהוּדָה *and Judah*, כִּיאֹר *as the Nile*, לִיהוּדָה *for Judah*, מִידֵי *from the hands of*.

d (*b*) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the word after *quiescent Šwâ*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e.g. בֶּכָה from *bakhy*, as well as the regularly formed בְּכִי *weeping*; comp. for these forms, § 93. 1, Rem. 6) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes homogeneous *Ḥireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šwâ* (e.g. פְּרִי from *piry*, properly *pary*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e.g. תְּהוּ from *tuhw*).

e Rem. In Syriac, where the feeble letters more readily become vowel sounds, a simple *i* may stand at the beginning of words instead of יְ or יִ. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write Ἰουδά for יְהוּדָה, Ἰσαάκ for יִצְחָק. Hence may be explained the *Syriac usage* (occurring also in Hebrew) of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, when it properly had a simple *vocal Šwâ*, e.g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali[1]) וְיִלֶּלֶת Jer. 25, 36 for וְיֵלֶלֶת (so Baer), בִּיתְרוֹן Eccles. 2, 13 for בְּיִתְרוֹן, even וְיִחֲלוּ Job 29, 21 (in some editions) for וְיִחֲלוּ. According to Qimḥi יִקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqṭōl*, and therefore the pointing in the 1st pers. was אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *ĭ* for *ĕ* in the 1st pers. In Ps. 45, 10 and Prov. 30, 17, instead of בִּיקְרוֹתֶיךָ and לִיקְהַת (so Ben-Naphtali), Baer has recently adopted the readings of Ben-Ašer, בְּיִקְ׳ and לְיִקְ׳ (comp. *Dikduke ha-ṭ'amim*, p. 14).

f **2.** With regard to the *choice* of the long vowel, in which ו and י quiesce after such a vocalization and contraction, the following rules may be laid down:

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[1] According to Abulwalid, Ben-Naphtali regarded the *Yodh* in *all* such cases as a vowel letter.

(*a*) With a short *homogeneous* vowel ו and י are contracted into their corresponding long vowel (*û* or *î*), see above, 1, *a*.

(*b*) With *ă* they form the diphthongs *ŏ* and *ĕ* according to § 7. 1, e. g. מֵיטִיב from מַיְטִיב; יוֹשִׁיב from יַוְשִׁיב, &c.[1]

Rem. The above-mentioned rejection of the half vowels ו and י (letter *b*) occurs especially at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (*ă*), when according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in verbs ל״ה, e. g. originally גָּלַי = גָּלַ(י) = גָּלָה, since *ă* after the rejection of the י stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to *ā*. The ה is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also שָׁלָה for *šālāw*[2]. On the development of יִגְלֶה from יִגְלַי, see § 75. 1; on קָם as perf. and part. of קוּם, see § 72. 2 and 4; on יֶלֶד, &c., from ולד, see § 69. 1. *g*

§ 25. *Firm or Immovable Vowels.*

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and immovable can be known, certainly and fully, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases from a comparison with Arabic (comp. § 1. *m*). This holds especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i.e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened for the sake of *rhythm*, i.e. on account of the special laws which in Hebrew regulate the tone and the formation of syllables. The latter, when a change takes place in the position of the tone or in the division of syllables, readily become short again, or are reduced to a mere *vocal Šwâ*. *a*

1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule, unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, *î*, *ê*, *û*, *ô*, can mostly be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (ִי, ֵי, וּ, וֹ); e. g. יֵיטִיב *he does well*, הֵיכָל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8. 4) is indeed common enough, e. g. יֵטֵב and יֵטִב for יֵיטִיב; גְּבֶל for גְּבוּל; קֹל for קוֹל, but this is merely an orthographic *b*

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[1] Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ă* are, מַיְמִינִים 1 Chron. 12, 2 (comp. § 70. 2); אַיְסִירֵם Hos. 7, 12; הַיְשַׁר Ps. 5, 9 *Qᵉrê;* the locatives בַּיְתָה, מִצְרַיְמָה, &c. Sometimes both forms are found, as עַוְלָה and עוֹלָה; comp. חַי *living*, constr. state חֵי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form *mawt*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form *ʿayn* [*ʿain*]) *eye*, constr. עֵין.

[2] The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically גַּלַי, but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX Σινᾶ. But even in Arabic שלא is written for שָׁלַו and pronounced *salā*.

licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the *û* in גְּבֻל is just as necessarily long, as in גְּבוּל, comp. § 8. 4.

As an exception, a merely tone-long vowel of both these classes is sometimes written *fully*, e.g. יְקְטוֹל for יְקְטֹל.

c **2.** The essentially and naturally long *â* (*Qameṣ impure*)[1], unless it has become *ô* (comp. § 9. *q*), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by א; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, comp. § 9. 1, § 23. *g*. The naturally long *â* and the merely tone-long *ā* can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.

d **3.** Short vowels in sharpened syllables, i.e. before *Dageš forte*, are as a rule unchangeable, e.g. גַּנָּב *thief*, also generally in closed syllables (§ 26. 2, *b*) which are not final, e.g. מַלְבּוּשׁ *garment*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*, מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*.

e **4.** Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to the omission of the doubling in a guttural or ר, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, e.g. מֵאָן for *mi"ēn*; בֹּרַךְ for *burrakh*.

§ 26. *Syllable-formation*[2] *and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.*

a Apart from the unchangeable vowels (§ 25), the use of short or long vowels, i.e. their lengthening, shortening or change into vocal *Šᵉwâ*, depends on the *theory of syllable-formation*. The initial and final syllables especially require careful consideration.

1. The *initial* syllable. Every syllable necessarily begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial ו and י (cf. note on § 5. *b*), a consonantal vowel[3]. The copula is the only exception to this rule[4]. According to the Tiberian pronunciation וְ *and* is softened into the corresponding

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[1] The older grammarians (see Gesenius, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 160) called those vowels *impure* which should be properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus כָּתָב was regarded as merely by licence for כָּתָאב, &c.

[2] Comp. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 sqq.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 sqq.

[3] The only exceptions are the few instances in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written אִי or אִ, see § 24. *e*, and especially § 47. *b*, note.

[4] This is not really an exception, *Šureq* was no doubt here written defectively, i.e. וּ for וּו.—G. W. C.]

וּ before *Šᵉwâ*, and the labials, e. g. וּמֶלֶךְ, וּדְבַר: the Babylonian punctuation, however, even in these cases has וֹ, i. e. וְ. On the other hand, in such cases as אָמַר the א is to be regarded as an initial consonant.

2. The *final* syllable. A syllable may end— *b*

(*a*) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ where the first and last are open. See No. 3.

(*b*) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *compound* syllable, as the second in קָטַל, לָבָב. See No. 5. Such are also the syllables *sharpened* by a following Dageš, as the first in קַטֹּל *qaṭ-ṭēl*. See No. 6.

Rem. Between *a* and *b* comes the *loosely closed* or *wavering* syllable, e. g. מַלְכִּי *c*
malᵉkhî, כִּתְבוּ *kithᵉbû* (not *mal-ke*, *kith-bu*); compare for the *Šᵉwâ* (medium) § 10. *d*.

(*c*) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as קָשְׁטְ *qōšṭ*, קָטַלְתְּ. *d*
Comp. for this, No. 7 below and § 10. *i–l*.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a long vowel, whether *e*
they have the tone as in בְּךָ *in thee*, סֵפֶר *book*, קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, or are toneless as in קָטַל, עֹנָב *a bunch of grapes*[1]. A long vowel (Qameṣ, less frequently Ṣere) is especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לָהֶם, יָקוּם, קָטַל, לֹבָב[2].

Short vowels in *open* syllables occur more or less apparently:

(*a*) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28. 4) from *f*
monosyllables, as נַחַל *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יֶרֶב *let him increase*, from *naḥl*, *bayt*,

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[1] In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a *long* vowel in an *open* syllable), the original short vowel is always found in Arabic, and sometimes in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic as *bĭkă*, *sĭfr*, *qŭds*, *qătălă*, *ʿĭnăb*. Although accordingly it is certain that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, *short* vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation depends *entirely* upon an artificial custom arising out of the solemn recitation of the text of the Old Testament. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *ĭ* and *ŭ* in an open syllable into *ē* and *ō*.

[2] For this pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (*lăhŭm*, *yăqûm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šᵉwâ* (לְהוֹן, יְקוּם, קְטַל, לְבַב); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel takes the place of *Šᵉwâ* only on account of a following tone-syllable. It rather arises from an original short vowel, since such a vowel is mostly lengthened in an open syllable before the tone, but when the tone is moved further forward it becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*.

yirḥ; comp. also יִם־ the ending of the dual (§ 88). But the helping vowel cannot in such cases be regarded as a full vowel, i.e. it does not completely open the closed syllable.

g (*b*) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (נִי־ *me*), e.g. קְטָלַנִי (Arab. *qătălănî*). The not infrequent form נִּי־ (Gen. 30, 6. Ps. 118, 18) proves that the tone-bearing *Pathaḥ* produces a sharpening of the following liquid, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like וַאדֹנָי (§ 102 at the end) *Pathaḥ* is retained with the counter-tone after the א has become quiescent.

h (*c*) Sometimes before the toneless ה_ָ *local* (§ 90. 2), e.g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness;* only, however, in the const. state (1 Ki. 19, 15), since the toneless ה_ָ does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is מִדְבָּרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the tone (or principal tone) of the word (compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody). Elsewhere it has at least the support of the counter-tone (*Metheg*), viz.

i (*d*) In the combinations ַ_ֶ, ַ_ִ, ַ_ֹ, ַ_ֻ, ֵ_ְ, e.g. נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*, יֶאְסֹר *he will bind*, פָּעֳלוֹ *his deed.* In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Ḥaṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but compare, e.g. יֶאְסֹר with יֶאֱסֹר). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition בְּ, כְּ, לְ, or וְ copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Ḥaṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel contained in the *Ḥaṭeph* (see § 102. 2 and § 104. 2, Rem.). In such cases the prefix forms with the Ḥaṭeph *one* loosely closed syllable. To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with Ḥireq stand before a consonant with simple Šᵉwâ mobile, e.g. בִּדְבַר, כִּדְבַר, &c.

k (*e*) In forms like יְחֻזְקוּ *yeḥᵉ-zᵉ-qû* (they are strong), פָּעָלְךָ *pŏʿᵒ-lᵉkhā* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יָחְזְקוּ also occurs); פָּעָלְךָ ought properly to be pronounced *pŏʿlᵉkhā;* compare generally § 22. 4 at the end, and § 28. 3.

l Such cases as אַחִים, הַחֹדֶשׁ (§ 96), הַחִטָּה (§ 67, Rem. 6) do not come under this head, since they all have *ă* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *Sᵉghôl* which is lengthened from *ă* in suffixes (e.g. דְּבָרֶךָ), and other cases, nor *Sᵉghôl* for *ă* before a guttural with *Qameṣ* (§ 22. *c*). On שָׂרְשִׁים and קָדְשִׁים (*ŏ* for ָ_ִ), see above, § 9. *v*.

m **4.** The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been described above, are frequently preceded by a single consonant with vocal Šᵉwâ, simple or compound. Such a consonant with vocal Šᵉwâ never has the value of an independent syllable, but rather attaches itself so closely to the following syllable, that it forms practically one syllable with it, e.g. לְחִי (cheek) *lᵉḥî;* חָלְי (sickness) *ḥᵒlî;* יַלְמְדוּ *yil-mᵉdhû.* This concerns especially the prefixes וְ, בְּ, כְּ, לְ. See § 102.

n The *Šᵉwâ mobile* was no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original full vowel (e.g. יִקְטְלוּ Arab. *yaqtŭlû*, בְּךָ Arab. *bĭkă*, &c.); from this, however,

it cannot be inferred that the Masoretes regarded it as forming a kind of *open* syllable, for this would be even more directly opposed to their fundamental law, (viz. that a long vowel should stand in an open syllable,) than are the exceptions cited above in No. 3. Even the use of Metheg with Šᵉwâ in particular cases (see § 16. 2) is no proof of such a view on the part of the Masoretes.

5. *Closed* syllables ending with one consonant, when without the tone, necessarily have *short* vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words[1], e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, חָשְׁבוֹן *understanding*, חָכְמָה *wisdom*, וַיָּסָר *and he turned back*, וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם (*wayyāqŏm*). *o*

In a *tone-bearing* closed syllable there may be either a long or short vowel, but if the latter, it must as a rule be either Pathaḥ or Seghôl[2]. The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the tone-long *ā, ē, ō*, not the longest *î, ê, ô, û;* of the *short* vowels, only *ă, ĕ*, not *ĭ, ŭ, ŏ*. Thus יְקַטְּלוּ (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תְּקַטַּלְנָה 3rd pl. fem., and קְטוֹלוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קְטֹלְנָה fem. *p*

6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end in the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. אִמִּי *'ĭm-mí*, כֻּלּוֹ *kŭl-lṓ*. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but if bearing the tone, either short vowels as סַבּוּ, הִנֶּנּוּ, or long, as שָׁפָּה, הֵמָּה. *q*

On the omission of the doubling of a consonant at the end of a word, see § 20.

7. Syllables ending with two consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, קָטַלְתְּ, וַיִּשְׁבְּ; but sometimes *Ṣere*, as נֵרְדְּ, וַיִּבְךְּ, or *Ḥolem*, תּוֹסְפְּ קִשְׁטְ. Compare, however, § 10. 3. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28. 4). *r*

§ 27. *The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity.*

The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic *a*

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[1] In exceptions such as שָׁת־לִי Gen. 4, 25 (where *šāt* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following Maqqeph), Metheg is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; sometimes also *ē* is retained before Maqqeph, e.g. שֵׁם־ Gen. 2, 13; עֵיר־ Gen. 2, 16.

[2] See § 9. 2, 3. *ĭ* occurs thus only in the particles אִם, עִם, מִן; but these usually (מִן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Compare also such forms as וַיִּשְׁבְּ § 75. *q* and כְּחֹשׁ § 29. *g*.

text of the Old Test. (see § 2. 4), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of the greater part of the present forms of the language, is derived partly from the phenomena which the language itself presents in the laws of derivation and inflexion, partly from the comparison of the kindred dialects, principally the Arabic. By these two methods, we arrive at the following facts as regards Hebrew:

b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šᵉwâ mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e.g. עֲגָלָה (ground-form *'ăgălăt*) *a waggon*, צְדָקָה (ground-form *ṣădăqăt*) *righteousness*, קָטְלוּ (Arab. *qătălû*), יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. *jŭqatţĭlû*).

c 2. That vowels originally short have in the tone-syllable, as also in the open syllable preceding it, been generally changed into the corresponding tone-long vowels, *ă* into *ā*, *ĭ* into *ē*, *ŭ* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1. 2, No. 7, and No. 10. 3). If however the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, and vanish into a mere *Šᵉwâ mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e.g. מָטָר (Arab. *mătăr*) *rain*, in close dependence on a following genitive (in the *construct state*), becomes מְטַר; עָקֵב (Arab. *'ăqĭb*) *heel*, dual עֲקֵבַיִם, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ă* of the first syllable to *ĭ*) עִקְבֵי; יִקְטֹל (Arab. *jăqtŭl*), plur. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. *jăqtŭlû*). For instances of complete loss, as in בַּסְפִּי, comp. § 93. *m*.

According to § 26, the following details of vowel-change must be observed:

d 1. In place of a tone-lengthened vowel, the original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

(*a*) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26. 5). Thus, יָד *hand*, but when the tone is moved forward יַד־יְהוָה *the hand of Yahwe*; בֵּן *son*, but בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ *the son of the king*; כֹּל *the whole*, but כָּל־הָעָם *the whole of the people*; so also when an accented closed syllable becomes, through inflexion, loosely closed, e.g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, אֹיִבְךָ *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקָם, וַיָּקָם (*wayyāqŏm*); יֵלֵךְ, וַיֵּלֶךְ.

(*b*) When in place of an open syllable with a tone-long vowel there arises, through lengthening of the word, a fully or half-closed toneless syllable, e.g. סֵפֶר *book*, סִפְרִי *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, קָדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*.

In such cases, according to what has been said, *ē* passes into *ĭ* or *ĕ* (under certain circumstances also into *ă;* comp. § 93, Parad. II, *c* and *e*), and *ō* into *ŏ*, rarely into *ŭ*. On the change of a closed syllable with a long vowel into a sharpened syllable, *ē* reverts to the original *ĭ*, *ō* mostly to *ŭ*, e. g. אֵם *mother*, אִמִּי *my mother;* חֹק *law*, plur. חֻקִּים; but עֹז *strength*, עֻזִּי *my strength.*

2. The lengthening of the short vowel to the corresponding long, *e* takes place—

(*a*) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e. g. קָטַל, קָטְלוֹ *he has killed him;* סוּסִי from סוּס: so *ă* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *Šᵉwâ mobile;* e. g. קָטְלֵךְ from קָטַל, סוּסֵךְ.

(*b*) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* doubling in its final consonant, a guttural or a *Rĕš*, e. g. בָּרְךְ for *birrakh*, see § 22. 1. Comp. also § 20. *n.*

(*c*) When a weak consonant (א, ו, י) following the short vowel, *g* according to § 23. 1, 2, 24. 2, quiesces in this vowel, e. g. מָצָא for מָצַא, where the א, losing its consonantal value, loses also the power of closing the syllable, and the open syllable requires a long vowel.

(*d*) Very frequently through the influence of the *pause*, i. e. the *h* principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29. 4). Sometimes also through the influence of the article (§ 35. *o*).

3. When a word increases at the end and the tone is consequently *i* moved forward, or when, in the *construct state* (see § 89), or otherwise in close connexion with the following word, its tone is weakened, in such cases a full vowel (short or tone-long) may, by the change in the division of syllables, be weakened to *Šᵉwâ mobile* (or *Šᵉwâ medium*), or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*Šᵉwâ quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, שֵׁם *name*, pl. שֵׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דָּבָר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צְדָקַת (with *Šᵉwâ medium*); an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בִּרְכַּת. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ* (דָּם, דָּמִי, but שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two disappears in two consecutive syllables, depends upon the character of the form in question. In general the rule is that only those vowels which stand in an open syllable can become vocal *Šᵉwâ.*

Thus the change into *Šᵉwâ* takes place in—

k (*a*) The *ā* and *ē* of the first syllable (especially in the inflexion of nouns), e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גָּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוֹלָה; לֵבָב *heart*, לְבָבִי *my heart*. Compare, however, also in the verb, תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, plur. תְּשׁוּבֶינָה; and so always, when the original short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable. On the other hand, the *ā*, which, before the tone, has been lengthened from *ă*, is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. וְקָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 49. *i*.

l (*b*) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels *a*, *e*, *o* of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e. g. קָטַל, fem. קָטְלָה *qāṭᵉlā*; יִקְטֹל, יִקְטְלוּ *yiqṭᵉlû*; comp., however, also יִלְקְטוּן, תִּדְבָּקִין, &c., according to § 47. *m* and *o*. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מַלְכִּי *my king*; or become weakened into *Šᵉwâ mobile*, or *Šᵉwâ medium*, e. g. נַעַר *boy*, נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e. g. יִקְטְלוּ pausal-form for יִקְטְלוּ.

m Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *Šᵉwâ*. Comp. דָּבָר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דִּבְרֵיהֶם (comp. § 28. 1) *their words*. On the shortening (attenuation) of the *ă* to *ĭ*, see further, Rem. 3.

n Rem. 1. An *ô* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *â* (see § 9), sometimes becomes *û*, when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נְקוּמוֹתָ, נָקוֹם (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.*); מָנוֹס *flight*, fem. מְנוּסָה, with suffix מְנוּסִי. Similarly the *ê*, arising from *ay* = *ai*, in the Perfect of verbs ל״ה (§ 75. 2) frequently becomes *î*. The not uncommon use of וּ in a sharpened syllable, as בְּחוּקַּי Ez. 20, 18 (for בְּחֻקַּי), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *û* may really have been intended by the *Kᵉthîbh*.

o Of the vowels of the *U*-class, *û* and tone-long *ō* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ŏ* in a toneless syllable, e. g. יָקוּם *he will arise*, יָקֹם jussive, *let him arise*, וַיָּקָם *and he arose*. The only instance of *ŭ* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַיָּרָם Ex. 16, 20 (see § 67. *n*). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *ê*, *î*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ĕ* in a toneless syllable, e. g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקֶם *let him raise*, וַיָּקֶם *and he raised*. The only instance of *ĭ* in an ultima which has lost the tone, is וַתָּרֶן Judg. 9, 53 (see § 67. *x*).

p 2. In the place of a *Pathaḥ* we not unfrequently find (according to § 9. 3) a *Sᵉghôl*, *ĕ* or *è*, as a modification of *ă*:

(*a*) In a closed antepenultima, e. g. אֶבְיָתָר (pr. name) for אֲבִיָתָר; or in a closed penultima (e. g. יֶהְדֶּה) or half-closed penultima (e. g. יְדֶכֶם *your hand*, for *yadᵉkhèm*).

In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6. *q*) has no doubt had some influence.

(*b*) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*, where the doubling has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathaḥ* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e. g. אָחָיו *his brothers*, for *'aḥāw*; פֶּחָשׁ *false*, for *kaḥāš*; פֶּחָם *coal*; הֶחָי *the living* (with the article הַ); יִתְנָחָם Num. 23, 19, &c., and so always before חָ. Before הָ and עָ *Seghôl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e. g. הֶהָרִים *the mountains*; הֶעָוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathaḥ* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e. g. הָהָר, הָעָם; but cf. also הִטְהָרוּ Num. 8, 7. Before the weak consonants א and ר (comp. § 22. 1, 5), the lengthening of the *Pathaḥ* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e. g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרָאשִׁים. Exceptions, הֶהָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gen. 14, 10, in the tone-syllable, for *hárrā*; יְבָרְכְיָהוּ (pr. name) for יְבָרֶכְיָהוּ. On הָ as a form of the interrogative (הַ), see § 100. 4; on מֶה for מָה (מַהּ), § 37. 1. Finally, אֶבֶלְךָ Ex. 33, 3 also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the doubling, for אֶבַלֵּךְ. *q*

(*c*) As a modification of the original *Pathaḥ* in the first class of the segholate forms (§ 93, Rem. 1), when a helping vowel (§ 28. 4) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kalb* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *Seghôl*, is modified into כֶּלֶב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*)[1], *yarḥ* (*month*) with a helping *Pathaḥ*, יֶרַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the forms of verbs, in cases like יֶגֶל (jussive of the Hiph'îl of גָּלָה), with a helping *Seghôl*, for *yagl*. *r*

3. The attenuation of *ă* to *ĕ* occurs very frequently in a toneless, closed, or half-closed syllable. *s*

(*a*) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מַדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יְלִדְתִּיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יָלַדְתִּי with the suffix ךָ; comp. Lev. 11, 44. Ez. 38, 23 and § 44. *d*. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates* from the ground-form *qaṭl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e. g. צִדְקִי *my righteousness*, for *ṣadqî*.

(*b*) In a half-closed syllable, דִּמְכֶם *your blood*, for דַּמְכֶם, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *qaṭl*, e. g. בִּגְדֵי from בֶּגֶד (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper place[2]. *t*

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[1] So the LXX write Μελχισεδέκ for מַלְכִּיצֶדֶק.

[2] Analogous to this attenuation of *ă* to *ĕ*, is the Lat. *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus;* to the transition of *ă* into *ĕ* (see above, Rem. 2), the Lat. *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo.*

u 4. *Sᵉghôl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in Rem. 1 and 2, also—

(*a*) From the weakening of *ā* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (ה֫— for ה֪—) in 1 Sam. 28, 15 (? see § 48. *d*). Ps. 20, 4 (?). Is. 59, 5. Prov. 24, 14 (see § 48. *l*); for examples of Locative forms in ה֫— see § 90. 2 end.

v (*b*) Perhaps from the obtusion of *u*, in אֶתֶם *you* (Arab. *'ăntŭm*), see § 32. *i* and *m*, and in לָהֶם *to them* (Arab. *lahŭm*); comp. § 8. *c*, 5.

w 5. Among the *Ḥaṭeph*-sounds (ֲ ֱ ֳ) is shorter and lighter than (ַ ֵ ָ), and consequently the vowel group (ֲַ ֱֵ ֳָ) is shorter than (ַָ ֵֵ ָָ); e. g. אֱדוֹם *Edom*, but אֲדֹמִי (*Edomite*), shortened at the beginning because the tone is thrown forward; אֱמֶת (*ᵉmèth*) *truth*, אֲמִתּוֹ *his truth*; נֶעֱלָם *hidden*, pl. נֶעֱלָמִים; הֶעֱבַרְתִּי but וְהֶעֱבַרְתִּי.

x 6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation* of vowels, i. e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or at least closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word[1]. Hence לוּלֵא for *lû lô* (unless); the proper names יְהוּא and יְשׁוּעַ stand most probably for *Yôhû*, *Yôshûᶜa* (= יְהוֹשֻׁעַ). Cf. also חִיצוֹן from חוּץ; רִאשׁוֹן from רֹאשׁ; תִּיכוֹן from תּוֹךְ; עִירָם from stem עוּר, and the second foot-note on § 68. 1.

§ 28. *The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables.*

a **1.** According to § 26. 4 a half-syllable, i. e. a consonant with Šewâ, (always weakened from a short vowel,) can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple Šewâ would follow, the former becomes again a full short vowel[2]. This vowel is almost always *Ḥireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ă*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *ĭ*. Thus, according to § 102. 2, the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ before a consonant with (ְ—) become בִּ, כִּ, לִ, e. g. בִּפְרִי, כִּפְרִי, לִפְרִי, before יְ they are pointed as in בִּיהוּדָה (from *bi-yᵉhûda*, according to § 24. *b*); so too with *Wāw copulative*, e. g. וִיהוּדָה for *wᵉyehûdā*. The first half-syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לִנְפֹל Num. 14, 3 for *linᵉphōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45. *g*); in isolated cases also with כְּ, as כִּזְכֹּר Jer. 17, 2.

b **2.** Before a guttural with *Ḥaṭeph* the consonant of the half-syllable takes the short vowel contained in the *Ḥaṭeph*, and thus arise the

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[1] Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, 1892, p. 177 sq.; with Nestle, ibid. p. 573 sq.

[2] יְ *and* is the only exception. It becomes וְ before a simple Šᵉwâ, comp. § 104. *e*.

vowel groups ֶ֫, ֹ֫, ֵ֫, e. g. וַאֲנִי *and I*, כַּאֲשֶׁר *as*, לַעֲבֹד *to serve*, לֶאֱכֹל *to eat*, לַחֳלִי *in sickness*. On the Metheg with every such short vowel, see § 16. *f*, δ. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לַחֲטֹב for לַחְטֹב; לַחֲמָם for לַחְמָם Is. 47, 14 (see § 67. *cc*); לֶאֱסֹר but also לֶאְסֹר; and even וַעְצֹר Job 4, 2, comp. Gen. 32, 16. So always in the Infin. and Imperat. Qal of the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live*, e. g. לִהְיוֹת *to be*, וִהְיוּ *and be ye!* even with מִן, as מִהְיוֹת, for which compare § 102. *b*: וֶהְיֵה *and be!* וְחִיֵּה *and live*, for וְהִיֵּה, וְחִיֵּה, alone have *ĕ* instead of *ĭ* under the prefix. For the Metheg, comp. § 16. *f*, ε.

c **3.** When a *Ḥateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional changes, would stand before a vocal *Šᵉwâ*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This includes especially the cases in which the *Ḥateph* stands under a guttural instead of a quiescent *Šᵉwâ*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד *he will stand* (for יַעְמֹד), but plur. יַעַמְדוּ for *yaʿᵃmᵉdhû*, and נֶהֱפְכוּ for *nĕhᵉphᵉkhû* (*they have turned themselves*), פָּעָלְךָ *thy work*, comp. § 26. *k*. The syllables are to be divided *yă-ʿᵃmᵉdhû*, and the second *ă* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathaḥ* in נַעַר, &c.[1]

d **4.** At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10. 3, § 26. 7), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (ט, ק) or a tenuis (viz. ב, ד, ך, ת[2]), e. g. יִשְׁטְ *let him turn aside*, וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he caused to drink*, אָמַרְתְּ *thou* (fem.) *hast said*, וַתֵּבְךְ *and he wept*, וְיָרְדְ *and let him have dominion*, וַיִּשְׁבְּ *and he took captive*.

e This harsh combination of letters is however commonly avoided by inserting between the two final consonants a helping vowel, which is mostly *Sᵉghôl*, but with gutturals *Pathaḥ*[3], and after י *Ḥireq*, e. g. וַיִּגֶל *and he revealed*, for *wayyigl*; יִרֶב *let it multiply*, for *yirb*; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, ground-form *qudš*; נַחַל *brook*, ground-form *naḥl*; שָׁלַחְתְּ[4] for שָׁלַחְתְּ *thou hast sent*; בַּיִת ground-form *bayt*. These helping

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[1] In Judges 16, 13 read תַּאַרְנִי not (with Opitius, Hahn and others) תארני.

[2] With a final ךָ, the only example is תּוֹסְךָ Prov. 30, 6, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ךָ without Dageš.

[3] On the apparent exceptions דָּשְׁאָ, &c., comp. § 22. *e*; other instances in which א has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are חַטָּא *sin*, גַּיְא *valley* (also גַּי), שָׁוְא *vanity* (Job 15, 31 *Kᵉthîbh* שָׁו).

[4] In this form (§ 65. 2) *Dageš lene* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel

vowels are of course always without the tone, and disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קָדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*, בֵּיְתָה *home-ward.*

f **5.** On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Šᵉwâ*, under the influence of the *pause*, see § 29. *m*; on initial אֲ for אְ, see § 23. *h*.

§ 29. *The Tone, its Changes and the Pause.*

a **1.** The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (comp. § 15. 2), as a rule on the final syllable[1], e. g. דָּבָר, קָטַל, דְּבָרִים, קְטַלְתֶּם, דִּבְּרוּ, קִדְרוֹן—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה *night*, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלוּ, קָמוּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטַלְתְּ, לִבְנָה, קָמְנָה), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone, if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם; compare also below, No. 3.

b A kind of counter tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16. 2). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16. 1) can at the most have only a secondary tone.

c **2.** The original tone of a word, however, frequently shifts its place in consequence either of changes in the word itself, or of its close connexion with other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is moved forward (*descendit*) one or two places according to the length of the addition, e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; דִּבְרֵיכֶם *your words*; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, plur. קָדָשִׁים; קָטַלְתָּ with קְטַלְתָּהוּ. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27. 1, 3.

d **3.** On the other hand, the original tone is shifted from the ultima to the penultima (*ascendit*):

(*a*) In many forms of the Imperfect, when *Wāw consecutive* (וַ see § 49. 2) is prefixed, e. g. יֹאמַר *he will say*, וַיֹּאמֶר *and he said*; יֵלֵךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went.*

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precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathaḥ* is not to be regarded as a really full vowel, but merely as an orthographic indication of a very slight sound, to help the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is יַחַד *yiḥăd* (from חָדָה, see § 75. *r*).

[1] This was not originally the case. Various linguistic phenomena tend to show that the principal tone originally rested as a rule on the penultima. See the proofs in Praetorius, *ZAW.*, 1883, p. 211 sqq., and Mayer Lambert, *Revue des études juives*, vol. xx, 1890, p. 73 sqq.; vol. xxv, 1892, p. 111 sq., and xxvi, p. 53.

(*b*) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables[1]. This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however, (נָסוֹג אָחוֹר *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians,) is only admissible according to No. 1 above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable, (with a long vowel; see however the Rem.,) whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e. g. קָרָא לָיְלָה Gen. 1, 5. 4, 17. 27, 25. Ex. 16, 29. Ps. 5, 11. 104, 14. Dan. 11, 13, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e.g. תֹּאכַל לָחֶם Gen. 3, 19. Job 3, 3. 22, 28[2]. The grave suffixes -כֶם, -כֶן, -הֶם, -הֶן are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. *e*

Ṣere alone of the long vowels can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, but it then has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg* in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Sᵉghôl*, e. g. לְבֵעֵר קֶן Num. 24, 22; comp. Num. 17, 23. Jud. 20, 2. Is. 66, 3. Jer. 23, 29. Ezek. 22, 25. Ps. 37, 7. Prov. 1, 19. In other cases the shortening into *Sᵉghôl* does take place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פַּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is. 41, 7, for הוֹלֶם פַּעַם. The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a Šewâ mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e. g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gen. 19, 5, and frequently; יוֹרְדֵי בוֹר Ps. 28, 1; טָמְנוּ לִי Ps. 31, 5; מְטַעֲנֵי חָרֶב Is. 14, 19; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e. g. לָתֵת לְךָ Gen. 15, 7 (comp. § 20. *c*). *f*

According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אַחַר כֵּן 1 Sam. 10, 5; וְכַחֵשׁ בּוֹ Job 8, 18, cf. Lev. 5, 22; לְצַחֵק בָּנוּ Gen. 39, 14. 17. Hos. 9, 2; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in *g*

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[1] Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of Metheg. Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Lugd. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e. g. וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ Is. 45, 7, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; comp., however, Amos 4, 13.

[2] The reading עֲדָיִם (so even Opitius and Hahn) Ezek. 16, 7 for עֶדְיִים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis.'

הָקֵם עָלַי 2 Sam. 23, 1 (comp. נִבַּר שׁוֹעַ Job 34, 19; יְקֵם־קָיִן Gen. 4, 24, with Metheg of the secondary tone). We should read either הָקֵם, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, and others, הֻקַם. As abnormal forms, comp. further, וַיַּחֲזֵק בּוֹ Ex. 4, 4 and וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם Deut. 10, 5.

h (*c*) In *pause*, see No. 4.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (No. 3, *b*) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqqeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e. g. וַיִּכְתֹּב־שָׁם *and he wrote there*, Jos. 8, 32.

i **4.** Very essential changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (a verse) or clause. It is represented by a great *distinctive accent*, *Sillûq*, *'Athnâh*, and in the accentuation of the books תא״ם, *'Ôlè w'yôrēd*. Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*), with the lesser distinctives, especially *S'golta*, *Zaqeph qaṭon*, *R'bhîa*, and even with *Pašṭa*, *Tiphḥa*, *Gereš*, and *Pazer*[1]. The changes are as follows:

k (*a*) When the tone-syllable naturally has a short vowel, it as a rule becomes tone-long in *pause*, e. g. קָטַל, קָטָל; מַיִם, מָיִם; קְטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתְּ. An *ă* which has been modified to *S'ghôl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e. g. קֶשֶׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשֶׁר 2 Ki. 11, 14; אֶרֶץ, אָרֶץ Jer. 22, 29; also in 2 Ki. 4, 31 read קָשֶׁב with ed. Mant, &c. (Baer קֶשֶׁב!); דְּבֶר becomes in *pause* דָּבֶר.

l Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ă* is intentionally retained in *pause*, especially if the following consonant be doubled, e. g. יִכַּתּוּ Job 4, 20, or ought to be doubled, e. g. בַּן Is. 8, 1, &c.; and even without the doubling, e. g. עַר Gen. 49, 27; וְהַקְדֶּשְׁנוּ 2 Chron. 29, 19 and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lev. 11, 20, &c. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ă* and *è* in the Appendices to Baer's editions.

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[1] In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or ו (comp. e. g. Ex. 21, 31. Jer. 3, 9. Ruth 4, 4. Eccles. 11, 6; before וְ Jer. 17, 11). שָׁפַט אֶת־ 1 Sam. 7, 17, where *ā* has *munaḥ*, is very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphăṭ 'ĕt*. In the same way הֵיצַלְתָּ Ezek. 17, 15 (with Mahpakh before תָּ) and וַיִּקְרַם Ezek. 37, 8 (with Darga before עָ) are to be explained. The four instances of אָנִי for אֲנִי apparently require a different explanation; see § 32. *c*.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i. e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in divine service, is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

(*b*) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the tone before an afformative, and has become *vocal Šᵉwâ*, it is restored in *pause* to its position as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה (*qāṭᵉlā*), in *pause* קָטָלָה (*qāṭālā*); שִׁמְעוּ *šimᵉʿû*, in *pause* שָׁמְעוּ (from sing. שָׁמַע); מָלְאָה, מָלְאָה; יִקְטְלוּ,[1] (sing. יִקְטֹל). The fuller endings of the Imperfect וּן and יִן (§ 47. *m* and *o*) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לְחִי, פְּרִי (ground-form *laḥy*, *pary*), the original *ă* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *Sᵉghôl*, thus לֶחִי, פֶּרִי; original *ĭ* becomes *ē*, e.g. חֵצִי, in *pause* חֵצִי; original *ŏ* (*ŭ*) becomes *ō*, e.g. חָלִי (ground-form *ḥuly*), in *pause* חָלִי (§ 93. *x*, *y*, *z*). *m*

On the analogy of such forms as לֶחִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects יְהִי and יְחִי become in *pause* יֶהִי, יֶחִי, because in the full forms יִהְיֶה *he will be* and יִחְיֶה *he will live* the *ĭ* is attenuated from an original *ă*. We may also mention here שֶׁכֶם *the neck*, in *pause* שֶׁכֶם (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֶנִי, as well as the restoration of the original *ă* as *è* before the suffix ךָ *thy*, *thee*, e.g. דְּבָרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבָרֶךָ; יִשְׁמָרְךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* יִשְׁמָרֶךָ; but after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֵת (אֶת) the suffix ךָ in *pause* becomes ךָ, e.g. אִתְּךָ, לְךָ, בְּךָ. *n*

(*c*) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* (as being the original tone-syllable?), shows itself also in such cases as אֲנֹכִי *I*, in *pause* אָנֹכִי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אָתָּה (but in the three poetically accented Books also אַתָּה, since in those Books 'Athnaḥ, especially after *ʿÔlè wᵉyôrēd*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph;* hence also יִפְּלָאוּ Prov. 24, 4 instead of יִפְּלָאוּ)[2]; עַתָּה *now*, עָתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like בָּלוּ Ps. 37, 20 for בָּלוּ: but in 1 Sam. 12, 25 Baer's reading תִּסָּפּוּ is to be preferred to that of ed. Mant, &c. *o*

(*d*) Conversely all forms of imperfects consecutive, whose final syllable, when not in *pause*, loses the tone and is pronounced with a short vowel, take, when in *pause*, the tone on the ultima with a tone-long vowel, e.g. וַיָּמָת *.and he died*, in *pause* וַיָּמֹת. *p*

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[1] Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further strengthened by doubling the following consonant, see § 20. *i*.

[2] יִפָּלֵא Ps. 45, 6, comp. also יִבָּלֵמוּ Ps. 40, 15, is to be explained in the same way, but not הִמָּלְטִי Zech. 2, 11, where, on the analogy of הִשָּׁמְרוּ Jer. 9, 3, we should expect הִפָּלְטִי.

q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *ĕ*) to the more distinct *ă* (see above, letter *l*), e.g. הֵתָז for הֵתֵז Is. 18, 5 (comp. § 67. *v*; § 72. *dd*); קָמָל Is. 33, 9; אָצָל 1 Chron. 8, 38 (beside אֶצֶל [, see *v*. 37. Cf. טָבְאַל Is. 7, 6 (טֻבְאֵל Ezr. 4, 7); שָׁשָׁר Jer. 22, 14; סָפָרַד Ob. 20; וַיִּנָּפַשׁ Ex. 31, 17; וַיִּאָנַשׁ 2 Sam. 12, 15 (below, § 51. *m*)—S. R. D.]); הֶפַר Gen. 17, 14; הַפָּצַר 1 Sam. 15, 23; תְּאַחַר Ps. 40, 18; הַרְחַק Job 13, 21, &c., mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁב Is. 42, 22, and without the *pause* תֵּרֵד Lam. 3, 48). So also וַיֶּלֶךְ (shortened from יֵלֵךְ) becomes in *pause* וַיֶּלֶךְ; compare וַיֵּלֶךְ Lam. 3, 2; תָּלָן for תָּלֵן Jud. 19, 20. On *Seghôl* in *pause* instead of Ṣere, comp. § 52. *n*, and especially § 75. *n*, on וְחַיֶּה Prov. 4, 4 and 7, 2.

r (2) The transition from *ă* to *ā* in the ultima; so always in the formula לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד (for עַד) *for ever and ever*.

s (3) The *pausal Qameṣ* in *Hithpa'ēl* (but not in *Pi'ēl*) for *Ṣere*, e.g. יִתְהַלָּךְ Job 18, 8 for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. According to § 54. *k*, this Qameṣ is lengthened from an original *ă*.

t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e.g. אֹתָיו, בְּעָיו Is. 21, 12, for בְּעוֹ, אֹתוֹ, the latter also without the *pause* Is. 56, 9. 12; comp. Job 12, 6, and the same occurrence even in the word *before* the *pause* Deut. 32, 37. Is. 21, 12.

u (5) The transition from *ô* or *ō* to *ā* in *pause:* as שְׁאָלָה Is. 7, 11, if it be a locative of שְׁאֹל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׁאַל; שָׁכְלְתִי Gen. 43, 14 for שָׁכַלְתִּי; עָז Gen. 49, 3; יָטָרְפָה Gen. 49, 27; perhaps also שָׁרָן 1 Ki. 22, 34. Is. 59, 17, and מְשֻׁקָּלָת Is. 28, 17, comp. 2 Ki. 21, 13. On the other hand the regular pausal form יַחְפֹּץ, which is found as well as the ordinary Imperfect יַחְפֹּץ, must be referred to a Perfect חָפֵץ (see § 47. *h*).

v (6) When a *Pathaḥ* both precedes and follows a virtually doubled guttural, the second becomes *ā* in *pause*, and the first *Seghôl*, according to § 22. *c* and § 27. *q*, e.g. אַחַי *my brothers*, in *pause* אָחָי; comp. יִתְנֶחָם Deut. 32, 36. Num. 8, 7. 23, 19. Ezek. 5, 13. Ps. 135, 14.—On pausal *Ṣere*, for *Seghôl*, in infin., imperat., and imperf. of verbs ל״ה, see § 75. *hh*.

SECOND PART.

ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30. *Stems and Roots*[1]*: Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral.*

a **1.** Stems in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, have this peculiarity, that by far the majority of them consist of three consonants. On these the meaning essentially depends, while the various modifications of the idea are expressed rather by changes in the vowels, e.g. עָמַק *he was deep*, עָמֹק *deep*, עֹמֶק *depth*, עֵמֶק *a valley, plain.* Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e.g. זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed;* חָכַם *he was wise*, חָכָם *a wise man.* For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the *3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal* (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e.g. צָדַק *he was righteous*, צֶדֶק *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, &c.

b Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal stem without any corresponding noun-form, e.g. סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray;* and on the other hand, the noun is sometimes without the corresponding verb, e.g. אֶבֶן *stone*, נֶגֶב *south.* Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, for the most part occur in one or more of the other Semitic dialects, it may be assumed, as a rule, that Hebrew, when a living language, also possessed them. Thus, in Arabic, the verbal stem *'ăbĭnă* (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to אֶבֶן, and the verb *n^{e}gab* (*to be dry, arid*) in Aramaic to נֶגֶב.

[1] On the questions discussed in this section compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

c Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i.e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal), שֹׁרֶשׁ *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *literae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *literae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see letter *g*.

d 2. Others regard the three stem-consonants as a *root*, in the sense that, considered as *vowelless* and unpronounceable, it represents the common foundation of the verbal and nominal stems developed from it, just as in the vegetable world, from which the figure is borrowed, stems grow from the hidden root, e.g.

Root: מלך, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מָלַךְ *he has reigned.* Noun-stem, מֶלֶךְ *king.*

For the investigation of the actual condition of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by linguists, cannot be applied to the Semitic triliteral stem (see No. 2)[1].

e 3. The 3rd sing. Perf. Qal, which, according to the above, is usually regarded, both lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form, is generally in Hebrew a dissyllable, e.g. קָטַל. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen through contraction (according to the traditional explanation), from stems which had a weak letter (ו or י) for their middle consonant, e.g. קָם from *qăwăm*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צַר and צָרַר (compare, however, below, § 67). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e.g. קָטַל from *qătălă*, as it is still in Arabic.

f **2.** The law of the triliteral stem is so strictly observed in the formation of verbs and nouns in Hebrew (and in the Semitic languages generally), that the language has sometimes adopted artificial methods to preserve at least an appearance of triliteralism in monosyllabic stems, e.g. יְדֹם for יָדֹם, in the Imperfect Qal of verbs ע״ע. Even such nouns, as אָב *father*, אֵם *mother*, אָח *brother*, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a triliteral stem.

g On the other hand, a large number of triliteral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria*, *biliteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several triliteral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *ă* between the two consonants, and are represented in writing

[1] Compare Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums im Semitischen und sein Verhältniss zur Wurzel,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69–106.

by the sign √, e.g. √כר as the root of כָּרַר, כָּרָה, כּוּר, אָכַר. The reduction of a stem to the underlying root may generally be accomplished with certainty when the stem exhibits one weak consonant with two strong ones, or when the second and third consonants are identical. Thus e.g. the stems דָּכַךְ, דּוּךְ, דָּכָא, דָּכָה may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דך (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the extension of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of a strong consonant, especially, it seems, a sibilant, liquid or guttural. Finally, further modifications of the same root occur when either the consonants of the root, or the letter which has been added, changes into a kindred letter, according to the laws of sound-change (see the examples given below). Usually such a change in the sound is accompanied by a change in the shade of meaning.

h Examples: from the root קין (no doubt *onomatopoetic*, or imitating a sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off, cutting in pieces*, are derived immediately: קצין and קצה *to cut, to cut off;* the latter metaph. *to decide, to judge* (whence קָצִין, Arab. *qaḍi, a judge*); also קָצַב *to cut off, to shear,* קָצַף *to tear, to break,* קָצַע *to cut into,* קָצַר *to cut off, to reap.* With a softer sibilant שׁ קס, whence קָסַם *to cut off,* קָשַׁשׁ and קָשָׂה *to peel off, to rub off.* With a lingual instead of the sibilant, קט, קר, whence קָטַב *to cut in pieces, to destroy,* קָטַל *to cut down, to kill,* קָטַף *to tear off, to pluck off,* קָדַד *to cut in pieces, to cleave.* With the initial letter softened, the same root becomes כם, whence כָּסַח *to cut off,* and כָּסַם *to shave;* comp. also נכם Syr. *to slay* (*to sacrifice*), *to kill.* With the greatest softening to נ ג and גד; גָּזָה *to cut off, to shear;* גָּזָה *to hew stone;* גָּזַז, גָּזַם, גָּזַע, גָּזַל, גָּזַר *to cut off, to tear off, eat up;* similarly גָּדַד *to cut into,* גָּדַע *to cut off;* comp. also גָּדַר, גָּדַף, גָּדַר. Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural sound (ח), e.g. חָדַר *to split, cut;* comp. also חדל, חדק, חדר, חדש, and further חוּם, חוּץ, חזה, חזז, חטב, חטט, חטף, חסל, חסם, חסף, חצב, חצה, חצץ, חצר in the Lexicon.

The root הם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (*μύω*); hence הָמַם, הוּם, הָמָה, נָהַם (נָאַם), Arab. *hámhama, to buzz, to hum, to snarl,* &c.

As developments from the root רע comp. the stems רָעַד, רָעַל, רָעַם, רָעַע, רָעַץ, רָעַשׁ. Not less numerous are the developments of the root בר (פל, פר) and many others.

On closer investigation of this subject the following observations suggest themselves:

i (*a*) These roots are mere *abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves not in use. They merely represent the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet these stems are sometimes so short as to consist simply of the elements of the root itself, e.g. תַּם *to be finished,* קַל *light.* The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and

uncertain, is of great lexicographical importance. It is a wholly different and much contested question whether there ever was a period in the development of the Semitic languages when merely *biliteral* roots, either rigidly isolated or combined with inflexions, served for the communication of thought. In such a case it would have to be admitted, that the language at first expressed extremely few elementary ideas, which were only gradually extended in order to denote more delicate shades of meaning. At all events this process of transformation would belong to a period of the language which is entirely beyond our critical grasp. At the most only the gradual extension of *stems* by means of sound-change (see below) can be historically proved.

k (*b*) Many of these monosyllabic words are clearly imitations of sounds, and sometimes coincide with roots of a similar meaning in the Indo-Germanic family of languages (§ 1. *h*). Of other roots there is definite evidence that Semitic linguistic consciousness regarded them as onomatopoetic, whilst the Indo-Germanic instinct fails to recognize in them any imitation of sound.

l (*c*) Stems with the harder, stronger consonants are in general (§ 6. *r*) to be regarded as the older, whilst a number of later stems probably arose from them, through softening of the consonants; compare פזר and בזר, צחק and שחק, עלם and עלז, זעק and צעק; רקק and רכך, and the almost invariable change of initial ו to י. In other instances, however, the harder stems have only been adopted at a later period from Aramaic, e. g. טעה, Hebr. תעה. Finally in many cases the harder and softer stems may have been in use together from the first, since frequently, by a kind of sound-painting, the intensive action was thus distinguished from the less intensive; see above קצץ *to cut*, גזז *to shear*, &c.

m (*d*) When two consonants are united to form a root they are usually either both emphatic or both middle-hard or both soft, e. g. קץ, קט, כס, נז, גד never בץ, קז, גם, נט, נץ. Within (triliteral) stems the first and second consonants are never identical. The apparent exceptions are either cases where the root is reduplicated, e. g. דדה (Ps. 42, 5. Is. 38, 15), Arabic דאדא, or result from other causes, comp. e. g. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants are very seldom identical except in what are called concave stems (with middle ו or י), e. g. צוץ, נון; comp., however, נתן, נתן, שׁרשׁ, שׁמשׁ, and on עלע Job 39, 30, see § 55. *f*. The second and third consonants are on the other hand very frequently identical, see § 67[1].

n (*e*) The softening mentioned under letter *l* is sometimes so great, that strong consonants, especially when in the middle of the stem, actually pass into vowels: compare § 28. *o*, and עֲוִאזֵל for עֲזָאזֵל Lev. 16, 8 sqq. The numerous instances adduced by Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, i. 393, require a good deal of sifting.

o (*f*) Some of the cases in which triliteral stems cannot with certainty be traced back to a biliteral root, may be due to a combination of two roots—a simple method of forming expressions to correspond to more complex ideas.

p **3.** To a secondary stage in the development of the language belong stems of four, or even (in the case of nouns) of five con-

[1] Consonants which are not found together in roots and stems are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly consonants belonging to the same class, e. g. נכ, נק, כק, דט, תט, בף, מף, זד, זס, זץ, צס, אע, חע, &c., or in the reverse order.

sonants[1]. They arise from an extension of the triliteral stem: (*a*) by addition of a fourth stem-consonant; (*b*) in some cases perhaps by composition and contraction of two triliteral stems, by which means even *quinquiliterals* are produced. Stem-forms which have arisen from the mere repetition of one or two of the three original stem-consonants, e.g. סְחַרְחַר from סחר, are usually not regarded as *quadriliterals*, but as *conjugational* forms (§ 55); so also the few words which are formed with the prefix שׁ, as שַׁלְהֶבֶת *flame* from לָהַב, corresponding to the Aramaic conjugation *Šaph'ēl*, שַׁלְהֵב.

Rem. on (*a*) The letters *r* and *l*, especially, are inserted between the first and second radicals, e.g. כָּרְסֵם, בָּרְסֵם *to eat up*; שַׁרְבִּיט = שַׁבֶּט *sceptre*; זַלְעָפָה *hot wind* from זָעַף *to glow*. The insertion of an *r* is especially frequent in Syriac. Comp. Aram. עַרְגֵּל *to roll*, expanded from עָגַל (conjugation *Pa'ēl*, corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'ēl*). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the expansion is principally made by ל and ן, e.g. גַּרְזֶן *axe*, כַּרְמֶל *orchard* (from כֶּרֶם), גְּבִעֹל *corolla* (גָּבִיעַ *cup*); comp. § 85. xi. *q*

Rem. on (*b*) Forms such as צְפַרְדֵּעַ *frog*, חֲבַצֶּלֶת *meadow-saffron*, were long regarded as compounds, though the explanation of them all was uncertain. Many words of this class, which earlier scholars attempted to explain from Hebrew sources, have since proved to be *loan-words* (§ 1. *i*), and consequently drop out of the question. *r*

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed stems of three or four consonants, are (*a*) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being immediate imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (*b*) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation[2] require special treatment (§ 32 sqq.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 sqq.). *s*

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[1] In Hebrew they are comparatively rare, but more numerous in the other Semitic languages, especially in Ethiopic.

[2] Comp. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelnbildung,' in the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 sqq., 427 sqq.

§ 31. *Grammatical Structure.*

a **1.** The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation) and inflexion are effected in two ways: (*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels; (*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after it. The expression of grammatical relations periphrastically by means of separate words (e.g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.

b The external method (letter (*b*)) of forming words, viz. by affixing formative syllables, which occurs e.g. in Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient. Yet other families of language, and particularly the Semitic, at a very early period had recourse also to the internal method, and during their youthful vigour widely developed their power of forming derivatives. But the continuous decay of this power in the later periods of language made syntactical circumlocution more and more necessary. The same process may be seen also e.g. in Greek (including modern Greek), and in Latin with its Romance offshoots.

c **2.** Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטֵל, קָטֹל; קִטֵּל, קִטַּל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטֵּל, הִקְטִיל, נִקְטַל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הָקְטַל, הָתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, chiefly in the formation of the persons of the verb, where the meaning of the affixed syllables is for the most part still perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47). It is also employed to distinguish gender and number in the verb and noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, only scanty traces remain in Hebrew (see § 90).

CHAPTER I.

THE PRONOUN.

§ 32. *The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun.*

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronoun generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest elements of the language (§ 30. *s*). It should be considered *before* the verb, since it plays an important part in verbal inflexion (§§ 44, 47). *a*

2. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun serve (like the Gk. *ἐγώ*, *σύ*, and the Lat. *ego*, *tu*, and their plurals) almost solely to emphasize the nominative-subject (see, however, § 135. 2). They are as follows: *b*

Singular.	*Plural.*
1. *Com.* אָנֹכִי, in *pause* אָנֹכִי; אָנִי, in *pause* אָנִי — *I.*	1. *Com.* אֲנַחְנוּ, in *pause* אֲנָחְנוּ (אנו), נָחְנוּ, in *pause* נָחְנוּ (אנו) — *we.*
2. *m.* אַתָּה (אַתְּ), in *pause* אָתָּה or אַתָּה; *f.* אַתְּ (אַתִּי properly אַתִּי), in *pause* אָתְּ — *thou.*	2. *m.* אַתֶּם; *f.* אַתֶּנָּה (אַתֵּנָּה); אַתֶּן (אַתֵּן) — *ye.*
3. *m.* הוּא *he* (*it*). *f.* הִיא *she* (*it*).	3. *m.* הֵם (הֵמּ), הֵמָּה; *f.* הֵנָּה after *prefixes* הֵן, הֵנָּה — *they.*

The forms enclosed in parentheses are the less common. A table of these pronouns with their shortened forms (*pronominal suffixes*) is given in Paradigm A at the end of this Grammar.

Remarks.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אָנֹכִי is less frequent than אָנִי[1]. The former occurs in Phoenician, *c*

[1] On the prevalence of אָנֹכִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 251 sqq., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 sqq., (but cf. his *Introduction to the Old*

Moabite and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects[1]; from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ô* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *a* (comp. Aram. אֲנָא, Arab. *'ána*). The pausal form אָנִי occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in חַי אָנִי *as I live!* also Is. 49, 18 with Munaḥ, Ps. 119, 25 with Merkha (which however has been altered from Dᵉḥî) and twice in Mal. 1, 6. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws followed by the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form אנו (אֲנוּ) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 *Kᵉthîbh*. The form נַחְנוּ (comp. § 19. *h*) only in Ex. 16, 7. 8, Num. 32, 32, Lam. 3, 42; נָחְנוּ in *pause*, Gen. 42, 11; in Arabic *náḥnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אנו (אֲנוּ) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

e 3. The Pronoun of the 1st person only is, as a rule in languages, of the *common gender*, because the person who is present and speaking needs no further indication of gender, as does the 2nd person, who is addressed (in Greek, Latin, English, &c., this distinction is also lacking), and still more the 3rd person who is absent.

II. *Second Person.*

f 4. The forms of the 2nd person אַתָּה, אַתְּ, אַתֶּם, אַתֶּנָּה, &c., are contracted from *anta*, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the ת, e. g. Arab. *'ánta*, fem. *'ánti*, thou; pl. *'ántum*, fem. *'antúnna*, ye. In Syriac אַנְתְּ, fem. אַנְתִּי are written, but both are pronounced *'at*. In Western Aramaic אַנְתָּ is usual for both genders.

g אַתָּ (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. Ps. 6, 4, always as *Kᵉthîbh*, with אַתָּה as *Qᵉrê*. In three places אַתְּ appears as a masculine, Num. 11, 15. Deut. 5, 24. Ezek. 28, 14.

h The feminine form was originally אַתִּי as in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *Kᵉthîbh* (Jud. 17, 2. 1 Ki. 14, 2. 2 Ki. 4, 16. 23. 8, 1. Jer. 4, 30. Ezek. 36, 13) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44. *f*) especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as קְטַלְתִּינִי, § 59. 1, *c*; comp. also *î* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the Imperative and Imperfect. The final *î* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, letter *f*) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The י therefore

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Testament, p. 147, bottom, ed. 6, p. 155,) as well as by Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 1887, p. 28; fundamentally established by König in *Theologische Studien u. Kritik*, 1893, pp. 464 sqq. and 478, and in his *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest Books (see the Lexicon) אנכי is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud.

[1] In Phoenician and Moabite (the inscription of Mêša', line 1) it is written אנך, without the final י—. In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *anech* (5, 2, 35). Comp. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in ancient Egyptian *anek*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

finally disappeared, and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אַתִּי to indicate the *Qᵉrê* אַתְּ (see § 17). The same final ־ִי appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix ־ִכִי, ־ֵכִי (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אַתֶּם and אַתֵּן (אַתֶּן), with the tone on the ultima (comp. § 29. *a*), are obtuse forms (comp. § 27. *v*) from אַתוּם (Arab. *'ăntŭm*, Aram. אַנְתוּן, אַנְתוּן) and אַתוּן or אַתִּין (Arab. *'ăntŭnna*, Aram. אַנְתִּין, אַנְתִּין). Hence, no doubt, the fact, that the suffixes with the 2nd *person plur. perf.* are added to the termination תוּ, instead of תֶּם, תֶּן. The form אַתֶּן is found only in Ezek. 34, 31 (so *Qimḥi* expressly, others אַתֶּן); אַתֶּנָּה (for which some MSS. have אַתֵּנָּה) only four times, viz. Gen. 31, 6. Ezek. 13, 11. 20. 34, 17; in 13, 20 אַתֶּם (before a מ) is also used as feminine.

III. *Third Person.*

k 6. (*a*) In הוּא and הִיא (*hû* and *hî*) the א (corresponding to the *'Elif of prolongation* in Arabic, comp. § 23. *i*) might have been added only as an orthographic closing of the final long vowel, as in לוּא, נָקִיא, &c. The א is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns[1], and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33. *a*) does הוּא appear as הוּ, while הִיא becomes הָ. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הו and הי but pronounced *húwă* and *híyă*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *húwwa* and *híyya*. This Arabic pronunciation alone would not indeed be decisive, since the vowel complement might have arisen from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Ethiopic *weʾᵉtû* (= *huʾa-tû*) for הוּא, *yeʾᵉtî* (= *hiʾa-tî*) for הִיא (compare also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for יָהוּא) shew that the א was original and indicated an early consonantal termination of the two words: comp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xx. 459. According to Philippi (ibid. xxviii. 172 and xxix. 371 sqq.) הוּא arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-va*, הִיא from *ha-ya*.

l (*b*) The form הוּא also stands in the consonantal text (*Kᵉthîbh*) of the Pentateuch[2] (with the exception of eleven places) for the *fem.* הִיא. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation הִוא, has indicated the *Qᵉrê* הִיא (*Qᵉrê perpetuum*, see § 17). The common explanation regards this phenomenon as an archaism (similar to the epicene use of נַעַר for *boy* and *girl*) which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gen. 20, 5. 38, 25. Num. 5, 13. 14 הִוא and הִיא are close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch it is found throughout the oldest documents, so that the הִיא cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of הוּא. Consequently there only

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[1] In the inscription of King Mêšaʿ (see § 2. 2), lines 6 and 27, we even find הא for הוּא; and in the inscription of 'Ešmunʿazar, line 22, for הִיא.

[2] Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex of 916 A.D.; comp. Baer, *Ezechiel*, p. 108 sq.; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des A. T.* (Lpz. 1891), p. 243.

remains the hypothesis, that the writing of הוּא for הִיא rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing הִיא for הוּא in 1 Ki. 17, 15. Is. 30, 33. Job 31, 11, or הוּא for הִיא in Ps. 73, 16. Eccles. 5, 8. 1 Chron. 29, 16. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K^ethîbh* throughout. The conjecture of Levy is deserving of every consideration, viz. that originally הא was written for both forms (see letter *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into הוא. Comp. for the whole question Delitzsch in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben*, i. 393 sqq., and Kuenen, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, 2nd ed. i. § 16 *n.* 7 (= *The Hexateuch*, p. 321 f.), [also Driver, *Leviticus*, in Haupt's Bible, p. 25 f.]

m 7. The plural forms הֵם (הֶמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *prefixes* הֵן, הָן) appear to be formed from הוּא and הִיא, as אַתֶּם is from אַתָּה. In Arabic, where they are pronounced *hŭm*, *hŭnna*, the obscure vowel-sound has remained, while in Hebrew, in the suffix-forms הֶם and הֶן, it becomes an obtuse *S^eghôl* (comp. § 27. *v*). The ה־ in הֶמָּה and הֵנָּה has no doubt a demonstrative force. In Western Aram. הִמּוֹן, הִמּוֹ (אִנּוּן, הִנּוּן), Syr. *henûn* (*'enûn*), Arab. *húmû* (the archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *tômû* there is an *ô* or *û* appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מוֹ, ־ֹמוֹ, ־ֻמוֹ (§ 58. *g*).

n In some passages הֶמָּה stands for the feminine (Zech. 5, 10. Cant. 6, 8. Ruth 1, 22; comp. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135. *o* and § 145. *t*). The quite anomalous עַד־הֵם 2 Ki. 9, 18 should be altered into עָדֶיהָם, comp. Job 32, 12.

o 8. The pronouns of the 3rd person may refer to *things* as well as persons. On their meaning as *demonstratives* see § 136.

§ 33. *Pronominal Suffixes.*

a **1.** The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative[1]. The accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e.g. הוּ (toneless) and וֹ (from *āhû*) *eum* and *eius*, קְטָלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him* (also קְטָלְתִּיו), קְטָלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קְטָלְתּוֹ *thou hast killed him;* אוֹרֹ (also, rarely [see § 91. *d*], אוֹרֵהוּ) *lux eius.*

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e.g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es;* Greek, *πατήρ μου* for *πατὴρ ἐμοῦ*; Latin, *eccum*, *eccos*, &c. in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum*, *ecce eos.*

[1] On apparent exceptions see § 135. 2.

2. The *case* which these suffixes represent is— *b*

(*a*) When joined to verbs, the accusative (comp., however, § 117. *x*), e.g. קְטַלְתִּיהוּ I have killed *him*.

(*b*) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e.g. אָבִי (*'ābh-î*) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse*, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*. *c*

(*c*) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e.g. בֵּינִי, literally *interstitium mei*, *between me* (comp. *mea causa*); but הִנֵּנִי *behold me*, *ecce me*. *d*

(*d*) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (לְ sign of the dative, בְּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e.g. לוֹ *to him* (*ei*) and *to himself* (*sibi*), בּוֹ *in him*, מִמֶּנִּי (usually מִמֶּנִּי) *from me*. *e*

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (ךָ, &c.) are all formed with a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound. *f*

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*qatalka*, *thou hast killed* = Hebr. קְטַלְתָּ). ך

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive) are the same in most of their forms, but some differ, e.g. נִי *me*, ִי *my*. *g*

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes;* a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 sqq., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the prepositions with suffixes in § 103, of adverbs with suffixes § 100. *o*.

§ 34. *The Demonstrative Pronoun.*

1. *Sing.* { *m.* זֶה[1] / *f.* זֹאת (זֶהּ, זוֹ)[2] } *this.* *Plur. com.* אֵלֶּה (rarely אֵל) *these.* *a*

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[1] In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which is, however, sometimes interchanged with a sibilant. Comp. Aram. דֵּן, דָּךְ *masc.*, דָּא, דָּךְ *fem.* (this); Sansk. *sa*, *sā*, *tat;* Gothic *sa*, *sô*, *thata;* Germ. *da*, *der*, *die*, *das;* and Eng. *the*, *this*, *that*, *&c.*

[2] That זֶה may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Jud. 16, 28 or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos. 2, 17.

b Rem. 1. The feminine form זֹאת has undoubtedly arisen from זָאת, by obscuring of an original *â* to *ô* (for זָא = זֶה comp. the Arab. *hâ-dâ*, *this*, masc.; for ת as the feminine ending § 80), and the forms זֹה, זוֹ, both of which are rare[1], are shortened from זֹאת, by rejection of the ת. In Ps. 132, 12 זוֹ is used as a *relative*, comp. זוּ below. In Jer. 26, 6, *K^ethîbh*, הַזֹּאתָה (with the article and the demonstrative termination ה־ָ) is found for זֹאת. The forms אֵלֶּה and אֵל are plurals of זֶה and זֹאת by usage, not etymologically. The form אֵל occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gen. 19, 8. 25. 26, 3. 4, &c. [8 times], always with the article, הָאֵל, and in 1 Chron. 20, 8 without the article [cf. Driver on Deut. 4, 42][2]. Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

c 2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find לָזֶה *to this* (comp. for לְ, § 102. *g*), לָזֹאת, לָזֹאת *to this* (fem.), לָאֵלֶּה, לְאֵלֶּה *to these;* אֶת־זֶה *hunc*, אֶת־זֹאת *hanc*, אֶת־אֵלֶּה *hos*, also without ־אֵת, even *before* the verb Ps. 75, 8 and elsewhere. Note also מְחִיר זֶה *pretium huius* (1 Ki. 21, 2), &c.

d **2.** The secondary form זוּ occurs only in poetic style, and is used mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who*. Like אֲשֶׁר (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.

e Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַזֶּה, הַזֹּאת, הָאֵל, הָאֵלֶּה) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126. 5; e.g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, but זֶה הָאִישׁ *this is the man*.

f 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַלָּזֶה Gen. 24, 65. 37, 19; הַלָּזוּ *fem.* Ezek. 36, 35, and shortened הַלָּז, sometimes *masc.*, as in Jud. 6, 20. 1 Sam. 17, 26. 2 Ki. 23, 17. Zech. 2, 8. Dan. 8, 16, once *fem.*, 2 Ki. 4, 25; cf. 1 Sam. 14, 1 [and 20, 19 LXX]. In Arabic the corresponding form *'ăllăḏî* is the relative pronoun.

g 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

§ 35. *The Article.*

a **1.** The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form ־ַה, with a sharply pronounced *ă* and a doubling of the following consonant, e.g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיְאֹר *the river*, הַלְוִיִּם *the Levites* (according to § 20. *m* for הַיְאֹר, הַלְוִיִּם).

b Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in יְ after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ע follows the יְ, e.g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעֵפִים *the weary*

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[1] זֹה 2 Ki. 6, 19, Ez. 40, 45, and Eccles. (6 times); זוֹ only Hos. 7, 16, Ps. 132, 12.

[2] According to Kuenen (comp. above, § 2. *n*) the form אֵל dates from a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter; later copyists accidentally omitted the addition of the ה.

(בַּיְעָנִים Lam. 4, 3 *Qᵉrê* is an exception), but הַיְאוֹר, הַיְלָדִים, הַיְסוֹד, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix מְ in certain nouns and in the participles *Pi'ēl* and *Pu'al* (see § 52. *c*) before ה, ע and ר, except when the guttural has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus הַמְּהוּמָה Ezek. 22, 5, הַמְּעָרָה *the cave* (comp. Job 38, 40. 1 Chron. 4, 41); but הַמְהַלֵּךְ Ps. 104, 3 (Eccles. 4, 15. 2 Chron. 23, 12; before ע Ps. 103, 4); הַמְעַשָּׂקָה Is. 23, 12. Before letters other than gutturals this מְ remains without Dageš, according to § 20. *m*.

2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22. 1) cannot properly be doubled, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (compare § 27. *q*). *c*

(1) In the case of the weakest guttural, א, and also with ר (§ 22. 1 and 5), the doubling is altogether lost. Consequently, the *Pathaḥ* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qameṣ*; e.g. הָאָב *the father*, הָאַחֵר *the other*, הָאֵם *the mother*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הָאוֹר *the light*, הָאֱלֹהִים *ὁ θεός*, הָרֶגֶל *the foot*, הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked*.

So also הַיְשֻׁפוֹת Neh. 3, 13, because syncopated from הָאֲשֻׁפוֹת (comp. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); הָאוּקִים (as in Num. 11, 4. Jud. 9, 41. 2 Sam. 23, 33, with the א orthographically retained, for הָאֲזִי) Jer. 40, 4 (comp. בְּאֹז verse 1); הַסּוּרִים Eccles. 4, 14 for הָאֲסִירִים; הָרַמִּים 2 Chron. 22, 5 for הָאֲרַם (comp. 2 Ki. 8, 28). *d*

(2) In the case of the other gutturals there occurs either the virtual or weak doubling (§ 22. 1)—especially with the stronger sounds ח and ה, less often with ע—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathaḥ* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathaḥ* is either slightly lengthened into *Sᵉghôl* or fully into *Qameṣ*. That is to say:— *e*

(*A*) When the guttural has any other vowel than *ā* (ָ) or *ŏ* (ָֹ), *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ח and ה the article regularly remains הַ; e.g. הַהוּא *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחַיִל *the force*, הַחָכְמָה *the wisdom*. Before ח, *ā* occurs only in הָחַי Gen. 6, 19; הָחֲרִיטִים Is. 3, 22; הָחַפָּנִים Is. 17, 8; before ה, always in הָהֵם, הָהֶבֶל, הָהָר.

(2) before ע the *Pathaḥ* is generally lengthened to *Qameṣ*, e.g. *g* הָעַיִן *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶד *the servant*, plur. הָעֲבָדִים; לָעֲנָלִים 1 Ki. 12, 32; also in Gen. 10, 17 הָעַרְקִי is the more correct reading. Exceptions are בַּעוֹפֶרֶת Exod. 15, 10; הָעוּרִים 2 Sam. 5, 6. 8. Is. 42, 18; בַּעֶבֶד Is. 24, 2; הָעֹרְכִים Is. 65, 11; בַּעשֶׁק Ezek. 22, 7; הָעֹבְדִים Prov.

2, 13 and הַעֲגָבֶת Prov. 2, 17; לָעֵינַיִם 1 Sam. 16, 7. Eccles. 11, 7; but לָעֵינִי Gen. 3, 6. Prov. 10, 26. Comp. Baer on Is. 42, 18.

h (*B*) When the guttural has *ā* (ָ) then

(1) before a tone-bearing הָ or עָ the article is always הָ, otherwise it is הַ; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעָוֹן (in *pause*), הָהָרָה *towards the mountain;* but (according to § 22. *c*) הֶהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעָוֹן *the guilt.*

i (2) before חָ the article is invariably הָ without regard to the tone; e.g. הֶחָכָם *the wise man*, הֶחָג *the festival.*

k (3) When the guttural has ֲ the article is הַ before חָ, e.g. הַחֳדָשִׁים *the months;* בֶּחֳרָבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article בְּחָרְבוֹת) Ezek. 33, 27, comp. 2 Chron. 27, 4; but הָ before עָ, as הָעֳמָרִים *the sheaves* Ruth 2, 15.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

l Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article הַ· is generally considered to have been הַל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יִקַּח from יִלְקַח, § 19. *d*. This view is certainly supported by the form of the Arabic article אַל (pronounced *hal*[1] by some modern Bedâwî, see Wallin in the *ZDMG.* vi. 195, 217), the ל of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. *'al-Qur'ân* but *'as-sănă* (Bed. *has-sana*) = Hebr. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*. It is, however, a question whether the Hebr. הַ is not distinct from the Arab. *'al*, and whether the sharpening of the following consonant should not be explained in the same way as the sharpening of the consonant after וַ consecutive (§ 49. *f;* comp. also cases like בַּבָּמָה, בַּבָּמָה, &c., § 102. *k*).

m The Arabic article itself perhaps occurs in the Old Testament in אַלְמֻגִּים 1 Ki. 10, 11. 12 (also אַלְגֻּמִּים 2 Chron. 2, 7. 9, 10. 11), probably *sandal-wood*, also in אֶלְגָּבִישׁ *hail, ice* = גָּבִישׁ (Arab. *ǵibs*) Ezek. 13, 11. 13. 38, 22. On the other hand, in the proper name אַלְמוֹדָד Gen. 10, 26 the first syllable may perhaps be אֵל *God*, as D. H. Müller (comp. Gesenius' *Lexicon*, 11th ed. s. v.) and Nöldeke (*Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.* 1882, p. 1186) suppose. אַלְקוֹם Prov. 30, 31, commonly explained as = Arab. *alqaum*, the militia, is quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes בְּ, לְ, כְּ (§ 102) come before the article, the ה is syncopated, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Šᵉwâ (§ 19. *k*, and

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[1] In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is ה, before gutturals הנ (*han*). The Dageš forte in Hebrew would then be due to assimilation of a נ. This is the opinion of Halévy (*Revue des études juives*, xxiii. p. 117), while D. H. Müller regards the five forms in dispute as participles Niph'al.

§ 23. *k*), e.g. בַּשָּׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so Ps. 36, 6); לָעָם for לְהָעָם *to the people*, בָּהָרִים *on the mountains*, בַּחֳדָשִׁים *in the months*[1]. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ezek. 40, 25. 47, 22. Eccles. 8, 1. Dan. 8, 16. Neh. 9, 19. 12, 38. 2 Chron. 10, 7. 25, 10. 29, 27; comp., however, 1 Sam. 13, 21. 2 Sam. 21, 20. Elsewhere, e.g. 2 Ki. 7, 12, the Masora requires the syncope in the *Qᵉrê*. A distinction in meaning is observed between כְּהַיּוֹם *about this time* (Gen. 39, 11. 1 Sam. 9, 13, &c.) and כַּיּוֹם *first of all* (Gen. 25, 31, &c.). After the copula וְ (*and*) syncope of the ה does not take place, e.g. וְהָעָם.

3. The words אֶרֶץ *earth*, הַר *mountain*, חַג *feast*, עַם *people*, פַּר *bull*, always *o* appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאָרֶץ, הָהָר, הֶחָג, הָעָם, הַפָּר; compare also אָרוֹן *ark*, with the article always הָאָרוֹן.

§ 36. *The Relative Pronoun.*

The relative pronoun (cf. § 138) is usually the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (*who, which*, &c.), originally a demonstrative pronoun; see further §§ 138 and 155. In the later Books, especially Eccles. and late Psalms,—also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (3 times), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in Canticles (cf. Jud. 6, 17. 7, 12. 8, 26. 2 Ki. 6, 11;—Gen. 6, 3. Job 19, 29 are both doubtful), שֶׁ is used instead; more rarely שַׁ Jud. 5, 7. Cant. 1, 7 (Job 19, 29?); once שָׁ before א Jud. 6, 17 (elsewhere before a guttural שָׁ), before ה even שָׁ Eccles. 3, 18, and according to some (e.g. Qimḥi) also in Eccles. 2, 22[2].

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is מִי *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gen. 33, 5. Is. 60, 8. 2 Ki. 18, 35; comp. also בַּת־מִי *whose daughter?* Gen. 24, 23; לְמִי *to whom?* אֶת־מִי *whom?*) and מָה *what?* (of things).

The form ־מַה, ־מַ, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in יְ, Hab. 2, 1, &c. *b* against § 20. *m*) may be explained from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible ה (מַהּ, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. Socin calls

[1] Also in Is. 41, 2, read בְּעָפָר instead of the impossible בְּעָפָר.

[2] The full form אשר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אש (= ·אֲשֶׁ?), pronounced *asse*, *esse* (also *as*, *es*, *is*, *ys*, *us*), or—especially in the later Punic and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—ש (*sa*, *si*, *sy*, *su*). Also in New Hebrew ·שֶׁ is the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 sqq. and below, § 155.

attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufaṣṣal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

c (*a*) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, מַה־ stands with a following *Dageš* (§ 20. *d*), e. g. מַה־לָּךְ *what is it to thee?* and even in *one* word, as מַלָּכֶם *what is it to you?* Is. 3, 15; comp. Ex. 4, 2. Mal. 1, 13, and even before a guttural, as מהם Ezek. 8, 6 *K^ethîbh*.

d (*b*) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or a conjunctive accent, it is either מַה with a virtual doubling of the guttural (§ 22. *c*), so especially before ה, and, in Gen. 31, 36. Job 21, 21, before ח, or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *ă* is fully lengthened to *Qameṣ* (comp. § 35. 2)—so always before א and ר—or half-lengthened to *S^eghôl*, especially before עָ, חָ, הָ (before הָ however also מָה). The omission of the doubling also takes place as a rule with the hard gutturals, when they have not *Qameṣ*, and then the form is either מָה or מָה, the latter especially before ח or ע, when *Maqqeph* follows.

e The longer forms מָה and מָה also remain before letters which are not gutturals, if they are not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule מָה is then used, but מָה when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (on מָה in the combinations בַּמָּה, בַּמָּה, and even לָמָּה, 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102. *k* and *l*).

f (*c*) In the principal pause מָה is used without exception; also as a rule with the smaller *disjunctives*, and especially almost always before gutturals (מָה only in very few cases). On the other hand, מָה more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 6. 15, 14. 2 Ki. 1, 7. Hag. 1, 9 (see Köhler on the passage). Ps. 10, 13. Job 7, 21; comp., however, Prov. 31, 2, and Delitzsch on the passage.

g **2.** On מִי and מָה as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicunque*, *quodcunque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see the *Lexicon*.

CHAPTER II.

THE VERB[1].

§ 38. *General View.*

Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually divided into— *a*

(*a*) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned.*

(*b*) *Verbal derivatives*, i.e. *secondary* verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קִדֵּשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from קָדַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39). *b*

(*c*) *Denominatives*, i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari*, *praedari*, and Eng. *to skin*, *to poll*), either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל, *Qal* and *Pi'ēl*, *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שֵׁרֵשׁ *to root out*, from שֹׁרֶשׁ *root* (§ 52. *h*). *c*

This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לְבֵנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לבן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגָה *to be prolific*), denomin. דּוּג *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קוּץ *to pass the summer* (from קַיִץ *summer*, stem קוּץ *to be hot*). *d*

§ 39. *Ground-form and Derived Stems.*

1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i.e. in *Qal*, see No. 4) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the fundamental or ground-form of the verb (§ 30. *a*), e.g. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטֹן *he was little*[2]. From *a*

[1] Comp. M. Schultze, *Zur Formenlehre des semit. Verbs*, Vienna, 1886.

[2] For the sake of brevity, however, the meaning in Hebrew-English Lexicons is usually given in the Infinitive, e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, properly *he has learnt.*

this form the other persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קְטֹל or קָטֵל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

b In verbs ע״ו (i.e. with ו for their second radical) the stem-form, given both in *Lexicon* and *Grammar*, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial ו, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e.g. שׁוּב *to return* (3rd pers. perf. שָׁב): the same is the case in most stems with medial י, e.g. דִּין *to judge*.

c **2.** From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, לִמֵּד *to teach*; שָׁכַב *to lie*, הִשְׁכִּיב *to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, נִשְׁפַּט *to contend*. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or *derivative* verbs, e.g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *fällen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *saugen*), *lactare* (to give suck, Germ. *säugen*); *iacĕre* (to throw), *iacēre* (to lie down); *γίνομαι*, *γεννάω*. In Hebrew, however, these formations, which are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e.g.) in Greek, Latin, or English, are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations* (among the Jewish grammarians בִּנְיָנִים, i.e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon[1].

d **3.** The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal modification by means of vowel-change and doubling of the middle consonant (קְטֵל, קִטֵּל, קָטַל, קוֹטֵל; comp. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קְטָלַל, קְטַלְטַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִתְקַטֵּל, הִקְטִיל). Comp. § 31. *b*.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected rather by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e.g. the reflexives with the prefix אֶתְ, אִתְ, הִתְ have entirely usurped the place of the Passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great

[1] The term *Conjugation* in Hebrew accordingly differs entirely from its meaning in Greek and Latin grammar.

wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1. 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קַל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (כְּבֵדִים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of פָּעַל *he has done*[1], which was used in the oldest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but only very few verbs exhibit them all: *e*

	Active.	*Passive.*
1. Qal	קָטַל *to kill.*	(Comp. § 52. *e.*)
2. Niph'al	נִקְטַל *to kill oneself* (rarely passive).	
3. Pi'ēl	קִטֵּל *to kill many, to massacre.*	4. Pu'al קֻטַּל.
5. Hiph'îl	הִקְטִיל *to cause to kill.*	6. Hoph'al הָקְטַל.
7. Hithpa'ēl	הִתְקַטֵּל *to kill oneself.*	[Very rare, Hothpa'al הָתְקַטַּל.]

f

There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55). *g*

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[1] This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalîd. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for פָּקַד, after the example of Moses Qimḥi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e. g. פְּקַדְתָּ, פְּקַדְתֶּם. The paradigm of קָטַל, commonly used since the time of Danz, avoids this defect, and is especially adapted for the comparative treatment of the Semitic dialects, inasmuch as it is found with slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קתל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (Ps. 139, 19. Job 13, 15. 24, 14); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קטל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dageš* in the *B^{e}gadk^{e}phath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal;* 2. *Pi'ēl* and *Pu'al;* 3. *Pô'ēl* and *Pô'al* (see § 55. *b*); 4. *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al;* 5. *Hithpa'ēl* and *Hothpa'al;* 6. *Hithpô'ēl* (see § 55. *b*); 7. *Niph'al;* 8. *Hithpa'ēl* (see § 54. *l*); 9. *Pi'lēl* (see § 55. *d*). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'ēl* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl.* (2) The causative *Hiph'îl* with its passive *Hoph'al,* and the analogous forms (*Šaph'ēl* and *Tiph'ēl*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al.*

§ 40. *Tenses. Moods. Flexion.*

a **1.** While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods.* The verb has only two *tense*-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect,* see the note on § 47. *a*), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle.* All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 sqq.), or by syntactical combinations. Of moods properly so called (besides the *Imperfect* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the Imperfect-form (§ 48).

b **2.** The *inflexion* of the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* as to persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun. It is from the union of the pronoun with the verbal stem that the personal inflexions of these tenses arise.*

c The following Table will serve for the beginner as a provisional scheme of the formative syllables (*affomatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses.* The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Compare § 44 sqq. and the Paradigms.

PERFECT.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
3. *m.*	. . .	3. *c.*	. . .
3. *f.*	ה . . .		
2. *m.*	תָּ . . .	2. *m.*	תֶּם . . .
2. *f.*	תְּ . . .	2. *f.*	תֶּן . . .
1. *c.*	תִּי . . .	1. *c.*	נוּ . . .

IMPERFECT.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
3. *m.*	יִ . . .	3. *m.*	יִ . . .
3. *f.*	תִ . . .	3. *f.*	תִ . . . נָה
2. *m.*	תִ . . .	2. *m.*	תִ . . . וּ
2. *f.*	תִ . . . י	2. *f.*	תִ . . . נָה
1. *c.*	אִ . . .	1. *c.*	נִ . . .

§ 41. *Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.*

The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs; and deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications occasioned by the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz.:— *a*

(*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62–65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.

(*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19. 2), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* פ״ן, ע״ע, and ע״ו, as נָגַשׁ, סָבַב, קוּם, §§ 66, 67, 72). *b*

(*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various deviations from the regular form occur. Comp. § 68 sqq. for these 'quiescent' verbs, such as יָשַׁב, מָצָא, גָּלָה. *c*

Taking the old paradigm פָּעַל as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem פ, the second ע, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* פ״א for a verb whose first radical is א (*primae radicalis*, [*sc. literae*] א); ע״ו for *mediae radicalis* ו; ע״ע for a verb whose second radical is repeated so as to form a third. *d*

I. The Strong Verb.

§ 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and afformatives given in § 40. *c*, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43–55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e. g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

A. The Pure Stem, or Qal.

§ 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

a The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is קָטַל, with *ă* (*Pathaḥ*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs (but see § 44. *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Ṣere*, originally *ĭ*), and another with *ō* (*Ḥolem*, originally *ŭ*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*[1] meaning, and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. כָּבֵד *to be heavy*, קָטֹן *to be small*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A*, a verb *middle E*, and a verb *middle O* are accordingly given side by side. The second example כָּבֵד is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

b Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameṣ* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ă* (comp. in Arabic *qătălă*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Metheg;* otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā*, *ē*), it becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. קְטַלְתֶּם 2nd *plur. masc.* In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to Šᵉwâ, as קְטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms are pronounced in Arabic as *qătĭlă*, *qătŭlă;* in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ĭ* in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ŭ* to *ō*.

c 2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: חָמַר *to cover with pitch*, from חֵמָר *pitch;* מָלַח *to salt*, from מֶלַח *salt;* שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy* or *sell corn*, from שֶׁבֶר *corn;* see above, § 38. *c*.

§ 44. *Flexion of the Perfect of Qal*[2].

a **1.** The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affórmatives*) to the *end* of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*[3]. For the 3rd *pers. sing. masc. Perfect*, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the

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[1] But comp. such instances as Jer. 48, 5. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *ĭ*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1894, p. ci. sq.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* and *involuntaria*.

[2] Comp. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gramm. II.*) in *ZDMG.*, vol. 38, p. 407 sqq.

[3] On the connexion between the *Perfect* and the *verbal adjective* see §§ 39. *a*, 50. *b*. In intransitive verbs they both have exactly the same form, e.g. מָלֵא *he was full* and *full;* קָטֹן *he was small* and *small*. In transitive verbs the participle has

finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were, *killing thou*, or *a killer thou*), *a killer wast thou*=קטל אַתָּה; יָרֵא *he was fearing*, יְרֵאתֶם *ye were fearing*=ירא אַתֶּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נוּ—) is just as certainly to be connected with the termination of אֲנַחְנוּ, אֲנוּ *we*. The afformative of the 1st pers. sing. (תִּי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ת (cf. § 33. *f*), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אָנֹכִי, I[1]. In the *third* person ה_ (originally ת_, comp. below, letter *f*) is a mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80. *c*), and וּ is the termination of the plural; comp., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *úna* in Arabic and *ú* (often also וֹן) in Hebrew, also *úna* (in the construct state *ú*) as the termination of the masc. plur. of nouns in literary Arabic.

2. The characteristic *Pathaḥ* of the second syllable becomes *Šᵉwâ* *b* before an afformative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ; but in *pause* קָטָלָה, קָטָלוּ). Before an afformative beginning with a consonant the *Pathaḥ* remains, whether in the tone-syllable (קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְנוּ; in *pause* קָטָלְתָּ &c.) or *before* it. In the latter case, however, the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*; as קְטַלְתֶּן, קְטַלְתֶּם; comp. § 27. *i* and § 43. *b*. On the retention of *ā* with *Metheg* of the counter tone in the Perf. consecutive, comp. § 49. *i*.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or *c* Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathaḥ* (frequently so even in the 3rd sing. masc. Perf.). This tendency to assimilate to the more common verbs *middle A* may also be explained from the laws of vocalization of the tone-bearing closed penultima, which does not readily admit of *Ṣere*, and never of a *Ḥireq*, of which the *Ṣere* is a lengthening (comp. § 26. *p*). On the other hand, *Ṣere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems ל״א (§ 74. *g*), before suffixes (§ 59. *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e. g. דְּבֵקָה *it cleaveth*, Job 29, 10 (not דָּבְקָה), comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23. Job 41, 15; even (contrary to § 29. *q*) in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. שְׁכֵן, Deut. 33, 12 (out of pause שָׁכֵן, Is. 32, 16).

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a different form (קִטַל); but with קָטַל may be compared the noun-form קָטָל, which very frequently expresses an inherent quality, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, זָהָב (prop. *bright yellow*) *gold*. Comp. § 84. *a*. ll. 3.

[1] According to Nöldeke, l.l., p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kû*; comp. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*. Halévy declares himself against the interchange of כ and ת, in *Les irrégularités du parfait sémitique* (Mélanges Renier, 1886, p. 447 sq.).

d 2. In some weak stems *middle A*, the *Pathaḥ* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes ־, and, in one example, ־ֶ. Thus from יָרַשׁ: וִירִשְׁתָּהּ *and thou shalt possess it*, Deut. 17, 14; וִירִשְׁתֶּם Deut. 19, 1; וִירִשְׁתֶּם Deut. 4, 1, and frequently; from יָלַד *to bring forth, to beget;* יֲלִדְתִּיךָ Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12; Jer. 2, 27. 15, 10); from פּוּשׁ: וּפִשַּׁחְתֶּם Mal. 3, 20; from שָׁאַל: שְׁאִלְתִּיו *I have asked him*, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (Jud. 13, 6), and three times שְׁאִלְתֶּם 1 Sam. 12, 13. 25, 5. Job 21, 29. Qimḥi already indicates the explanation, that the ĭ (ĕ) of these forms of שׁאל and ירשׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ are also found שָׁאֵל and יָרֵשׁ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יָרֵשׁ, see § 69. *s*); the ĭ in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of ă (§ 27. *s*), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the ĭ is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or lingual), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (comp. § 54. *k*, and 64. *f*).

e 3. In verbs *middle O*, the *Ḥôlĕm* is retained in the tone-syllable, e. g. יָגֹרְתָּ *thou didst tremble;* יָכְלוּ in *pause* for יְכָלוּ *they were able;* but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel reappears in the form of a *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph;* יְכָלְתִּיו *I have prevailed against him*, Ps. 13, 5; וְיָכָלְתָּ (see § 49. *h*) *then shalt thou be able*, Ex. 18, 23; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. יְכָלוּ, יְכָלָה.

f 4. Rarer forms[1] are: *Sing.* 3rd *fem.* in ת־ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic), e. g. אָזְלַת *it is gone*, Deut. 32, 36 (but וְנִשְׁבַּחַת Is. 23, 15, which Qimḥi and others so explain, is more correctly to be taken as a Participle); from a verb ע״י, וָשְׁבַת, comp. § 72. *o*. This original feminine ending *-at* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59. 1, *a*; and similarly in stems ל״ה, both in the form *āt* (which is frequent also in stems ל״א § 74. *g*), and also with the *Pathaḥ* weakened to *vocal Šᵉwâ* before the pleonastic ending ה־, e. g. גָּלְתָה § 75. *i*. In Ezek. 31, 5 the Aramaic orthography, גָּבְהָא occurs instead of גָּבְהָה.

g 2nd *masc.* תָּ for תְ (differing only orthographically), e. g. בָּגַדְתָּה *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12 (נָתַתָּה which is twice as common as נָתַתְּ, comp. § 66. *h*); Gen. 21, 23. 2 Sam. 2, 26. 2 Ki. 9, 3. Is. 2, 6. Ps. 56, 9 (so also in *Hiph'îl;* 2 Ki. 9, 7. Is. 37, 23. Ps. 60, 4).

h 2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in הָלַכְתִּי *thou wentest*, Jer. 31, 21 (comp. 2, 33. 3, 4. 5. 46, 11, especially common in Jeremiah, and Ezek. 16; see, however, Mic. 4, 13. Ruth 3, 3. 4). הָלַכְתִּי is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading הָלַכְתְּ (without י)[2] as in the corresponding

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[1] Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

[2] Where the Masora apparently regards the תִּי as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e. g. in Jer. 2, 20 (twice), Mic. 4, 13, it has rather taken the form

אַתִּי (אַתְּי) § 32. *h*. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 58. 1, *c*).

i 1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as יָדַעְתְּ Ps. 140, 13. Job 42, 2. 1 Ki. 8, 48. Ezek. 16, 59 (all in K^ethîbh), Ps. 16, 2 without a Q^erê; in 2 Ki. 18, 20 also אָמַרְתְּ is really intended, as appears from Is. 36, 5. The Q^erê requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the K^ethîbh is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

k תֶּן as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for תֶּם Ezek. 33, 26, might just possibly be due to the following ת (comp., for an analogous case, Mic. 3, 12, § 87. *e*), but is probably a copyist's error. Plur. 2nd *fem.* in תֶּנָּה- (according to others תֶּנָּה-) Am. 4, 3, but since ה follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; comp., however, אַתֶּנָּה § 32. *i*.

l 3rd *comm.* has three times the termination וּן[1]; יְדָעוּן Deut. 8, 3. 16 (each time before א, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form צָקוּן Is. 26, 16; on וּן in the Imperf. see § 47. *m*; on the affixed א in Jos. 10, 24. Is. 28, 12, see § 23. *i*.

m As in most Semitic languages (see § 47. *c*, note), the 3rd *fem. plur.* in Hebrew seems originally to have been distinguished from the 3rd *masc. plur.* by the termination ה־, as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1884, p. 411) referred doubtfully for this to the textual readings in Deut. 21, 7. Jos. 15, 4. 18, 12. 14. 19. Jer. 2, 15. 22, 6, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination *â*, as well as Gen. 48, 10 in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Gen. 49, 22. 1 Sam. 4, 15. Ps. 18, 35. Neh. 13, 10. Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qeré ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 sqq.) definitely explains all these K^ethîbh, as well as Ps. 73, 2. Jer. 50, 6 (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 Ki. 22, 49. Job 16, 16, also Jer. 48, 41. 51, 56. Ezek. 26, 2. Ps. 68, 14, as remains of the 3rd *fem. plur.* in ה־. This was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd *fem. sing.*, but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs ל״ה, as היה *K^ethîbh* six times in the above examples.

n 5. The afformatives תְּ, (תִּי), תִּי, נוּ are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mil'êl* (קָטַלְתָּ, &c.); with the other afformatives they are *Milra'* (§ 15. *c*). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (*a*) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Šewâ under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause;* as קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה (דְּבֻקָה for דְּבֻקָה), and קָטְלוּ for קָטְלוּ (מְלֻאוּ for מְלֻאוּ); (*b*) in certain cases after *wâw consecutive* of the *Perfect* (see § 49. *h*).

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as 1st *pers. sing.* (comp. Stade, *Gramm.* p. 253); so in Jud. 5, 7, where קַמְתִּי, on account of verse 12, must either have originally been intended as 2nd *sing. fem.*, or is due to an erroneous pronunciation of the form קמת as קָמְתְּ instead of 3rd *sing. fem.* קָמַת (as LXX).

[1] That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ûn* in the 3rd plur. Perf., has been shown by Nöldeke in the *ZDMG.*, vol. 38, p. 409 sqq.; comp. also *ZDMG.*, vol. 32, p. 757 sq., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nun* of the 3rd plur. in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses* [3], p. 6 *note*.]

o 6. Contraction of a final ת with the ת of the affformative occurs e. g. in בָּרַ֫חְתִּי Hag. 2, 5, &c.; cf. Is. 14, 20, &c. in the *Perf. Po'el* and Deut. 4, 25 in the *Hiph'îl* of שׁחת; Is. 21, 2, &c. in the *Hiph'îl* of שׁבת. Contraction of a final נ with the affformative נוּ occurs in נָתַ֫נּוּ Gen. 34, 16; in *Niph.* Ezr. 9, 7, comp. 2 Chron. 14, 10; in *Hiph.* 2 Chron. 29, 19; with the affformative נָה in the *Imperfect Qal* Ezek. 17, 23; *Pi'ēl* Ps. 71, 23, where with Baer תְּרַנֵּ֫נָה is to be read, according to others תְּרַ֫נֵּנָה (comp. in *Pil.* תְּקוֹנָ֫נָה Ezek. 32, 16), but certainly not תְּרַ֫נֵּנָה with the Mantua ed., Opitius and Hahn; with נָה in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gen. 4, 23. Is. 32, 9.

§ 45. *The Infinitive.*

a **1.** The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent *nouns* (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, the *Infinitive construct* (in Qal קְטֹל[1], sometimes incorrectly קָטוֹל), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions (לִקְטֹל *to kill*, § 114. *f*), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in Qal קָטוֹל, sometimes also קָטֹל), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative along with a finite verb of the same stem (see further § 113. 2)[2].

b The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity and inflexibility of the Infin. absol. are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *ō* of the Infin. constr. may be lost. For קְטֹל, according to § 93. *t*, goes back to the ground-form *quṭl* (*qoṭl*); hence e. g. with a suffix, קָטְלִי *qŏṭ^{e}li*, *my killing*.

c Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—

(*a*) קָטַל, e. g. שְׁכַב *to lie*, Gen. 34, 7; שְׁפַל *to sink*, Eccles. 12, 4; especially with verbs which have *ă* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שְׁכַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61. *c*). In Ezek. 21, 33

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[1] Comp. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93. *t*.

[2] The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קְטֹל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קָטוֹל ground-form *qāṭâl*). In the Paradigms the *Inf. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

the Masora seems to treat לְטָבְחָ (verse 20, in *pause* לְטָבְחָ) as an Infinitive = לְטִבְחַ; probably לַטְבֵחַ should be read.

(*b*) קַטְלָה and, attenuated from it, קִטְלָה; קְטֻלָה and קִטְלָה (which are feminine forms[1] of קָטֶל and קָטֹל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e. g. לְאַשְׁמָה *to be guilty*, Lev. 5, 26, אַהֲבָה *to love*, שִׂנְאָה *to hate*; לְיִרְאָה, often in Deut., *to fear*; זִקְנָה *to be old*; קִרְאָה *to meet* (in לִקְרַאת § 19. *k*); לְרִבְעָה *to lie down*, Lev. 20, 16; לְמָשְׁחָה *to anoint*, Ex. 29, 29; לְרָחְצָה *to wash*, Ex. 30, 18, &c.; לְטָמְאָה (also a subst. = *uncleanness*, like טֻמְאָה), *to be unclean*, Lev. 15, 32; קָרְבָה *to approach*, Ex. 36, 2 and elsewhere; comp. Deut. 11, 22. Is. 30, 19. Ezek. 21, 16. Hag. 1, 6; also רָחְקָה *to be far off*, Ezek. 8, 6; חָמְלָה *to pity*, Ezek. 16. 5; comp. Hos. 7, 4. On the other hand in חָמְלָה Gen. 19, 16, the original *ă* has been modified to *ĕ*; comp. חָזְקָה Is. 8, 11 and elsewhere. *d*

(*c*) In the Aramaic manner (מִקְטַל but cf. also Arab. *maqtal*), there occur as *Infin. Qal:* מִגְרַשׁ *to cast out*, Ezek. 36, 5; מִשְׁלוֹחַ *to send*, Est. 9, 19; מִקְרָא *to call* and מַסַּע *to depart*, Num. 10, 2 (Deut. 10, 11); מְקַח *to take*, 2 Chron. 19, 7 and elsewhere; מַשָּׂא *to carry*, Num. 4, 24 and elsewhere (comp. even לְמַשָּׂאוֹת Ezek. 17, 9); also with a feminine ending מַעֲלָה *to go up*, Ezr. 7, 9, &c.; comp. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack in his *Commentary* on Num. 4, 24. *e*

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition לְ; as לִקְטֹל *ad interficiendum*, לִנְפֹּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28. *a*). *f*

The blending of the לְ with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, comp. לִשְׁבַּב Gen. 34, 7; לִנְפֹּל Ps. 118, 13, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin-pōl*; hence, also *liq-ṭōl*, &c.; but בִּנְפֹל *bin^{e}phōl*, Job 4, 13; כִּנְפֹל 2 Sam. 3, 34. Exceptions לִצְבֹא Num. 4, 23. 8, 24; לִנְתוֹשׁ וְלִנְתוֹץ Jer. 1, 10. 18, 7. 31, 28; לִשְׁדוֹד Jer. 47, 4; לִטְבוֹחַ Jer. 11, 19, &c., Ps. 37, 14; according to some also לִסְבֹב Num. 21, 4 and לִכְבֹשׁ 2 Chron. 28, 10 (Baer לִכְבֹּשׁ); on the contrary בִּשְׁפֹּךְ Gen. 35, 22; כִּזְבֹּר Jer. 17, 2. For the meaningless לְדָרְיוֹשׁ Ezr. 10, 16 read לִדְרֹשׁ. *g*

§ 46. *The Imperative.*

1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קְטֹל (properly *q^{e}ṭŭl*, which is for an original *qŭṭŭl*), and קַטֶל (see below, letter *c*), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the Infin. constr. (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47)[2]. They represent *a*

[1] According to the remark of Elias Levita in Qimḥi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 *a*, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition לְ.

[2] The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek Infin., is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113. *bb*). Comp. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

the *second* person, and have both fem. and plur. forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109. *b*); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e.g. אַל־תִּקְטֹל *ne occidas* (not אַל־קְטֹל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Niph'al and Hithpa'ēl[1].

b **2.** The Afformatives of the *2nd sing. fem.* and the *2nd plur. masc.* and *fem.* are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47. 2). In the same way, the Imperative of the *2nd sing. masc.*, in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the ה־ *paragogicum* (§ 48. *i*), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).

c Rem. 1. Instead of the form קְטֹל (sometimes also *plene*, e.g. שְׁמוֹר Eccles. 12, 13; before *Maqqeph* קָטֶל־ with *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the *Imperf.* (i. e. especially verbs middle *ĕ*) make their Imperative of the form קָטַל, e.g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לָבַשׁ and לָבֵשׁ); שְׁכַב *lie down!* in *pause* שְׁכָב֫ 1 Sam. 3, 5. 6. 9.

d 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Šᵉwâ medium* (*qĭṭᵉlî*, *qĭṭᵉlû*, and so שִׁפְכִי, &c. without *Dageš lene*, and even מִשְׁכוּ with *Metheg*, Ex. 12, 21; but compare אִסְפִּי Jer. 10, 17, and with the same phonetic combination חֵישְׁפִי Is. 47, 2; see analogous cases in § 93. *m*); less frequently we find an *ŏ* instead of the *ĭ*, e. g. מָלְכִי *rule*, Jud. 9, 10; מָשְׁכוּ *draw*, Ez. 32, 20; חָרְבוּ Jer. 2, 12 (comp. חָרְבִי Is. 44, 27); on קָסְמִי 1 Sam. 28, 8 *Qᵉrê*; צֵעֲקִי Jer. 22, 20 (comp. 1 Ki. 13, 7), see § 10. *g*. This *ŏ* arises (see above, letter *a*) from a singular ground-form *qŭṭŭl*, not from a retraction of the original *ŭ* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *ĭ* in the first syllable (cf. also חִנְּרִי, אִמְרִי, מִכְרִי, עִבְרִי) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ŏ*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *ĭ*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47. *i* and 48. *i*; 61. *b*, 63. *n*.

e The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is גְּזֹרוּ 1 Ki. 3, 26; from שְׁמַע, שִׁמְעוּ, &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבֹרִי Is. 23, 12; even without the *pause* מְלוֹכִי Jud. 9, 10. 12, *Kᵉth.*; קְסוֹמִי 1 Sam. 28, 8, *Kᵉth.* (comp. with this also מְלוֹנָה, &c., § 48. *i*); from שְׁמַח, שִׂמְחִי Joel 2, 21.

f 3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שְׁמַעְנָה occurs once, in Gen. 4, 23 (for שִׁמַּעְנָה) with loss of the ה־ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שִׁמַּעְנָה. Also instead of the abnormal קְרֶאן Ex. 2, 20 (for קְרֶאנָה) we should perhaps read as in Ruth 1, 20 קְרֶאנָה (comp. מְצֶאנָה 1, 9 and לֵכְנָה 1, 12).

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[1] In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ezek. 32, 19. Jer. 49, 8), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

§ 47. *The Imperfect and its Inflexion.*

1. The persons of the Imperfect[1], in contra-distinction to those of the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) *before* the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קְטֹל). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the *2nd sing. fem.* and the *3rd* and *2nd plur. masc.*) passes over to the afformatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the afformatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (י, ת, א, נ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative united to the stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be indicated, in several cases, by special *afformatives*. Comp. the Table, § 40. *c*. *a*

2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the afformatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized. *b*

In the *first* pers. אֶקְטֹל, plur. נִקְטֹל, א is probably connected with אֲנִי, and נ with נַחְנוּ; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the

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[1] On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 sqq. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded, completed*, and *past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning*, the *unfinished*, and the *continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin Imperf.). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only *one* side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the primary distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.

Arabic points to the ground-forms *ăqṭŭl* and *năqṭŭl:* the *ĭ* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *Seghôl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the א for this sound (comp. § 22. *o*, also § 51. *p*); according to Qimḥi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between אֶקְטֹל (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and יִקְטֹל, which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭōl*[1].

c The preformative ת of the *second* persons (תִּקְטֹל, ground-form *tăqṭŭl*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the ת of אַתָּה, אַתֶּם, &c., and the *affformative* ִי of the 2nd fem. sing. תִּקְטְלִי with the *i* of the original feminine form אַתִּי (see § 32. *h*). The *affformative* וּ of the 2nd masc. plur. תִּקְטְלוּ (in its more complete form, וּן, see Rem. 4) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44. *l*). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine[2], while the affformative נָה (also ן) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with הֵנָּה *eae* and אַתֶּנָּה *vos* (fem.).

d The preformatives of the *third* persons (י in the masc. יִקְטֹל[3], ground-form *yăqṭŭl*, plur. יִקְטְלוּ, ground-form *yăqṭŭlû;* ת in the fem. תִּקְטֹל, plur. תִּקְטֹלְנָה) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With ת might most obviously be compared the original feminine

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[1] Compare § 24. *e*. In favour of the above view of Qimḥi may be urged the phonetic orthography אִשׁ (in Prov. 18, 24 אִישׁ), 2 Sam. 14, 19. Mic. 6, 10, for יֵשׁ, and אִישַׁי 1 Chron. 2, 13 for יִשַׁי (as verse 12). Also הַאֲוָקָה Mic. 6, 11 is probably for הַאְוָקָה = הַאְוָיָה, אפקד Is. 10, 12 for יִפְקֹד; אנחמך Is. 51, 19 for יְנַחֲמֵךְ; and conversely (according to Wellhausen, *Text der BB. Sam.* p. 5) יששכר was written for אִישׁ שָׂכָר. Similarly, ישוי 1 Sam. 14, 49 is probably for אִשְׁיוֹ or אִשְׁיָה; in 2 Sam. 23, 8 ישׁב בשבת is, according to the LXX, an error for אִשְׁבַּשֶּׁבֶת = ישבשת. In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew י as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

[2] This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *û*, *ûn*. In Hebrew, certainly, it is used in the 3rd plur. Perfect for both genders, but in the kindred languages only for the masculine, e. g. in Syriac *qᵉṭálû*, *qᵉṭálûn*, with the feminine form *qᵉṭálên*, in Western Aramaic *qᵉṭálû*, fem. *qᵉṭálā;* in Arabic *qătălû*, fem. *qătálnă*, Ethiopic *qătălû*, *qătălâ*.

[3] The usual derivation of the י from the ו of the pronoun הוּא, comparing יֶשַׁב for יָשַׁב (§ 69), has little in its favour, and does not explain the *Yodh preformative* of the plural. Rödiger conjectured that there formerly existed a corresponding pronoun of the 3rd pers. (*ya?*), and compared the Amharic *yĕh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the assumption that these are old Semitic forms. It is deserving of notice, moreover, that in Arabic and Western Aramaic *Yodh* also appears as the preformative of the 3rd *fem.* plur. (see below, letter *k*).

ending ת_ of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affformatives וּ (וּן) and נָה, see letter *c*.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šᵉwâ* before tone-bearing affformatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affformative נָה. Thus: יִקְטְלִי, תִּקְטְלִי, יִקְטְלוּ, תִּקְטֹלְנָה (but in *pause* תִּקְטְלִי, &c.), תִּקְטֹלְנָה. *e*

Rem. 1. The *ō* of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imper.), being lengthened from an original *ŭ* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 9. *r*). Hence it follows that: (*a*) it is only incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene;* (*b*) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel reappears as *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*, e. g. וַיִּכְתֹב־שָׁם *and he wrote there*, Jos. 8, 32 (but compare also Ex. 21, 37. Jos. 18, 20); (*c*) it becomes *Šᵉwâ* before the tone-bearing affformatives י_ and וּ (see above, No. 3; but Jerome still heard e. g. *iezbuleni* = יִזְבְּלֵנִי; cf. *ZAW.* iv. 83). *f*

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *Šᵉwâ*, exhibit a long *û:* יִשְׁפּוּטוּ הֵם Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18ᵇ), and against our editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise לְאֹ־תַעֲבוּרִי מִזֶּה Ruth 2, 8; תִּשְׁמוּרֵם (in principal pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפֹּוטוּ and תַּעֲבֹרִי (for יִשְׁפְּטוּ, תִּשְׁמְרֵם, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause, while in Prov. 14, 3 תִּשְׁמְרוּם is to be read, with August Müller. *g*

The *ō* of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with verbs *middle a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives *middle a* and *e* almost always keep *ă* (*Pathaḥ*)[1], in the impf., e. g. יִרְבַּץ, רָבַץ *to couch*, יִשְׁכַּב, שָׁכַב *to lie down* (יִלְמַד, לָמַד *to learn* is also originally intransitive = *to accustom oneself*); יִגְדַּל, גָּדַל *to become great* (but comp. יִשְׁכֹּן and שָׁכֵן imperf. יִשְׁכַּן *to dwell* and *to inhabit*, יִבֹּל, נָבַל imperf. יִבַּל *to wither*); also from verbs *middle o*, as קָטֹן *to be small*, the imperf. has the form יִקְטַן. *h*

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, and those with *ă* an intransitive meaning, e. g. יִקֹּצֹר *he cuts off*, יִקְצַר *he is cut off*, i. e. *is short;* יִחֹלַשׁ impf. *ō*, *to overcome*, Ex. 17, 13; impf. *ă*, *to be overcome*, Job 14, 10. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e. g. יִשַּׁךְ and יִשֹּׁךְ *he bites*, יַחֲפִץ and יֶחְפַּץ *he is inclined* (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = *he bends*, in Job 40, 17). On the *a* of the impf. of verbs middle and third guttural, comp. § 64. *b;* § 65. *b*. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63. *n*), ע״ע (§ 67. *p*), פ״י (§ 69. 1), and פ״א (§ 68. 1), and in יִתֵּן for *yintēn* from נָתַן *to give*, instead of *ă* or *ō* a moveable *Ṣere* (originally *ĭ*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects[2] in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וַיִּטְמְנוּ 2 Ki. 7, 8, since טמן otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel impf. *o*, impf. *a*, impf. *e*. *i*

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[1] This *ă* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitives in the strong verb; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65. *b*), it is to be found in פ״ן and ע״ע, and in many verbs פ״א and פ״י (§§ 69–71).

[2] Cf. Barth, 'Das *i*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 177 sqq.

k 3. For the 3rd *sing. fem.* תִּקְטֹל (*=tiq-ṭōl*), Baer requires in 1 Sam. 25, 20 תִּפְגֹּשׁ (read with ed. Mant. &c. תִּפְגֹּשׁ). For the 2nd *sing. fem.* (תִּקְטְלִי) the form תִּקְטֹל is found in Is. 57, 8. Jer. 3, 5. Ezek. 22, 4. 23, 32, in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ezek. 26, 14. For the 3rd *plur. fem.* תִּקְטֹלְנָה we find in Jer. 49, 11, in pause תִּבְטָחוּ (for תִּבְטַחְנָה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטֹלְנָה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assyr.), in Gen. 30, 38. 1 Sam. 6, 12. Dan. 8, 22. On the other hand, תִּקְטֹלְנָה appears in some cases to have been incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. *sing.* as תִּשְׁלַחְנָה Jud. 5, 26, where, however, perhaps תִּשְׁלַחֶנָּה is to be read, and Obad. 13, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of תִּשְׁלַח יָד; comp. Prov. 1, 20. 8, 3. In Ex. 1, 10 read תִּקְרָאֵנוּ; in Is. 27, 11. 28, 3, as also in Job 17, 16, it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *ănnă*.

l For נָה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutive* (see § 49. 2), simply ־ָן *nā*, e.g. Gen. 19, 33. 36. 37, 7. Ex. 1, 18. 19. 15, 20. Num. 25, 2. Ezek. 3, 20. 16, 55; in Arab. always *nă*. According to Elias Levita, תִּלְבַּשְׁן (2 Sam. 13, 18) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form וַתִּגְבְּהֶינָה (so both Qimḥi and ed. Mant.; but Baer וַתִּגְבְּהֶנָה) for וַתִּגְבַּהְנָה *they were high*, Ezek. 16, 50, is irregular, with ֶ__ inserted after the manner of verbs ע״ע and ע״ו, § 67. *d*; § 72. *i*; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in וּ there are, especially in the older Books, over 300 forms[1] with the fuller ending וּן (with *Nún paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; compare § 29. *m* and § 44. *l*; on its retention before suffixes § 60. *e*; also defectively יְרִיבֻן Ex. 21, 18. 22, 8, &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְקְטוּן *they collect*, Ps. 104, 28; יִרְגָּזוּן *they tremble*, Ex. 15, 14; תִּשְׁמָעוּן *ye shall hear*, Deut. 1, 17; comp. Jos. 24, 15, with *Segolta*; Is. 17, 12 twice, in verse 13 with *Zaqeph qaṭon*, 41, 5 after *wāw consec.* Without the pause, e.g. Ps. 11, 2 יִדְרְכוּן קֶשֶׁת, comp. 4, 3. Gen. 18, 28. 29. 30 sqq. 44, 1. Jos. 4, 6 (יִשְׁאָלוּן); Is. 8, 12. 1 Sam. 9, 13. Ruth 2, 9 (יִקְצֹרוּן and יִשְׁאֲבוּן); Jud. 11, 18 after *wāw consec.*

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic laws, e.g. certainly Ex. 17, 5. Num. 16, 29. 32, 20. 1 Sam. 9, 13. 1 Ki. 9, 6, and often, to avoid

[1] [See details in Böttcher, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 2, 15.]

a hiatus before א or ע. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159. *c*, note), as is manifest from Is. 26, 11: בַּל־יֶחֱזוּן יֶחֱזוּ וְיֵבֹשׁוּ *they see not; may they see and become ashamed.* All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations[1]. In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier ūn (old Arabic *ûnă*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *û*.

n With an affixed א we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) יִנָּשֹׂאוּ Jer. 10, 5, evidently an error for יִנָּשְׂאוּ, caused by the preceding נָשׂוֹא.—In יִשָּׁשׂוּם Is. 35, 1, the ending ūn is changed into ūm before the following מ.

o 5. Corresponding to the use of ūn for ū there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., although much less frequently, the fuller ending ִין־ (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *înă*), always with the tone, for ִי־, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus תִּדְבָּקִין Ruth 2, 8. 21, cf. 3, 4. 18. 1 Sam. 1, 14 (תִּשְׁתַּכְּרִין). Jer. 31, 22. Is. 45, 10.

p 6. On the reappearance in pause of the ō which had become *Še*wâ in the forms תִּקְטְלִי, &c., see above, letter *e*; similarly, the imperfects with ă restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to ā, hence, e. g. יִגְדַּלְנִי, תִּגְדַּלְנִי. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without afformatives, e. g. וַיִּגְדַּל, in pause וַיִּגְדָּל. Only the fuller forms in ûn and în have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels û and î in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

§ 48. *Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.*

a **1.** Certain modifications which take place in the form of the imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

b **2.** Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*)[2]. The former occurs (with few exceptions) only in the 1st person, while the latter is mostly found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and less frequently in the 1st person. The laws of the tone, however, and of the formation of syllables in Hebrew, not infrequently precluded the indication of the jussive by an actual shortening of the form;

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[1] It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nûn*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; comp. 1 Ki. 8, 38. 43 with 2 Chron. 6, 29. 33; 1 Ki. 12, 24. 2 Ki. 11, 5 with 2 Chron. 11, 4. 23, 4.

[2] The perfect has only *one* form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106. *p*).

consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with afformatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yăqtŭlŭ*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yăqtŭlă*; (*b*) a jussive, *yăqtŭl*; (*c*) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yăqtŭlănnă* and *yăqtŭlăn*, in pause *yăqtŭlā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

c **3.** The characteristic of the cohortative form consists in a long ה֫ affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. אֶקְטְלָה from אֶקְטֹל[1]. It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final ה֫ has the tone wherever the afformatives וּ and ִי֫ would have it. As before these endings, so also before the ה֫ cohortative, the moveable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šᵉwâ*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el נְנַתְּקָה *let us break asunder*, Ps. 2, 3; on אֶשְׁקְטָה Is. 18, 4 *Qᵉrê* (comp. also 27, 4. Ezr. 8, 25, &c.), see § 10. *h*; with the *Kᵉthîbh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases וישפוטו, &c., § 47. *g*. On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the ה֫, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אוֹדֶיךָּ *I will praise*. Finally (as before *â* and *î*), the vowel which became *Šᵉwâ* is restored in pause as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמָ֫רָה, Ps. 59, 10; comp. Gen. 18, 21. Is. 41, 26.

d The change of ה֫ into the obtuse ה֬ seems to occur in 1 Sam. 28, 15, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a blending of readings, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרֶה; and with the 3rd pers. Ps. 20, 4, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; compare similar cases of the change of ה֫ into the obtuse ה֬ in § 80. *d*; perhaps, however, יְדַשְּׁנֶהָ—with suffix—is rather intended. An ה֫ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20, and again in verse 16 according to the *Qᵉrê*, but in both these cases without any influence on the meaning, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3; see above, § 47. *k*. Probably another instance occurs in Job 11, 17, although there תִּעֲפֶ֫ה might also, with Qimḥi, be regarded as 2nd masc. The doubly irregular form תְּבֹוֹאתָה Deut. 33, 16 (for תְּבֹוֹאָה = תָּבֹא) is to be explained with Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תבואת in verse 14. For תְּבוֹאָתְךָ Job 22, 21 the noun תְּבוּאָתְךָ *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *at*, instead of ה֫, before the

[1] Probably this *ā* is abridged from the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to letter *b*) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the foot-note to § 58. *i*) often stands before suffixes.

suffix; on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59. 1, *a*; on וּתְבַאתִי 1 Sam. 25, 34, see § 76. *g*.

e The *cohortative* expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an *optative*, &c., see § 108.

f 4. The general characteristic of the *jussive* form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract[1] the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, letter *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

g In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative only in *Hiph'îl* (juss. יַקְטֵל, ind. יַקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *î* in the second syllable, e. g. from יָשַׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשֵׁב; from מוּת, יָמִית and יָמֵת; also in *Qal* of the verbs ע״ו and ע״י, as יָמֹת, ind. יָמוּת; יָגֶל, ind. יָגִיל; in all conjugations of verbs ל״ה, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה֫ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יִגְלֶה, juss. יִגֶל; *Hiph.* ind. יַגְלֶה, juss. יַגֶל; also in the *Pi'êl* יְצַו from the indic. יְצַוֶּה (called the apocopated imperfects). But even so almost all[2] the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the lengthened ending וּן. Neither do

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[1] According to Praetorius, however (*ZAW.* 1883, p. 24 sq.), those cases in which the penultima of the jussive, or of the imperfect consecutive (see § 49. 2) bears the tone, are survivals of the oldest Hebrew tone-system; see notes on § 44. *b*, and § 75. *hh*.

[2] Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as נַשְׁאֵר 1 Sam. 14, 36, parallel with cohortatives; and נֵרְא Is. 41, 23 *K'th.*

the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תַּקְטִילִי, תָּמֹותִי, תִּגְלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms of the singular or plural to which suffixes are attached, e.g. תְּמִיתֵנִי as ind. Jer. 38, 15, as jussive Jer. 41, 8.

h The meaning of this form is similar to that of the cohortative, except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e.g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109. 2.

i **5.** The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by ה־, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending *-ănnă* or *-ăn*, in pause *-ā*) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שְׁמֹר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה[1] (*šŏmᵉrā́*, comp. קְטָלִי *qĭṭᵉlī́*, § 46. *d*); עָזְבָה, עֲזֹבָה Jer. 49, 11; שִׁכְבָה, שְׁכַב *lie down;* שִׁמְעָה, שְׁמַע *hear*, in lesser pause שִׁמְעָה Dan. 9, 19. Comp., however, also מִכְרָה *sell*, Gen. 25, 31, notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכֹּר; עָרְכָה Job 33, 5 (comp. עִרְכוּ Jer. 46, 3), but impf. יַעֲרֹךְ; אִסְפָה *collect*, Num. 11, 16 (for אֱסֹף comp. § 63. *l* and the plural אִסְפוּ), but 2nd masc. נְצֹרָה Ps. 141, 3. Barth (see above, § 47. *i* note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63. *n*. On the other hand, קָרְבָה Ps. 69, 9, but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לֶךְ *go*, Num. 23, 13. Jud. 19, 13. The form קְטֹל in pause becomes קָטְלָה, the form קְטַל becomes קָטְלָה, e.g. חֲגֹורָה and רְגָזָה (in both cases with *Ṭiphḥa*) Is. 32, 11; יָרְשָׁה Deut. 33, 23. But also without the pause we find פְּשַׁטָה Is. 32, 11; מְלוֹכָה Jud. 9, 8 *Kᵉth.* and צְרוֹפָה Ps. 26, 2 *Kᵉth.*, on which see § 46. *e*.

k The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל״ה, e.g. in *Pi'ēl* גַּל from גַּלֵּה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with ה־ is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e.g. קוּם *rise up*, קוּמָה *up!* תֵּן *give*, תְּנָה *give up!*

l Rem. The form דְּעָה for דָּעָה, accepted in Prov. 24, 14 by the best authorities, is evidently due to the influence of the ח (*ḥŏ*) which follows it in close connexion, and is therefore analogous to the cases discussed in § 22. *c*, and § 37. *d*, of an *a* passing into *Sᵉghôl;* for other examples of the kind, see above, letter *d*, § 73. *d*, and § 80. *i*. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רַבָּה Jud. 9, 29 (from

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[1] On the reading שִׁמְרָה (i.e. *šāmᵉrā*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in Ps. 86, 2. 119, 167 (cf. also Is. 38, 14, and שָׁמְרֵנִי Ps. 16, 1), see § 9. *v;* on מלוכה, Jud. 9, 8 *Kᵉth.*, see § 46. *e*.

רְבָה) is intended for רַבָּה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'ēl* רַבֵּה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative צְאָה (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה—, with imperatives of verbs ל״ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Prov. 24, 14).

§ 49. *The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.*

1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, comp. above, § 47, note on letter *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew *consecution* of tenses[1], is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 Ki. 20, 1, *In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death* (perf.), *and Isaiah . . . came* (imperf.) *to him, and said* (imperf.) *to him*, &c. On the other hand, Is. 7, 17, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days*, &c.; 18, *and it shall come to pass* (perf. וְהָיָה) *in that day . . .* *a*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by a pregnant *and* (called *wāw consecutive*)[2], which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the *b*

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[1] The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Mēša'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew.

[2] This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal *consequence* of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e. g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect *consecutive*, the perfect instead of the imperfect *consecutive*. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect *consecutive*, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Compare, on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the wāw consecutive by the old-fashioned name *wāw conversive*, on the ground that it always converts the respective tenses into their opposites, i.e., according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

c **2.** The *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect* is (*a*) pronounced with *Pathaḥ* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטֹל *and he killed;* before א of the 1st *pers. sing.* (according to § 22. 1) with *Qameṣ*, as וָאֶקְטֹל *and I killed.* Exceptions are, וַאֲכַפֵּךְ Ezek. 16, 10 according to the *Diqduqe ha-ṭᵉamim*, § 71; also וַאֲמֹתֲתֵהוּ 2 Sam. 1, 10 according to Qimḥi; but in Jud. 6, 9 וָאֲנַרֵּשׁ should be read according to Baer, and וָאֲ in both places in Jud. 20, 6. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative יְ, in accordance with § 20. *m*.

d (*b*) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (comp. § 48. *g*), it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51. *n*), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיַּקְטֵל (§ 53. *n*). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable[1] is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the jussive. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29. *a*), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. יָקוּם, juss. יָקָם, with *wāw consec.* וַיָּקָם *and he arose* (§ 67. *n* and *x*, § 68. *d*, § 69. *p*, § 71, § 72. *t* and *aa*, § 73. *e*)[2].

e In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*ŭ* to *ō*, *ĭ* to *ē*) are not usual[3], and the apocope in verbs ל״ה occurs more rarely; e.g. always וָאָקוּם (or וָאָקָם, a merely orthographic difference), *and I arose, Hiph.* וָאָקִים : וָאֶרְאֶה *and I saw*, more frequently than וָאֶרְאֵה, § 75. *t*. On the other hand, the form with final ה֫ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later Books, e.g. וָאֲשַׁלְּחָה *and I sent*, Gen. 32, 6. 41, 11. 43, 21. Jud. 6, 9. 10. 1 Sam. 2, 28. 28, 15. 2 Sam. 22, 24. Ps. 3, 6. 7, 5. 90, 10. 119, 55. Job 1, 15 sqq. Ezra 7, 28. 8, 25. 9, 3. Neh. 2, 13. 5, 7. 8. 13. 6, 11. 13, 7–11. 21 sqq., &c.—

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[1] Compare, however, above, note on § 48. *f*.

[2] The plural forms in וּן also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive;* comp., however, וַיָּרִיבוּן Jud. 8, 1. 11, 18. Am. 6, 3. Ezek. 44, 8. Deut. 4, 11. 5, 20. The 2nd fem. sing. in ִין never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

[3] In the 1st plur. וַנַּעֲמִיד Neh. 4, 3 is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (comp. ונשוב, i. e. וְנָשׁוּבָה, 4, 9 *Kᵉth.; Qᵉrê* וְנָשֻׁבָה). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niph'al*, see § 51. *n*.

Sometimes, as in Ps. 3, 6, not without a certain emphasis of expression. In Is. 8, 2 וְאָעִידָה may have been originally intended; in Ps. 73, 16 וְאֶחְזֶה and in Job 30, 26 וְאִיחַל.

f This וַ is in meaning a strengthened *wāw copulative*, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wă*)[1]. The close connexion of this *wă* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ă* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Comp. בַּמָּה, כַּמָּה, לָמָּה (for לְמָה), where the prepositions בְּ and לְ, and the particle כְּ, are closely connected with מָה in the same way.

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in לָמָּה (for לָמָה, § 102. *l*).—The coincidence of many *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation, must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form[2].

h **3.** The counterpart of *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect*, is *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect*, by means of which perfects are placed as the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (וְ, וּ, וִ, as 2 Ki. 7, 4, and וֹ); e.g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., *and so it happens = and it will happen*. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e.g. הָלַכְתִּי *I went*, consecutive form וְהָלַכְתִּי *and I will go*, Jud. 1, 3, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative;* הַבְדִּילָה, *consecutive* וְהִבְדִּילָה *and it shall divide*, Ex. 26, 33, but this removing of the tone from an *î* in the second syllable in *Hiph'îl*, as well as in the *perf. Qal* of verbs ל״ה (see below, letter *k*), is exceptional; comp. § 53. *r*. See further on this usage in § 112.

i As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the

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[1] In use the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fă* as well as *wă*, on which see further in the Syntax.

[2] The opinion of earlier grammarians (shared by De Lagarde in *Uebersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina*, p. 213), that וַיִּקְטֹל arose by contraction from הָיָה יִקְטֹל (= הָיָה) *it happened* (*that*) *he killed*, is as untenable as the derivation from וְהָיָה יִקְטֹל.

secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *ō* of the second syllable in verbs *middle o* upon losing the tone becomes *ŏ*, e.g. וַיִּכְלֹתָ Ex. 18, 23.

k The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect*, is however not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(*a*) always in the 1st *pers. pl.*, e.g. וַיֹּאכְלוּ Gen. 34, 16; (*b*) generally (especially in *Qal*) in verbs ל״א and ל״ה, e.g. Ex. 17, 6. 26, 4. 6. 7. 10 sqq. Lev. 19, 14. 32. 25, 17. 36. 43. Is. 14, 4. Jer. 29, 14. Joel 4, 21. Ps. 19, 14, also regularly in *Hiph'îl* before the afformatives ה_ and וּ (cf. § 53. *r*), and always in the 1st *sing.* of verbs ל״א (but cf. וָקָרָאתָ, Jer. 2, 2, &c.)[1].

l But before a following א the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e.g. וּבָאתָ אֶל־ Gen. 6, 18. Ex. 3, 18. Zech. 6, 10 (by the side of וּבָאתָ) etc. (comp., however, וְקָרָאתָ, before א, Gen. 17, 19. Jer. 7, 27. Ezek. 36, 29); וְהִכִּיתָ אֶת Jud. 6, 16, cf. Lev. 24, 5 (but also וְצִוֵּיתִי אֶת Lev. 25, 21). Likewise, before ע, e.g. וְהָיִתָ 2 Sam. 15, 33 (comp., however, וְקָרָאתִי עָלָיו, Ezek. 33, 21); on verbs ע״ע, see § 67. *k* and *ee*.

(*c*) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, e.g. וְשָׁבַעְתָּ Deut. 11, 16; וְאָמַרְתָּ Is. 14, 4. Jud. 4, 8; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Deut. 2, 28. Ezek. 3, 26. 1 Sam. 29, 8 (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaṭon;* and frequently also immediately *before* a tone-syllable (according to § 29. *e*), as in וַיִּשְׁכַּבְתָּה בָּהּ Deut. 17, 14, comp. 23, 13; Ezek. 14, 13. 17, 22. Amos 1, 4. 7. 10. 12—but also וְחִשַּׂקְתָּ בָּהּ Deut. 21, 11. 23, 14. 24, 19.

§ 50. *The Participle.*

a **1.** Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'ēl* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ûl* (פָּעוּל).

Pā'ûl is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52. *e*), just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph'îl* are lost, except in the participles. But the form פָּעוּל is also used actively (see letter *f*), and instances of the form *quṭṭāl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52. *s*), so that פָּעוּל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 173 sqq.

b **2.** In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form (according to § 44. *a*, note 3) with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e.g. יָשֵׁן *sleeping*, from יָשֵׁן; יָגוֹר (only orthographically different from the perf. יָגֹר) *fearing;* comp. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51. *a*. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קֹטֵל (so even from the

[1] The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Ašer alone.

transitive שָׂנֵא *to hate*, part. שׂנֵא). The *ô* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *â*, and is therefore unchangeable, comp. § 9. *q*. The form קָטָל (with a changeable *Qameṣ* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms יָשָׁן and גָּר, is only in use as a noun, comp. § 84. *a*, 3. The formation of the participle in *Pi'ēl*, *Hiph'îl*, *and Hithpa'ēl* follows a different method.

3. Participles form their feminine (קֹטְלָה or קֹטֶלֶת) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80, § 84. *a*, Nos. 13, 15, § 94). *c*

Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ă*, and consequently changeable (e. g. *fem.* יְשֵׁנָה); and that the *ô* of קָטָל on the other hand is weakened from an unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qâṭîl* corresponds to the form *qāṭēl*, and the part. *qâṭîl* to *qôṭēl*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *ĭ*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטָל, plur. קְטָלִים; כָּבֵד, constr. pl. כִּבְדֵי). *d*

תּוֹמִיךְ Ps. 16, 15, instead of the form *qôṭēl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that תּוֹמֵיךְ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (comp. סֹבֵיב 2 Ki. 8, 21), or even the *imperfect Hiph'îl* of יָמַךְ. The form יוֹסִיף, which in Is. 29, 14. 38, 5. Eccles. 1, 18 appears to be a partic. (for יֹסֵף), is better explained in all these places as the 3rd sing. *imperf. Hiph.* (comp. for the construction Is. 28, 16); אוֹבִיל 1 Chron. 27, 30, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אֹבַד (constr. state of אֹבֵד), with *ă* in the second syllable, occurs in Deut. 32, 28 (comp. moreover, § 65. *d*). On הֹלָם Is. 41, 7 (for הוֹלֵם), see § 29. *f*. *e*

2. A *Pā'ûl* is sometimes formed even from *intransitive verbs*, which properly do not admit of a passive. It then denotes an inherent quality, e. g. אָנוּשׁ *desperate*, Jer. 15, 18, &c.; בָּטוּחַ *trustful*, Is. 26, 3. Ps. 112, 7; עָצוּם *strong*; שָׁכוּר *drunken*, Is. 51, 21; and even from a transitive verb, אָחוּז *handling*, Cant. 3, 8; זָכוּר *mindful*, Ps. 103, 14; comp. § 84. *a*, No. 9. *f*

B. Verba Derivativa, or Derived Conjugations.

§ 51. *Niph'al*[1].

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a prefix[2] to the stem. This probably from the first had two forms: (*a*) the prepositive *nă*, as in the Hebrew perfect, although in the strong verb the *ă* is always attenuated to *ĭ*: נִקְטַל for the original *nă-qāṭăl*, participle נִקְטָל, infinitive absolute sometimes נִקְטוֹל; (*b*) the *a*

[1] Comp. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpael*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong Niph'al forms (81) and Hithpa'ēl forms (36) in the Old Testament.

[2] See Philippi in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 650, and Barth, ibid. 1894, p. 8 sq.

proclitic *in*, as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqătălă;* in Hebrew *hin*, as in the imperfect יִקָּטֵל (for *y'hinqāṭēl* with syncope of the ה, and assimilation of the נ), in the imperative and infinitive construct הִקָּטֵל (for *hinqāṭēl*), and in the infinitive absolute הִקָּטֹל. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of Qal.

b The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the prefixed *Nûn*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dageš* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22. *b*, cannot take *Dageš forte*, the omission of the doubling invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63. *h*).

c **2.** As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the Greek *middle voice*, in being—(*a*) primarily *reflexive* of Qal, e.g. נִלְחַץ *to thrust oneself* (*against*), נִשְׁמַר *to take heed to oneself*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר *to hide oneself*, נִגְאַל *to redeem oneself;* comp. also נַעֲנָה *to answer for oneself.* Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; נִחַם *to trouble oneself*, נֶאֱנַח *to sigh* (*to bemoan oneself*, comp. ὀδύρεσθαι, *lamentari*, *contristari*); as well to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. דָּרַשׁ *to search, to inquire*, Niph. *to allow oneself to be inquired of*, Is. 65, 1. Ezek. 14, 3 and elsewhere; מָצָא *to find*, Niph. *to allow oneself to be found*, Is. 65, 1, &c.; נִזְהַר *to allow oneself to be admonished*, or *warned;* so the Niph. of יָסַר *to warn, to correct*, Jer. 6, 8. 31, 18, &c.

d (*b*) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action, e.g. דִּבֶּר *to speak*, Niph. *to speak to one another;* שָׁפַט *to judge*, Niph. *to go to law with one another;* יָעַץ *to counsel*, Niph. *to take counsel*, comp. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (נוֹעַץ), μάχεσθαι (נִלְחָם), *altercari*, *luctari* (נָצָה *to strive with one another*) *proeliari.*

e (*c*) It has also, like *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 54. *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself* (*sibi*), *for oneself*, e.g. נִשְׁאַל *to ask* (something) *for oneself* (1 Sam. 20, 6. 28. Neh. 13, 6), comp. αἰτοῦμαί σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, *to put on* (oneself) *a tunic.*

f (*d*) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the *passive*[1] of *Qal*, e.g. יָלַד *to bear*, Niph. *to be born;* קָבַר *to bury*, Niph.

[1] Comp. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. St.,

to be buried. In cases also where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears as the passive of *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph'îl*, e.g. כָּבֵד *to be in honour*, Pi'ēl *to honour*, Niph. *to be honoured* (as well as Pu'al כֻּבַּד); כָּחַד Pi'ēl *to conceal*, Hiph. *to destroy*, Niph. passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with Qal (חָלָה Qal and Niph. *to be ill*) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, נִוָּכַר *to be born a male*, Ex. 34, 19 (from זָכָר); but perhaps הַזָּכָר should here be read); נִלְבַּב *cordatum fieri*, Job 11, 12 (from לֵבָב *cor*); doubtless also נִבְנָה *to obtain children*, Gen. 16, 2. 30, 3.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the *passive* of *Qal;* for *Niph'al* has, (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows,) in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*'inqătălă*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, not only do the forms mentioned in § 52. *e* point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*, but even a passive of *Niph'al* itself appears to occur in the form נִנְאֲלוּ Is. 59, 3. Lam. 4, 14, although König prefers to regard it as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to indicate also the possibility of another reading, יִנָּאֲלוּ, the imperf. *Pu'al* [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the use of Niph'al as a passive was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use[1].

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* נִקְטוֹל is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as קָטוֹל to קָטַל in Qal, the *ô* in the second syllable being weakened from an original *â*. Examples are, נִכְסֹף Gen. 31, 30; נִלְחֹם Jud. 11, 25; נִשְׁאֹל 1 Sam. 20, 6. 28, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form הִקָּטֹל (in connexion with imperfects) are, הִנָּתֹן Jer. 32, 4; הֵאָכֹל Lev. 7, 18; once אִדָּרֹשׁ Ezek. 14, 3, where, perhaps, the subsequent אִדָּרֵשׁ has led to the corruption of א for ה.—Moreover, the form הִקָּטֵל is not infrequently used also for the infin. absol.[2], e.g. Ex. 22, 3. Num. 15, 31. Deut. 4, 26. 1 Ki. 20, 39. On the other hand, for the wholly abnormal כְּהִנָּדְפָה Ps. 68, 3 (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent תִּנָּדְפוּ, but probably a 'forma mixta,' combining the readings כְּהִנָּדֵף and כִּנְדֹף), כְּהִנָּדֵף should simply be read.

Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.–Programm), statistics of the Niph'al (Pu'al, Hoph'al, and qāṭûl) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of Niph. and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

[1] In other languages, also, this transition from reflexive to passive may be observed. Thus in Sanskrit and Greek it is still easy to see how the middle precedes the passive form.

[2] But, like הִקָּטֹל, *only* in connexion with imperfects. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic נִקְטוֹל), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

l Syncope of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּכִשְׁלוֹ Prov. 24, 17 (for כְּהִכָּשְׁלוֹ), בַּהֲרֵג Ezek. 26, 15 and בַּעֲטֵהּ Lam. 2, 11; also in verbs ל״ה Ex. 10, 3 (לֵעָנוֹת); 34, 24 and Is. 1, 12 (לֵרָאוֹת); in verbs ע״ו Job 33, 30 (לֵאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *K^ethîbh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in Lam. 2, 11, as appears from comparison with Ps. 61, 3.

m 2. Instead of the *Ṣere* in the ultima of the imperfect, the original *Pathaḥ* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּגְמַל Gen. 21, 8; comp. Ex. 31, 17. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final שׁ); 17, 23 (with ק); Jon. 1, 5 (with מ); see § 29. *q*. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathaḥ* predominates, e.g. תְּוֹכַחְנָה Is. 65, 17; *Ṣere* occurs only in תְּעֻנֶּנָּה Ruth 1, 13, from ענן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תְּעֻנֶנָּה; comp. even תְּאֻמָנָה Is. 60, 14.—With *Nûn paragogicum* (see § 47. *m*) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, תִּשְׁמְרוּן, יִלְכְּדוּן, תִּלְחֲמוּן, &c., in *pause* יִבְהֲלוּן, תִּשְׁמְדוּן, &c.; but Job 19, 24 (comp. 24, 24) יֵחָצְבוּן.

n 3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *ē*), or the imperative is followed in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיֹּאבֶק אִישׁ Gen. 32, 25), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S^eghôl* instead of *Ṣere;* e.g. יְכַשֵּׁל בָּהּ Ezek. 33, 12; וַיִּעָתֵר לוֹ Gen. 25, 21; in the imperative, 13, 9.—So always הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ (since לְךָ counts as *one* syllable) Gen. 24, 6, &c., comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2; and even with *Pathaḥ* in the ultima, הֵעָוֹב אֶרֶץ Job 18, 4 (but comp. וַיֵּעָתֵר אֱלֹהִים 2 Sam. 21, 14). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gen. 32, 25. Ezra 8, 23) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become general in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after ו *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשָּׁאֶר Gen. 7, 25; וַיִּלָּחֶם Num. 21, 1 and elsewhere frequently, וַיִּצָּמֶד 25, 3; and always so in the imperative הִשָּׁמֶר Ex. 23, 21. Job 36, 21, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Deut. 24, 8. 2 Ki. 6, 9. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Zech. 2, 11), and imperfect (Prov. 24, 4, &c.), see § 29. *o*, and note; on the other hand, always הַמְלֵט, יִמָּלֵט, &c.

o In the *imperative,* נִקְבְּצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, occurs in Ps. 43, 9 (Joel 4, 11 in *pause* נִקָּבְצוּ; comp. נִלְווּ Jer. 50, 5) for הִקָּבְצוּ; but in all these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. With ה֫ *paragogicum,* הִשָּׁבְעָה לִי *swear unto me,* Gen. 21, 23, &c.

p 4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect,* the form אֶקְטֹל is as frequent as אֶקָּטֵל, e.g. אִדָּרֵשׁ *I shall be inquired of,* Ezek. 14, 3; אִשָּׁבֵעַ *I will swear,* Gen. 21, 24; cf. 16, 2. Num. 23, 15. Ezek. 20, 36, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אִנָּקְמָה *I will avenge me,* Is. 1, 44; comp. 1 Sam. 12, 7. Ezek. 26, 2, and see § 69. *t*. The Babylonian punctuation only admits *ĭ* under the preformative of the 1st person.

§ 52. *Pi'ēl and Pu'al.*

a **1.** The *characteristic* of this conjugation consists in the doubling of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qaṭal* (comp. § 43. *b*) the

form קַטֵּל (comp. the Arabic conj. II. *qăttălā*) would naturally follow as the *perfect* of the active (*Pi"ēl*). The *Pathaḥ* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see letter *m*), always attenuated to *ĭ* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ă* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi"al;* but very frequently[1] this *ă* also is attenuated to *ĭ*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Comp. in Aram. קַטֵּל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קְטַל. On the three cases in which *ă* before a final ר or ם has passed into *Seghôl*, see below, letter *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, there arise forms like אִבֵּד, לִמֵּד, קִדֵּשׁ; גִּדֵּף, כִּבֵּד, &c.—Before afformatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ă* is always retained, thus קִטַּלְתָּ, קִטַּלְתֶּם, קִטַּלְנוּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קַטֹּל, obscured from *qaṭṭāl; constr.* קַטֵּל), *imperfect* (יְקַטֵּל), and *participle* (מְקַטֵּל) the original *ă* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Šewâ* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; comp. the Arabic imperfect *yŭqăttĭl*, participle *mŭqăttĭl*.

b The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ŭ*, or very rarely *ŏ*, in the first syllable, and *ă* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ŭ* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is otherwise analogous to that of *Qal*.

c Rem. 1. The preformative מְ, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the *interrogative* or *indefinite* (comp. § 37) pronoun מִי *quis? quicunque* (fem. מָה); comp. § 85, No. 48.

d 2. The Dageš *forte*, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi"ēl* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64. *d*) when the middle radical has *Šewâ* under it (comp. § 20. *m*), e.g. שִׁלְחָה for שִׁלֶּחָה Ezek. 17, 7; בְּקִשְׁהוּ 2 Chron. 15, 15 (but in the *imperative* always בַּקֵּשׁוּ 1 Sam. 28, 7, &c.), and so always in הַלְלוּ *praise!* The vocal character of the *Šewâ* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10. *h*) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Ḥaṭeph*, as in לָקְחָה Gen. 2, 23, with ֳ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, comp. פֻּעֳלוּ for פָּעֲלוּ, &c.; Gen. 9, 14. Jud. 16, 16. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Šewâ* under the preformatives (*Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* under א in the 1st *sing. imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations.

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[1] In all verbs which end in *Nun*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsh. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (*ZDMG.* 1894, p. 1 sqq.) that the vowels of the strengthened perfects have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

e 3. According to the valuable suggestion of Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 sqq. and § 1022[1]), many supposed perfects of *Pu'al* are in reality passives of Qal. He reckons as such all those *perfects*, of which the *Pi'ēl* (which ought to express the corresponding active) is either not found at all, or only (as in the case of יֻלַּד) with a different meaning, and which form their *imperfect* from another conjugation, generally Niph'al. Such *perfects* are the *quṭṭal* form of the stems אכל (*imperfect* תְּאֻכְלוּ Is. 1, 20), חפשׂ, טרף, ילד, יצר, לקח, עבד, שׂגל, שׁטף, שׁפך. Barth (see below) adds to the list the apparent *Pu'al-perfects* of ראה, עשׂה, עזב, נפח, כרת, חצב, זנה, בזז, אסר, and of verbs with middle ר (hence with *ŭ* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הרג, הרה, זרע, זרק, טרף, מרט, קרא, שׂרף; also the infinitives absolute הֹרוֹ וְהָנוֹ Is. 59, 13. In these cases there was no need to assume any error on the part of the punctuators; the sharpening of the second radical may have taken place in order to retain the characteristic *ŭ* of the first syllable (comp. Arab. *qŭtŭlă* as passive of *qătălă*), and the *a* of the second syllable would be in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39. *f*). Comp. § 52. *s* and § 53. *u*.

f **2.** The fundamental idea of *Pi'ēl*, to which all the various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is, *to busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the sharpening of the first syllable, appears in individual cases as—(*a*) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical doubled, § 84. *b*)[2], e.g. צָחַק *to laugh*, Pi'ēl *to jest, to make sport* (to laugh repeatedly); שָׁאַל *to ask*, Pi'ēl *to beg;* hence when an action has reference to *many*, e.g. קָבַר *to bury* (a person) Gen. 23, 4, Pi'ēl *to bury* (many) 1 Ki. 11, 15, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other modifications of the *intensive* or *iterative* meaning are, e.g. פָּתַח *to open*, Pi'ēl *to loose;* סָפַר *to count*, Pi'ēl *to recount:* [cf. כָּתַב, חָשַׁב, הָלַךְ, רָפָא, חָפַשׂ; תִּפֵּשׂ, מָאַהֵב, מְרַצֵּחַ].

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[1] As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ǵanâḥ (see above, § 3. *d*) in the *Kitāb el-luma'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 sqq.

[2] Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has likewise an *intensive* force, are such German words as, *reichen, recken* (Eng. *to reach, to rack*); *streichen* (*stringo*), *strecken;* comp. *strich* (*a stroke*), *strecke* (*a stretch*); *wacker* from *wachen;* others in which it has the *causative* sense, are *stechen, stecken; wachen, wecken;* τέλλω *to bring to an end* (comp. the stem τέλω *to end*, in τέλος, τελέω); γεννάω *to beget*, from the stem γένω *to come into being* (comp. γένος). The above examples also show that in German when the *ch* is doubled, in consequence of the preceding diphthong becoming a short vowel, it takes the form of *kk* (*ck*); similarly in Hebrew, according to § 13. 3, an aspirated *B^egadk^ephath* letter, when doubled, necessarily becomes a *tenuis*.

The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in urging and *causing* others to do the same. Hence *Pi'ēl* has also—(*b*) a *causative* sense (like *Hiph'îl*), e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, Pi'ēl *to teach*. It may often be turned by such phrases as *to permit to, to declare* or *hold as* (*the declarative Pi'ēl*), *to help to*, e.g. חִיָּה *to cause to live*, צִדֵּק *to declare innocent*, יִלֵּד *to help in child-bearing*. *g*

(*c*) *Denominatives* (see § 38. *b*) are frequently formed in this conjugation, and generally express a being occupied with the object expressed by the noun, either to form or to make use of it, e.g. קִנֵּן *to make a nest, to nest* (from קֵן), עִפֵּר *to throw dust, to dust* (from עָפָר), עִנֵּן *to gather the clouds together* (from עָנָן), שִׁלֵּשׁ *to divide in three parts*, or *to do a thing for the third time* (from שָׁלֹשׁ); probably also דִּבֵּר *to speak*, from דָּבָר *a word*. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'ēl*, comp. our *to skin, to behead, to bone*), e.g. שִׁרֵּשׁ, from שֹׁרֶשׁ *to root out, to extirpate*, זִנֵּב prop. to injure the tail (זָנָב), hence *to rout the rear* of an army, *to set upon it;* לִבֵּב *to ravish the heart;* דִּשֵּׁן *to remove the ashes* (דֶּשֶׁן), חִטֵּא *to free from sin* (חֵטְא), עִצֵּם *to break any one's bones* (עֶצֶם; comp., in the same sense, גִּרֵּם from גֶּרֶם); סִעֵּף *to lop the boughs*, Is. 10, 33 (from סָעִיף *a bough*). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. סִקֵּל *to stone, to pelt with stones* (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and *to remove stones* (from a field), *to clear away stones;* comp. our *to stone*, used also in the sense of *taking out the stones* from fruit. *h*

The meaning of the *passive* (*Pu'al*) follows naturally from the above, e.g. בֻּקַּשׁ, Pi'ēl *to seek*, Pu'al *to be sought*.

In *Pi'ēl* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, the former being regarded as the stronger and more striking, e.g. גָּלָה, Pi'ēl *to uncover*, Qal *to reveal*, also *to emigrate*, i. e. to make the land bare. *i*

Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'ēl* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. חתת in Pi'ēl *to be broken in pieces*, Jer. 51, 56; פִּחֵד *to tremble*, Is. 51, 13. Prov. 28, 14; פִּתֵּח *to be open*, Is. 48, 8. 60, 11; רִוָּה *to be drunken*, Is. 34, 5. 7; [מִעֵּט *to be few*, Ecclesiastes 12, 3.] *k*

Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathaḥ* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Eccles. 9, 15. 12, 9) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Ṣere* is more common. Comp. גִּדֵּל Is. 49, 21 with גִּדַּל Jos. 4, 14. Esth. 3, 1; מִלֵּט Ezek. 33, 5 with מִלַּט Eccles. 9, 15; קִצֵּץ 2 Ki. 8, 16 *l*

with קְצִין Ps. 129, 4. The 3rd *sing. fem.* in *pause* is always of the form קְטֹלָה, except קִבְּצָה Mic. 1, 7; the 3rd plur. always as קְטָלוּ; the 2nd and 1st *sing.* and 1st *plur.* of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי), קָטַלְנוּ. In the 3rd *sing. perf.*, דִּבֶּר *to speak*, כִּפֶּר *to pardon*, and כִּבֶּס *to wash clothes* (also כִּבֵּס Gen. 49, 11) take *Seghôl*, but become in *pause* דִּבֵּר, כִּבֵּס (2 Sam. 19, 25); the *pausal* form of כִּפֶּר never occurs.

m *Pathaḥ* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gen. 41, 51, נַשַּׁנִי *he made me forget*, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשֶּׁה.

n 2. In the *imperfect, infinitive, and imperative Pi'ēl* (as also in *Hithpa'ēl*) the *Ṣere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maqqeph*, is usually shortened into *Seghôl*, e. g. יְבַקֶּשׁ־לוֹ *he seeks for himself*, Is. 40, 20; קַדֶּשׁ־לִי *sanctify unto me*, Ex. 13, 2. *Pausal-forms* with *Seghôl* instead of *Ṣere*, as יְרֶחֶם Deut. 32, 11, אֲרַחֵם Hos. 2, 6 (comp. Ex. 32, 6 in the infinitive, and Gen. 21, 9 in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75. *n* and *hh*. If the final syllable of the *imperfect Pi'ēl* has Pathaḥ (before a guttural or ר), it remains in *pause;* comp. § 29. *s* and § 65. *e*. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, under the preformative א; אֶעֱזָרֶה Lev. 26, 33. Ezek. 5, 12. 12, 14 and וְאֶסְעָרֵם Zech. 7, 14 (in accordance with § 23. *h*).—Before the full plural ending וּן (see § 47. *m*) the *Ṣere* is retained in *pause*, e. g. תְּדַבֵּרוּן Ps. 58, 2 (but Gen. 32, 20 תְּדַבְּרוּן), comp. 2 Ki. 6, 19. Deut. 12, 3; so before *Silluq* Ps. 58, 3. Job 21, 11 and even before *Zaqeph qaṭon* Deut. 7, 5. Instead of תְּקַטַּלְנָה, forms like תְּקַטַּלְנָה are also found, e. g. Is. 3, 16. 13, 18, in both cases before a sibilant and in pause. Also בַּלַּע Ps. 55, 10 occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בַּלַּע) and קָרֵב (for *qarrabh*) Ezek. 37, 17.

o 3. The *infinite absolute* of *Pi'ēl* has sometimes the special form קְטֹל given in the paradigm, e. g. יַסֵּר *castigando*, Ps. 118, 18; comp. Ex. 21, 19. 1 Ki. 19, 10 (from a verb ל״א); Ps. 40, 2 (from a verb ל״ה); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קַטֵּל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קִטֵּל (with *ă* attenuated to *ĭ* as in the *perfect*), e. g. in 1 Chron. 8, 8 שִׁלְּחוֹ; probably also קִטֵּר Jer. 44, 21; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 (נִאֵץ נִאַצְתָּ). On the other hand, שְׁלֹם Deut. 32, 35 and דְּבֹר Jer. 5, 13 are better regarded as substantives, while דִּבֶּר Ex. 6, 28. Num. 3, 1. Deut. 4, 15 (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Hos. 1, 2 (after תְּחִלַּת), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimḥi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really perfect of *Pi'ēl*.

p The infinitive construct *Pi'ēl*, with the *fem.* ending, occurs in יַסְּרָה Lev. 26, 18; זַמְּרָה Ps. 147, 1; with ת of the *fem.*, שַׁלֶּכֶת Is. 6, 13; before a suffix צַדֶּקְתֵּךְ Ezek. 16, 52. On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. *Pa'il* (קַטָּלָה), see § 84*b*, No. 22.

q 4. In Pu'al *ŏ* is sometimes found instead of *ŭ* in the initial syllable, e. g. מְאֹדָם *dyed red*, Ex. 25, 5 &c. Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7 שֹׁדְדָה; Ezek. 16, 4. Ps. 72, 20. 80, 11. According to Baer's reading also in תְּרֹצַצְתִּי Ps. 62, 4, and so also Ben

Ašer, but Ben Naphtali תְּרַצְחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ŭ* is written fully, e.g. יוּלַד Jud. 18, 29.

r 5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find גֻּנֹּב Gen. 40, 15.—No instance of the *inf. constr.* occurs in the strong verb in *Pu'al*.

s 6. A few examples occur of the *participle Pu'al* without the preformative (מְ), e.g. אֻכָּל Ex. 3, 2; יוּלָד (for מְיֻלָּד) Jud. 13, 8; לֻקַּח 2 Ki. 2, 10. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is. 30, 24. Eccles. 9, 12 (where יְוֻקָּשִׁים, according to § 20. *n*, stands for יְקֻ֫ = מְיֻקָּ֫); but, according to the Masora, *not* Ezek. 26, 17, since הַהֻלָּלָה as *Mil'êl* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ might be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is. 18, 2. 7 (but also מְמֻשָּׁךְ); Prov. 25, 19; so also in the participle *Pi'ēl* מָאֵן Ex. 7, 27 &c. &c. (always after אִם, but cf. also הַמְּאֲנִים Jer. 13, 10) and מַהֵר Zeph. 1, 14 (and Is. 8, 1. 3?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אֻכָּל only occurs in *Qal*, they are perfect participles of former *passives* of Qal (see letter *e*), as Jer. 13, 10, and perfect participles of Pi'ēl, as in Jer. 23, 32.—On מְרֻבַּע Ezek. 45, 2, see § 65. *d*.

§ 53. *Hiph'îl and Hoph'al.*

a **1.** The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'îl*) is a prefixed הַ, in the perfect הִ (with the *ă* attenuated to *ĭ*, as in *Pi'ēl*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ă* (comp. the Arabic conj. iv. *aqtălă*, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathaḥ* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטַלְתָּ &c.); after the attenuation of this *ă* to *ĭ*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic אַקְטֵל, beside הַקְטֵל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *î*[1], יִ֫, but sometimes written defectively ִ֫; cf. § 9. *g*.

Similarly in the infinitive construct הַקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle יַקְטִיל and מַקְטִיל, which are syncopated from יְהַקְטִיל and מְהַקְטִיל; § 23. *k*. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtîl* and *muqtîl*) point to an original *ĭ* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *ĭ* to *ē* appears in the strong verb, at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see letter *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (letter *m*);

[1] This *î* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs ע״י, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and jussive, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'îl;* so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, *ZAW.* 1883, p. 52 sq.

on הַקְטַלְנָה, תַּקְטַלְנָה comp. § 26. *p*. On the return of the original *ă* in the second syllable under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65. *f*.

b In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ă* (in pause *ā*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הָקְטַל or הָקַטַל, *Imperf.* יָקְטַל (syncopated from יְהָקְטַל) or יָקַטַל, *Part.* מָקְטָל or מֻקְטָל (from מְהָקְטָל); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הָקְטֵל. On the origin of the preformative ה, comp. § 55. *i*.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle Hiph'îl*, Pathaḥ under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ŏ* or *ŭ*.

c **2.** The signification of *Hiph'îl* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'ēl* (§ 52. *g*), *causative* of *Qal*, e.g. יָצָא *to go forth*, Hiph. *to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth*; קָדַשׁ *to be holy*, Hiph. *to sanctify*. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'ēl*) the *declarative* sense, e.g. הִצְדִּיק *to pronounce just*; הִרְשִׁיעַ *to make one an evil doer* (meaning *to pronounce guilty*); comp. עקשׁ, in *Hiph'îl*, Job 9, 20, *to represent as perverse*. If Qal has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'îl* then takes two accusatives (see § 117. *cc*). In some verbs, *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph'îl* occur side by side in the same sense, e.g. אָבַד *periit*, Pi'ēl and Hiph'îl, *perdidit*; as a rule, however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e. g. כָּבֵד *gravem esse*, Pi'ēl *to honour*, Hiph'îl *to bring to honour*, also *to make heavy*. Verbs which are intransitive in *Qal* simply become transitive in *Hiph'îl*, e.g. נָטָה *to bow oneself*, Hiph. *to bow, to bend*.

d Among the ideas expressed by the *causative* and *transitive* are included, moreover, according to the *Hebrew* point of view (and that of the Semitic languages generally, especially Arabic), a series of actions and ideas, which *we* have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the Hiph'îl-form. To these *inwardly transitive* or *intensive* Hiph'îls belong: (*a*) Hiph'îl stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the *Qal* stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the *Hiph'îl*.) Thus אהל, זהר, יפע, צוץ *to be bright, to shine* (to give forth lustre); opposed to חשׁך *to become dark*; חזק, גבר, אמץ *to be strong* (to develop strength), עטף *to be weak*; ארך *to be long* (to acquire length); גבה *to be high*; הום *to be in tumult*, זעק *to cry out*, רנן, רוע *to make a noise, to exult*; חלף *to sprout* (to put forth shoots), comp. פרח *to bloom*, שׁוק, עדף *to overflow*; חרשׁ, חשׁה, סכת, צמת *to be silent* (silentium facere,

Pliny); מתק *to be sweet;* צלח *to have success;* שפל *to be low;* אדם *to become red,* לבן *to become white.*

(*b*) Stems which express in *Hiph'îl* the entering into a certain condition and, further, the being in the same: אמן *to become firm, to trust in;* באשׁ *to become stinking;* זוד *to become boiling, to boil over;* חלה *to become ill,* חלם *to become healthy;* חסר *to come to want;* חרה *to become hot;* יבשׁ *to become dry, to become ashamed;* יתר *to attain superiority;* סכן *to become familiar;* עור, קוץ *to become awake;* קשׁה *to become hard;* רגע, שׁקט *to become quiet* (to keep quiet); שׁמם *to be astonished.* The Hiph'îl forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: נגשׁ *to draw near,* קרב *to come near;* רחק *to withdraw far off* (all these three are besides used as causatives); קדם *to come before.* *e*

(*c*) Stems which express action in some particular direction: חטא *to err;* חלק *to flatter* (to act smoothly); יטב *to act well, to do good;* סכל *to act foolishly,* שׂכל *to act wisely;* ערם *to act craftily;* צנע *to act submissively;* רשׁע, רעע *to act wickedly, godlessly;* שׁחת, תעב *to act corruptly, shamefully;* שׁלם *to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive.* *f*

Further, there are in *Hiph'îl* a considerable number of *denominatives* which express, the *bringing out,* the *producing* of a thing, and so are properly regarded as causatives[1], e. g. אצר *to set over the treasury,* Neh. 13, 13 (unless וְאֹצְרָה is to be read, as in Neh. 7, 2); בכר *to bring forth a firstborn;* גשׁם *to cause to rain;* זרע *to produce seed;* ימן (*Hiph'îl* הֵימִין) *to go to the right,* cf. הִשְׂמְאִיל *to go to the left;* פרס *to get* or *to have hoofs;* קרן *to get* or *to have horns;* שׁכל *to produce abortion;* שׁלג *to become snow-white;* שׁמן *to grow fat, to become fat;* שׁרשׁ *to put forth roots,* &c.; so also according to the ordinary acceptation הַאְנִיחוּ Is. 19, 6, *they have become stinking,* from אֶנְחָה *stinking* or *stench,* with retention of the א prosthetic, § 19. *m* (but see below, letter *p*). *g*

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אזן (scarcely *to prick up the ears,* but) *to act with the ears, to hear;* comp. לשׁן *to move the tongue, to slander,* and the German *äugeln* (to make eyes), *füsseln, näseln, schwänzeln;* שׁבר *to sell corn;* שׁכם *to set out early* (to load the back [of the camel, &c.] ?); opposed to הֶעָרִיב.

3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (*a*) primarily that of a *passive* of *Hiph'îl,* e. g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit,* הָשְׁלַךְ or הָשְׁלְכָה *proiectus est;* (*b*) sometimes *Hoph'al* also takes the place of a passive of *Qal,* as נָקַם *to avenge,* Hoph. *to be avenged* (but see below, letter *u*). *h*

Rem. 1. The *î* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'îl* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of *i*

[1] The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb עָשָׂה (*to make*), e. g. *to make fat,* for, to produce fat upon his body, Job 15, 27; *to make fruit, to make branches,* for, to put forth, to yield, Job 14, 9. Hos. 8, 7, comp. the Lat. *corpus, robur, sobolem, divitias facere,* and the Ital. *far corpo, far forze, far frutto.*

the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *ē* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *ă*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *î* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *Šᵉwâ* (see letters *n* and *o*).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Ṣere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הַקְדֵּשׁ Jud. 17, 3; less frequently it takes י—, e.g. הַשְׁמִיד Am. 9, 8; comp. Deut. 15, 14. Is. 59, 4. Jer. 3, 15. 23, 32. 44, 25. Job 34, 35. Eccles. 10, 10. With א instead of ה (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אַשְׁבִּים Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Ṣere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Deut. 32, 8. Jer. 44, 19. 25. Prov. 25, 2. Job 13, 3 (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֹׂר Deut. 26, 12 (which looks like an infinitive Hiph'îl with syncope of the ה, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לְעַשֵּׂר, since elsewhere the Pi'ēl alone occurs with the meaning *to tithe;* for בַּעֲשֵׂר Neh. 10, 39 perhaps the inf. Qal (בַּעְשֹׂר) was intended, as in 1 Sam. 8, 15. 17 (=*to take the tithe*). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a combination of two different readings, the Qal and the Pi'ēl.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הַקְטִיל the form הַקְטִל sometimes occurs, e.g. הַשְׁמִיד *to destroy*, Deut. 7, 24. 28, 48; comp. Lev. 14, 46. Jos. 11, 14. Jer. 50, 34. 51, 33 and הַקְצוֹת for הַקְצוֹת Lev. 14, 43 from קָצָה; scarcely, however, Lev. 7, 35. 2 Sam. 22, 1 (Ps. 18, 1). 1 Ki. 11, 16 (after עַד), and in the passages so explained by König (p. 276) where הַשְׁאִיר appears after prepositions[1]; [cf. Driver on Deut. 3, 3. 4, 15. 7, 24. 28, 55.]

With *ă* in the second syllable there occurs הַזְבַּרְכֶם Ezek. 21, 29 (comp. the substantival infin. הַפְצַר 1 Sam. 15, 23).—In the Aram. manner לְהַשְׁמָעוּת is found in Ezek. 24, 26 (as a construct form) for the *infinitive Hiph'îl* (comp. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dan. 11, 23). On the syncope of the ה after prefixes, see letter *q*.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *î* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to letter *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61. 2), and ה֫— *paragogic*, e.g. הַקְשִׁיבָה *attend to* (but in Ps. 118, 25 with the tone at the end, הַצְלִיחָה). On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *ĭ* (comp. Arabic *áqtĭl*) is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הַשְׁמֵן *make fat*, and becomes *Sᵉghôl* before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הַסְכֵּן־נָא Job 22, 21.—The form הַקְטִיל for הַקְטֵל appears anomalously a few times: Ps. 94, 1. Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 18 (comp. § 69. *v* and § 72. *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הַקְטֵיל, e.g. 2 Ki. 8, 6; comp. Ps. 142, 5.—In Lam. 5, 1 הַבִּיטָה is required by the *Qᵉrê* for הביט.

n 4. In the *imperfect Hiph'îl* the *shorter* form with *Ṣere* prevails for the jussive in the 3rd *masc.* and *fem.* and 2nd *masc. sing.*, e.g. אַל־תַּגְדֵּל *make not great*, Obad. 12; יַכְרֵת *let Him cut off!* Ps. 12, 4; even incorrectly תַּגִּיד Ex. 19, 3, and יַגִּיד Eccles. 10, 20; comp. also יַבְעֵר Ex. 22, 4, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109. *h*, and יַאֲבֵר Job 39, 26 before the principal pause. Similarly, after ו consec., e.g. וַיַּבְדֵּל *and He divided*, Gen. 1, 4. On the other hand, *î* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e.g. וְאַשְׁמִיד Am. 2, 9; comp.

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[1] As to the doubtfulness, on general grounds, of this form of the Inf. Hiph., see Robertson Smith in the *Journ. of Philol.* xvi. p. 72 sq.

§ 49. *e* and § 74. *l*, but also § 72. *aa*; in 1st plur. only in Neh. 4, 3; in the 3rd sing. Ps. 105, 28. With *ă* in the principal pause וַתּוֹתַר Ruth 2, 14, and in the lesser pause, Gen. 49, 4; before a sibilant (see § 29. *q*) וַיִּנַּשׁ Jud. 6, 19; in the lesser pause וַיִּקַּהּ Lam. 3, 5. Before *Maqqeph* the Ṣere becomes *Seghôl*, e. g. וַיִּחֶזֶק־בּוֹ Jud. 19, 4. In the plural, on the other hand, and before suffixes, *î* remains in the forms יַקְטִילוּ, תַּקְטִילוּ, also in the jussive and after ו consecutive, e. g. וַיַּדְבִּיקוּ Jud. 18, 22. The only exceptions, where the *î* appears weakened, in the Aramaic manner, to *Šewâ*, are וַיִּדְרְכוּ Jer. 9, 2; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 Sam. 14, 22. 31, 2. 1 Chron. 10, 2; יַעְבְּרוּ Jer. 11, 15; וְאוֹצְרָה Neh. 13, 13, if it is *Hiph'îl* of אצר, but probably וְאַצִּיָּה is to be read, as in 7, 2; perhaps also תַּהְפְּכֵרוּ Job 19, 3 (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 Sam. 17, 25. 1 Ki. 20, 33. Ps. 65, 10, and in Job 9, 20, unless the form be *Pî'ēl* = וַיְעַקְּשֵׁנִי, since the *Hiph'îl* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yaqtîl*. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographical licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יַשְׁלֵם Is. 44, 28), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'îl*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gen. 1, 11 תַּדְשֵׁא, with *Metheg*.

5. In the *participle*, מֹוֹצֵא Ps. 135, 7 appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *maqtîl*; yet the Ṣere may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel into *Šewâ* (see above, letter *n*) in מַהֲלְכִים Zach. 3, 7 (probably, however, מְהַלְכִים should be read), also in מַחֲלְמִים Jer. 29, 8, מַעֲוְרִים 2 Chron. 28, 23 (but as ם precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle Qal is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'îl*, see above, letter *n*), and in the *Qerê* מַחֲצְרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24 &c. (where the *Kethîbh* מְחַצְצְרִים is better). The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מַזֶּבֶת Num. 5, 15, מַשֶּׂגֶת Lev. 14, 21; in pause מַשְׂבֶּלֶת Prov. 19, 14. *o*

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הֲכִלַּמְנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 7; comp. Gen. 41, 28. 2 Ki. 17, 11. Jer. 29, 1. Mi. 6, 3. Job 16, 7; with the original *ă* in the first syllable וְהַרְאֵיתִי Nah. 3, 5.—In אֲנִאַלְתִּי[1] *I have stained*, Is. 63, 3, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, letter *k*, on אַשְׁבִּים. On the other hand, וְהַאֲנִיחוּ Is. 19, 6 (see above, letter *g*) is to be regarded, with Olshausen and others, simply as a scribal error for וְהֵנִּי. *p*

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[1] Most probably, however, גֹּאַלְתִּי (*perfect Pî'ēl*) is to be read, and the א is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by the punctuation, וְאֶדְרֹכָם and וַיָּז (instead of וְאָדַרְכָם and וַיִּז) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i. e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

q 7. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the characteristic ה is regularly syncopated after the preformatives, thus יַקְטִיל, מַקְטִיל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e. g. לְהַקְטִיל. Exceptions in the imperfect are, e. g. יְהוֹשִׁיעַ *He will save* for יוֹשִׁיעַ 1 Sam. 17, 47. Ps. 116, 6 (in *pause*); יְהוֹדֶה *He will praise* for יוֹדֶה Neh. 11, 17. Ps. 28, 7. 45, 18 (comp. the proper name יְהוֹיָכִל Jer. 37, 3, for which 38, 1 יוּכַל, and מְהֻקְצָעוֹת Ezek. 46, 22). For examples of this kind from verbs פ״י, see § 69. *v* and § 70; from ע״ע 1 Ki. 18, 27. Jer. 9, 4. Job 13, 9 (תְּהֻלּוּ); in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51. *l*, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לַסְתִּיר Is. 29, 15 for לְהַסְתִּיר; לַנְפֹּל Num. 5, 22; לַעֲבִיר 2 Sam. 19, 19; לַחֲלֹק Jer. 37, 12; לַחֲטִיא Eccl. 5, 5; לַלְבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהַלְבִּין) Dan. 11, 35; לַשְׁמֵעַ Ps. 26, 7; לַאֲדִיב 1 Sam. 2, 33; לַשְׁמִד Is. 23, 11; לַשְׁבִּית Am. 8, 4; בָּהֲעִיר for בְּהַעִיר Ps. 73, 20; לָבִיא Jer. 39, 7 (2 Chron. 31, 10); לַמָּחוֹת Prov. 31, 3; לַמָּרוֹת Is. 3, 8. Ps. 78, 17; לַנָּחוֹתָם Ex. 13, 21; בַּגָּלוֹת (see, however, § 20. *h*) Is. 33, 1; לַרְאוֹתְכֶם Deut. 1, 33: comp. further, from verbs ל״ה, Num. 5, 22. Jer. 27, 20; on Deut. 26, 12 and Neh. 10, 39, see above, letter *k*.

r 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the afformatives וּ and ה֫ in Hiph'îl have *not* the tone, even in the *perfect* with *waw consecutive* (except in Ex. 26, 33 before ה, Lev. 15, 29 before א, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending וּן (see § 47. *m*) here, as elsewhere, always has the tone, e. g. תַּקְרִבוּן Deut. 1, 17.

s 9. The passive (Hoph'al) has *ŏ* or *ŭ* in the first syllable (הָקְטַל), in the strong verb less frequently in the perfect and infinitive, but generally, through the influence of the initial מ, in the participle; e. g. הָשְׁפַּךְ Ez. 32, 32 (beside הָשְׁפְּכָה 32, 19); יְשֻׁלַּח *impf.* מְשֻׁלָּח *part.* 2 Sam. 20, 21 (beside הָשְׁלַכְתָּ Is. 14, 19); הָמְלַחְתִּי Ez. 16, 4; in the partic. Hoph. without syncope of the ה: מְהֻקְצָעוֹת Ez. 46, 22; on the other hand, verbs פ״י always have *ŭ* (in a sharpened syllable): יֻגַּד, הֻגַּד (comp. § 9. *n*).

t 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in *Hoph'al* (as in *Hiph'îl*) *Ṣere* in the last syllable, e. g. הָחְתֵּל and הָמְלֵחַ Ez. 16, 4; הֵגֵּד Jos. 9, 24. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.

11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46. *a*, note 1.

u 12. According to Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 906) and Barth (see above, § 52, letter *e*) a number of supposed imperfects Hoph'al are, in fact, imperfects of the passive of *Qal*. As in the case of the perfects supposed by Böttcher to be passive of Qal (see above, § 52. *e*) the question is again of verbs of which neither the corresponding causative (i. e. here the Hiph'îl), nor the other tense of the same conjugation (i. e. here the perfect Hoph'al) is found; so with יֻקַּם (for יְנֻקַּם, comp. *yuqtălŭ* as imperfect Qal in Arabic) and יֻתַּן, from נָקַם and נָתַן; יֻקַּח from לָקַח (comp. § 66. *g*); יוּאַר Num. 22, 6 from אָרַר; יוּשַׁד from שָׁדַד; Barth adds the verbs יֻחַן from חָנַן; פ״ן תֻּהַשׁ Ezek. 19, 12 from נתשׁ; יֻתַּן Lev. 11, 35 from נתן; the verbs ע״ע: יֻחָקוּ Job 19, 23 from חקק; יֻבַּת &c. from בתת; the verb ע״ו יוּדַשׁ from דוּשׁ; the verbs ע״י: יוּחַל, יוּשַׁר, יוּשַׁת from חִיל, שִׁיר and שִׁית. On יוּכַל from יָכַל,

see § 69. *r*; on וַיִּישֶׁם &c., § 73. *f*. In point of fact it would be very strange, especially in the case of יִתֵּן and יִקַּח, that of these frequently used verbs, amongst all the forms of Hiph'îl and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved.

§ 54. *Hithpa'ēl.*

1. The *Hithpa'ēl* is connected with *Pi''ēl*, being formed by prefixing *a* to the *Pi''ēl*-stem (*qaṭṭēl*, *qaṭṭal*) the syllable הִתְ (Western Aramaic אִתְ, but in Biblical Aramaic הִתְ; Syr. *et*[1]). Like the preformative נ (הִנְ) of *Niph'al*, הִתְ has also a reflexive force.

2. The ת of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *b* (see letter *h*), *Hithpō'ēl*, *Hithpa'lēl* and *Hithpalpel* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(*a*) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ס, צ, or שׁ, the ת and the sibilant change places (comp. on this *Metathesis*, § 19. *n*), and at the same time the ת after a צ becomes the emphatic ט: thus הִשְׁתַּמֵּר *to take heed to oneself*, for הִתְשַׁמֵּר; הִסְתַּבֵּל *to become burdensome*, for הִתְסַבֵּל; הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify oneself*, from צָדָק. The only exception is in Jer. 49, 3, with שׁ, to avoid the cacophony which would result from the succession of three *t*-sounds.

(*b*) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ת of *c* the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19. *d*), e.g. מְדַבֵּר *speaking, conversing*; הִדָּכֵא *to be crushed*, הִטַּהֵר *to purify oneself*, הִטַּמֵּא *to defile oneself*, הִתַּמֵּם *to act uprightly*. (An exception occurs in Jud. 19, 22.) The assimilation of the ת occurs also with נ and ב, e.g. הִנַּבֵּא *to prophesy*, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (comp. Num. 24, 7. Ezek. 5, 13. Dan. 11, 14); תִּכּוֹנֵן Num. 21, 27 (comp. Is. 54, 14. Ps. 59, 5); תִּבָּסֶה Prov. 26, 26; with שׁ Eccles. 7, 16; with ר Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under letter *a*, *d* when ת and ז come together, as well as a change of ת to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִזָּכְרוּ Is. 1, 16) the ת is assimilated to the ז, —unless indeed הִזָּכְרוּ, *imperative Niph'al* of זכך, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'ēl* is primarily (*a*) *reflexive* *e* of *Pi''ēl*, e.g. הִתְאַזֵּר *to gird oneself*, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם *to show oneself revengeful* (*Niph.* simply *to take revenge*), and in the numerous instances where the

[1] So also in Hebrew אֶתְחַבַּר 2 Chron. 20, 35; comp. Ps. 76, 6.

Hithpa'ēl expresses *to make oneself* that which is predicated by the stem, *to conduct oneself* as such, *to show oneself, to imagine oneself, to affect* to be of a certain character. E.g. הִתְגַּדֵּל *to make oneself great, to act proudly;* הִתְחַכֵּם *to show oneself wise, crafty;* הִתְחַלָּה *to pretend to be ill;* הִתְעַשֵּׁר *to make* i.e. *to feign oneself rich;* הִשְׂתָּרֵר Num. 16, 13, *to make oneself a prince;* הִתְנַבֵּא 1 Sam. 18, 10, *to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave.* The meaning of *Hithpa'ēl* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e.g. אָבַל *to mourn*, in Qal only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'ēl* in prose. On the accusative after Hithpa'ēl (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117. *w*.

f (*b*) It expresses *reciprocal* action, like *Niph'al*, § 51. *d*, e.g. הִתְרָאָה *to look upon one another*, Gen. 42, 1; comp. Ps. 41, 8;—but (*c*) it more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed *with regard to* or *for* oneself, in one's own especial interest (comp. *Niph'al*, § 51. *e*). Hithpa'ēl in such cases readily takes an accusative, e.g. הִתְפָּרֵק Ex. 32, 3, *to tear off from oneself;* הִתְפַּשֵּׁט *exuit sibi* (*vestem*), הִתְפַּתַּח *solvit sibi* (*vincula*); הִצְטַיֵּד Jos. 9, 12, *to take* (*something*) *as one's provision;* without an accusative, הִתְהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for oneself* (*ambulare*); הִתְפַּלֵּל *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is. 1, 15); הִתְחַקָּה *to draw a line for oneself*, Job 13, 27; on Is. 14, 2, see § 57 note.

g (*d*) Only seldom is it *passive*, e.g. הִשְׁתַּכַּח *to be forgotten*, Eccles. 8, 10, where the reflexive sense (*to bring oneself into oblivion*) has altogether disappeared. Comp. Niph'al, § 51. *f*.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: הִטַּמָּא *to be defiled*, Deut. 24, 4; *infinitive* הִכַּבֵּס *to be washed*, Lev. 13, 55. 56; הִדַּשְׁנָה (for הִתְדַּשְׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the afformative of the *fem. plur.*) *it is made fat*, Is. 34, 6. On הָתְפְּקְדוּ, see letter *l*.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הִתְיַהֵד *to embrace Judaism*, from יְהוּדָה (יְהוּדָה) *Judah;* הִצְטַיֵּד *to provision oneself for a journey*, from צֵידָה *provision for a journey* (see § 72. *m*).

k Rem. 1. As in *Pi'ēl*, so in *Hithpa'ēl*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in ג, ק, מ, פ) has retained the original *Pathaḥ* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Pi'ēl*, to *i* and then lengthened to *ē*), e.g. הִתְאַנַּף Deut. 4, 21 and elsewhere, comp. 2 Chron. 13, 7. 15, 8; with וְ *consecutive* Is. 8, 21; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e.g. תִּתְחַכַּם Eccles. 7, 16; comp. Deut. 9, 8. 18. 1 Sam. 3, 10. 2 Sam. 10, 12. 1 Ki. 11, 9. Is. 55, 2. 58, 14. 64, 11. Ps. 55, 2; הִתְחַזַּק 1 Ki. 20, 22. Ps. 37, 4. Esth. 5, 10.—In Lev. 11, 44.

20, 7 and Ezek. 38, 23 *ĕ* for *ă* occurs before שׁ (comp. § 44. *d*), and in the last passage before ל. In the *perfect*, *imperfect* (with the exception of Eccles. 7, 16), and *imperative* of *Hithpa'ēl* (as well as of *Hithpō'ēl*, *Hithpa'lēl*, *Hithpalpēl*, § 55) the original *ă* always returns in *pause* as *Qameṣ*, e. g. הִתְאַזָּר Ps. 93, 1; יִתְאַבָּל Ezek. 7, 27; יִתְהַלָּךְ Job 18, 8; יִתְלַבָּדוּ 38, 30; הִתְקַדָּשׁוּ Jos. 3, 5; comp. Job 33, 5 and § 74. *b*. The *ā* also appears before the fuller ending וֹן in the plural of the imperfect (comp. § 47. *m*) as in Ps. 12, 9. Job 9, 6. 16, 10.—Like the *Pi'ēl* תְּקַטַּלְנָה (§ 52. *n*), forms occur in *Hithpa'ēl* like תִּתְהַלַּכְנָה Zech. 6, 7; comp. Am. 8, 13, and so in *Hithpō'ēl*, Jer. 49, 3. Am. 9, 13; with *ē* only in Lam. 4, 1.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive Hithpa'ēl* הִתְחַבְּרוּת occurs in Dan. 11, 23 (cf. the *Hiph'îl* inf. הַשְׁמָעוּת in Ezek. 24, 26).

l 2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַטֵּל (connected with *Pi'ēl*) a few reflexive forms of the verb פָּקַד (*to examine*) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a *Pathaḥ* in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take *Qameṣ* in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְפָּקְדוּ Judges 20, 15. 17, *imperfect* יִתְפָּקֵד 20, 15. 21, 9. The corresponding passive form הָתְפָּקְדוּ also occurs four times, Num. 1, 47. 2, 33. 26, 62. 1 Ki. 20, 27. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of *Qal*, in the sense of *to present oneself for mustering, to be mustered*, like the Aramaic *'Ithpe'ēl* (Western Aramaic אִתְקְטַל, Syr. אֶתְקְטַל) and the Ethiopic *taqat'la*, Arab. *'iqtatala*, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (comp. above, letter *b*); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as *Hithpa'ēl* forms, the doubling of the ק being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, also with the ת transposed, occurs in הלתחם (on the analogy of Old Test. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלָּתֵחֶם) in the inscription of the Moabite king *Mēša'*, with the meaning of the Old Test. *Niph'al* נִלְחַם *to fight, to wage war:* see the Inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the *imperfect* with *wāw consecutive* וְאֶלָּתֵחֶם; in line 19 in the *infinitive* with suffix, בְּהִלָּתְחֲמֹה בִי *in his fighting against me*.

§ 55. *Less Common Conjugations.*

a Of the less common conjugations (§ 39. *g*) some may be classed with *Pi'ēl*, others with *Hiph'îl*. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the ה of Hiph'îl. Amongst the conjugations analogous to *Pi'ēl* are included the *passive* forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of *Hithpa'ēl*.

b The following conjugations are related to *Pi'ēl*, as regards their inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. *Pō'ēl* קוֹטֵל, passive *Pō'al* קוֹטַל, reflexive *Hithpō'ēl* הִתְקוֹטֵל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. *qâtălă*, pass. *qûtîlă*, and conj. VI. reflexive *tăqâtălă;*

imperfect יְקוֹטֵל, *participle* מְקוֹטֵל, *imperfect passive* יְקוֹטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ô* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *â*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: *participle* מְשֹׂטְטִי *mine adversary, who would contend with me,* Job 9, 15; מְלוֹשְׁנִי (denominative from לָשׁוֹן *the tongue*) *slandering* (as if *intent on injuring with the tongue*) Ps. 101, 5 *K^eth.* The *Q^erê* requires, without apparent reason, מְלָשְׁנִי (*m^elôšnî*); זֻרְמוּ *they have poured out,* Ps. 77, 18 (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹדַּעְתִּי *I have appointed,* 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless הוֹדַעְתִּי should be read); יְסֹעֵר Hos. 13, 3; שֹׁרַשׁ *to take root,* passive שׁוֹרַשׁ, *denominative* from שֹׁרֶשׁ *root* (on the other hand, שָׁרַשׁ is *to root out*); from a verb שׁוֹשָׁתִי, ל״ה Is. 10, 13; *Hithpô'ēl* Jer. 25, 16. 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (*participle* מִתְנָאָץ for מִתְנָאֵץ).

c *Po'el* proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע״ע § 67. *l* and ע״ו § 72. *m*, which take the place of the ordinary causative *Pi'ēl*) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing the *aim* (Ziel-stamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); comp. the examples given above from Job 9, 15. Ps. 101, 5, and עוֹנֵן 1 Sam. 18, 9 *Q^erê* (probably for מְעוֹנֵן, comp. § 52. *s*; § 55. *f*: *seeking to cast an evil eye*).

With קוֹטֵל is connected the formation of quadriliterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30. 3, § 56).

d 2. *Pa'lēl*, generally with the *ă* attenuated to *ĕ*=*Pi'lēl* (*Pi'lal*), קִטְלֵל and קִטְלַל; the *ē* in the final syllable also arises from *ĕ*, and this again from *ă*; passive *Pu'lal* קֻטְלַל, reflexive *Hithpa'lēl* הִתְקַטְלֵל, like the Arabic conjugations IX. *'iqtăllă* and XI. *'iqtâllă*, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; comp. שַׁאֲנַן *to be at rest,* רַעֲנַן *to be green,* passive אֻמְלַל *to be withered,* all of them found only in the *perfect* and with no corresponding *Qal* form. (For the barbarous form צְמֻתֻתוּנִי Ps. 88, 17 read צִמְּתוּנִי; for נְפַלַל Ezek. 28, 23, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חלל, read נָפַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע״ע, where they take the place of *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 72. *m*). Comp. also § 75. *kk*.

e 3. *P^e'al'al:* קְטַלְטַל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סְחַרְחַר *to go about quickly, to palpitate* (of the heart) Ps. 38, 11, from סָחַר *to go about;* passive חֳמַרְמַר *to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red,* Job 16, 16. Lam. 1, 20. 2, 11. Probably this is also the explanation of חֲצוֹצְרָה (denom. from חֲצוֹצְרָה *a trumpet*, but only in the *participle*, 1 Chron. 15, 24 &c. *K^eth.*) for חֲצַרְצַר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ă* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ā* to *ô*. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֲהַבּוּ הֻבּוּ Hos. 4, 18 (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֲהַבְהַבּוּ) read אֲהַבּוּ, and for the equally meaningless יְפֻיְפִּיתָ Ps. 45, 3 read יָפְיָפִיתָ. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation which did not venture to alter the *K^ethîbh*. On the employment of *P^e'al'al* in the formation of nouns, comp. § 84 *b*, viii. Closely related to this form is—

4. *Pilpēl* (pass. *Pŏlpal*), with a doubling of the two essential radicals in stems ע״ע, ע״ו, and ע״י, e. g. גִּלְגֵּל *to roll*, from גָּלַל = גַּל; כִּלְכֵּל from כִּיל, *passive* כֻּלְכַּל; *reflexive* הִתְגַּלְגֵּל *to roll oneself down*; comp. also טַאטֵא (so Baer after Qimḥi; others טֵאטֵא) Is. 14, 23, and with *ă* in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קַרְקַר from קוּר Num. 24, 17 (comp. however, in the parallel passage, Jer. 48, 45 קָרְקֹד) and Is. 22, 5, in the *participle*. Probably to this form also belongs יְלַעֲלְעוּ, the emended reading of Job 39, 30, instead of the impossible יְעַלְּעוּ; also the participle לְצָצִים Hos. 7, 5 for מְלֻצֹּ (comp. § 52. *s*), and סַאפְּאָה Is. 27, 8, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* סַאסֵא; perhaps also שְׁשֵּׁא Ezek. 39, 2 for שׁאשׁא. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound[1], e. g. צִפְצֵף *to chirp*; comp. in the *Lexicon* the nouns derived from עוּף, גָּרַר, and צָלַל. *f*

As *Hithpalpel* we find יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן Nah. 2, 5; וַתִּתְחַלְחַל Esth. 4, 4; וַיִּתְמַרְמַר Dan. 8, 7. 11, 11. Of the same form is אֶדַּדֶּה Is, 38, 15, if contracted from אֶתְדּוֹדְדָה or אתדידה (from the root דּוּ or דִּי), and also הִתְמַהְמְהוּ *tarry ye*, Is. 29, 9, וַיִּתְמַהְמָהּ (in *pause*) Gen. 19, 16 &c., if it is to be derived from מָהַהּ. *g*

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of— *h*

5. *Tiph'ēl* (properly *Taph'ēl*[2]): תִּרְגַּלְתִּי, with ת prefixed, comp. תִּרְגֵּל *to teach to walk, to lead* (denominative from רֶגֶל *a foot*?) Hos. 11, 3; from a stem ל״ה, the *imperfect* יִתְחַרֶּה *to contend with*, Jer. 12, 5; *participle*, 22, 15 (from חָרָה *to be hot, eager*). Similarly in Aramaic, תַּרְגֵּם *to interpret*, whence alsó in Hebrew the *passive participle* מְתֻרְגָּם Ezr. 4, 7.

6. *Šaph'ēl*: שַׁלְהֶב, frequent in Syriac, e. g. שַׁלְהֵב from להב *to flame*; whence in Hebrew שַׁלְהֶבֶת *flame*. Perhaps of the same form is שַׁבְּלוּל *a snail* (unless it be from the stem שׁבל), and שְׁקַעֲרוּרֹת *hollow strakes*, comp. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the ה, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant. *i*

* * *

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:— *k*

7. קִטְלַט, *passive* קֻטְלַט; as מְחֻסְפָּס *peeled off, like scales*, Ex. 16, 4, from חָסַף, חָשַׂף *to peel, to scale*.

8. קַטְטַל, in זַרְזִיף *a sudden shower of rain*, from זָרַף.

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[1] Comp. Lat. *tinnio, tintinnus*, our *tick-tack, ding-dong*, and the German *wirrwarr, klingklang*. The repetition of the same letter in verbs ע״ע produces the same effect; as in לָקַק *to lick*, דָּקַק *to pound*, טָפַף *to trip along*. The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e. g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln, -ern*, e. g. *flimmern, trillern, tröpfeln, to trickle*.

[2] The existence of a *Taph'ēl* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

9. נִתְקַטֵּל (frequent in New Hebrew[1]) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'ēl;* as וְנִתְוַסְּרוּ for וְנִוָּסְרוּ *that they may be taught,* Ezek. 23, 48; נְכַפֵּר probably an error for הִתְכַּפֵּר *to be forgiven,* Deut. 21, 8. On נִשְׁתַּוָּה Prov. 27, 15, see § 75. *x*.

§ 56. *Quadriliterals.*

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations comp. § 30. *p*. While the quadriliteral *nouns* are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

(*a*) On the analogy of *Pi'ēl:* כִּרְסֵמֶנָּה, *imperfect* יְכַרְסְמֶנָּה *he doth ravage it,* Ps. 80, 14 from כָּסַם, comp. גָּזַם. *Passive* רֻטַּפֵּשׁ *to grow fresh again,* Job 33, 25. *Participle* מְכֻרְבָּל *girt, clothed* (comp. Aramaic כְּבַל *to bind*) 1 Chron. 15, 27. It is usual also to include among the quadriliterals פִּרְשֵׁז Job 26, 9, as a *perfect* with *Pathaḥ* not attenuated, in the Aramaic manner. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'lel* formation, from פָּרַשׂ *to spread out,* with euphonic change of the first שׂ to שׁ, and the second to ז. Moreover, the reading פַּרְשֵׁן also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; comp. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(*b*) On the analogy of *Hiph'il:* הִשְׂמְאִיל, by syncope הִשְׂמִיל and הִשְׂמִל *to turn to the left* (denom. from שְׂמֹאל) Gen. 13, 9. Is. 30, 21, and elsewhere. On הֶאֱוִיחוּ comp. § 53. *p*.

C. Strong Verb with Pronominal Suffixes[2].

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb[3], may be expressed (1) by a separate word, אֵת the accusative sign (before a suffix אֵת, אֶת) with the pronominal suffix, e.g. קָטַל אֹתוֹ *he has killed him;* or (2) by a mere suffix, קְטָלָהוּ or קְטָלוֹ *he has killed him.* The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here con-

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[1] [See Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache,* Leipzig, 1884, § 91. S. R. D.]

[2] This subject of the verbal suffixes is treated here in connexion with the strong verb, in order that both the forms of the suffixes and the general laws which regulate their union with verbal forms may be clearly seen. The rules which relate to the union of the suffixes with weak verbs will be given under the several classes of those verbs.

[3] An accusative suffix occurs with *Niph'al* in Ps. 109, 3 (since נִלְחָם is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is. 44, 21; with *Hithpa'ēl* Is. 14, 2 (הִתְנַחֵל to appropriate somebody *to oneself as a possession*); comp. above, § 54. *f*, and § 117. *w*.

cerned with it alone[1]. Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Niph'al or Hithpa'ēl (§§ 51 and 54), e.g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself*, not קִדְּשׁוֹ, which could only mean *he sanctified him*[2].

Two points must be specially considered here: the form of the suffix itself (§ 58), and the form which the verb takes when suffixes are added to it (§§ 59–61).

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the נביאים ראשנים, Leipzig, 1890.

a **1.** The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

	A. *To a form ending in a Vowel.*	B. *To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.*	C. *To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.*	
Sing. 1. com.	נִי־	נִי־ (in *pause* נִי־)	נִי־	*me.*
2. m.	ךָ—	ךָ־ (in *pause* ךָ־, also ךָ—)		*thee.*
f.	ךְ—	ךְ—, ךְ־, rarely ךְ־	ךְ—	
3. m.	הוּ־, וֹ	הוּ־, וֹ (ה')	הוּ־	*him.*
f.	הָ־	ה־	הָ־	*her.*
Plur. 1. com.	נוּ־	נוּ־	נוּ־	*us* (*nos*).
2. m.	כֶם—	כֶם־		*you* (*vos*).
f.	.....[3]			
3. m.	הֶם[3], ם	ם־ (from הֶם־), ם־	ם־ (from הֶם־)	*eos.*
poet.	מוֹ־	מוֹ־	מוֹ־	
f.	ן—	ן־, ן־	.....[3]	*eas.*

[1] On the cases where אֵת is necessary, see § 117. *e*.

[2] Jer. 7, 19. Ezek. 34, 2. 8. 10 are only apparent exceptions. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between אֹתָם (*themselves*) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex. 5, 19 אֹתָם after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of *themselves*.

[3] הֶם occurs only once as a *verbal* suffix (Deut. 32, 26, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, אַפְאֵיהֶם from פָּאָה is to be read), while the forms הֶן (2nd *f. pl.*) and ן— and הֶן (3rd *f. pl.*), added by Qimḥi, never occur.

b **2.** That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding *forms of the personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

c The suffixes נִי, נוּ, הוּ and הָ (also ָה, when a long vowel in an open syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, כֶם and הֶם always take the tone.

d In the 3rd pers. masc. from הוּ־, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the rejection of the weak ה, there frequently arises *ô* (§ 23. *k*), ordinarily written וֹ, much less frequently ה֫ (see § 7. *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix הָ should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (comp. below, letter *f*, note), as הָ־ or הָ־, on the analogy of *āhû*; instead of הָ־, however, it was simply pronounced ה־, with the rejection of the final vowel, and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to ה־ is also found, see below, letter *g*.

e **3.** The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(*a*) One beginning with a consonant, as נִי־, הוּ־, וּ (only after *î*), נוּ־, (הֶם) ם, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. יִקְטְלֻנִי; קָטַלְתָּיהוּ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get קָטַלְתִּיו, pronounced *qᵉṭaltîu*; cf. § 8. *m*.

f (*b*) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*[1] (ֶנִי־, ִנִי־), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59. *g* and § 60. *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e.g. קְטָלַנִי, קְטָלָנוּ, קְטָלָם; and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g. יִקְטְלֵהוּ, קָטְלֵם; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (comp. § 61. *a* and *h*). The form וֹ also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from הוּ־ (comp., however, § 60. *d*). With ךָ, כֶם, the connecting sound is only a vocal *Šᵉwâ*,

[1] We have kept the term *connecting* vowel, although it is rather a superficial description. Most probably these *connecting syllables* are really the remains of old verbal terminations, like the *i* in the 2nd pers. *fem.* sing. קָטַלְתִּיהוּ. Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *qᵉṭāl-ani* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *qᵉṭālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem,' instead of 'connecting syllable.'

which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus ךָ—, כֶם—, e.g. קְטָלְךָ (*qᵉṭālᵉkhā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, ךָ—, e.g. שְׁלָחֲךָ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ă*) reappears as *Sᵉghôl* with the tone ךָ֫ (comp., however, ךָ֫ Deut. 28, 24 and frequently; even without the *pause* עָנְךָ Jer. 23, 37). On the appending of suffixes to the final ין of the imperfect (§ 47. *m*), see § 60. *e*.

Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* כָה֫— Gen. 27, 7. 1 Ki. 18, 44, &c., in *pause* also כָה֫ (see below, letter *i*); *fem.* כִי֫, כִי֫— Ps. 103, 4. 137, 6. Instead of the form ךָ—, which is usual even in the perfect (e. g. Jud. 4, 20. Ezek. 27, 26), ךְ— occurs as *fem.* Is. 60, 9 (as *masc.* Deut. 28, 45. Is. 30, 19. 55, 5 always in *pause*); with *Munaḥ* Is. 54, 6.—In the 3rd *masc.* הּ Ex. 32, 25. Num. 23, 8; in the 3rd *fem.* הּ— without *Mappîq* (comp. § 91. *e*) Ex. 2, 3. Jer. 44, 19; Am. 1, 11, with retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable).—The forms מוֹ֫, מוֹ֫—, מוֹ֫— are wholly poetic[1] (with the exception of Ex. 23, 31); instead of מוֹ֫ there occurs in Ex. 15, 5 מוֹ֫—. On the origin of these forms, see § 32. *m*; on the use of מוֹ— as a singular, see the 2nd note on § 103. *f*; on ן— and ן— as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60. *d*.—In Gen. 48, 9 קְחֵם־נָא (cf. וַיִּבְּקֵם־שָׁם 1 Chron. 14, 11 according to Baer), ם— has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to ם—.—In Ezek. 44, 8 וְתָשִׂימוּן is probably an error for וְתָשִׂימוּם. *g*

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) we find that (*a*) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; comp. e. g. נִי֫—, נִי֫—, נִי֫— (*me*) with י— (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word (אֹתִי &c.). *h*

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and sometimes intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a full connecting-syllable[2] (*ăn*) is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ă* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) lengthened *i*

[1] In Ps. 2 מוֹ— occurs five times, and ם— only twice.

[2] It is, however, a question whether, instead of a connecting syllable, we should not assume a special verbal form, analogous to the Arabic *energetic mood* (see the Rem. at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the foot-note on § 48. *c*). According to Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, the form with *Nûn* is used to express the simple future and to lay stress upon the object, while the ordinary form is used to express the optative or after *wāw consecutive*, a remark which is almost always confirmed by the facts.

to *Seghôl*. This is called the *Nûn energicum*[1] (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Deut. 32, 10) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g. יְבָרְכֶנְּהוּ *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15, comp. Jer. 5, 22), יְכַבְּדֶנְנִי *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23); rarely in the perfect, Deut. 24, 13. On examples like דָּגְנִי Gen. 30, 6, comp. § 26. *g*. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nûn* is assimilated to the following consonant (נ, כ), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so ה), and the *Nûn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

1st *pers.* ־ִנִּי (even in pause, Job 7, 14 and elsewhere), ־ִנִּי (for ־ֶנֶנִּי, ־ֶנֶנִּי).

2nd *pers.* ־ְךָ (Jer. 22, 24 in pause ־ְנְךָ) and, only orthographically different,

־ֵכָּה (Is. 10, 24. Prov. 2, 11 in *pause*).

3rd *pers.* ־ֵנּוּ (for ־ֶנְהוּ)[2], *fem.* ־ֶנָּה for ־ֶנְהָ.

[1st *pers. plur.* ־ֵנּוּ (for ־ֶנְנוּ)], see the Rem.

In the other persons Nûn energetic does not occur.

k Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex. 15, 2. Deut. 32, 10. Jer. 5, 22. 22, 24); they are never found in the 3rd *fem. sing.* and 1st *plur.* On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of ־ֵנּוּ as 1st *plur.* occurs perhaps in Job 31, 15 (but hardly in Hos. 12, 5); comp. הֲבִינֵנוּ *behold us*, Gen. 44, 16. 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for הִנֵּנוּ.—In Ezek. 4, 12 the Masora requires תְּעֻגֵנָּה, without Dageš in the Nûn.

l That the forms with *Nûn energicum* are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in *pause*. Apart from the verb, however, *Nûn energicum* occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100. *o*).

This Nûn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two *energetic moods* (see § 48. *b*) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaqtulan-ka* or *yaqtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

§ 59. *The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.*

a **1.** The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz.:—

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[1] So König, *Lehrgeb.* i. p. 226.

[2] On ־ֵנּוּ = נוֹ־ Num. 23, 13, see § 67. *o*.

(*a*) In the 3rd *sing. fem.* the original feminine ending תְ— or תַ— is used for הָ—.

(*b*) 2nd *sing. masc.* besides תָּ we find ת, to which the connecting vowel is closely attached, but the only clear instances of this are with נִי—[1].

(*c*) 2nd *sing. fem.* תִּי, the original form of תְּ; comp. קָטַלְתִּי, אַתִּי, § 32. *f*; § 44. *g*. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(*d*) 2nd *plur. masc.* תּוּ for תֶּם, a change which is explained by the Arabic *'antum*, *qatal*tum*[2], Aram. אַתּוּן, קְטַלְתּוּן for Heb. אַתֶּם, קְטַלְתֶּם (§ 32. *i*). The only examples are Num. 20, 5. 21, 5. Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* קְטַלְתֶּן never occurs with suffixes; probably it was not distinguished in pronunciation from the masculine.

We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'îl*, as they are pronounced when connected with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see No. 2). *b*

Singular.	*Plural.*
3. *m.* הִקְטִיל	3. *c.* הִקְטִילוּ
3. *f.* הִקְטִילַת	
2. *m.* הִקְטַלְתָּ, הִקְטַלְתְּ	2. *m.* הִקְטַלְתּוּ
2. *f.* הִקְטַלְתְּ, הִקְטַלְתִּי	
1. *c.* הִקְטַלְתִּי	1. *c.* הִקְטַלְנוּ

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *Hiph'îl* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see letter *d*).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see letter *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the Perfect *Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (*a*) the *Qameṣ* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*; (*b*) the original *Pathaḥ* of the second syllable, which in the 3rd *sing. fem.* and 3rd *plur.* had become *Šᵉwâ*, now reappears, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is even *c*

[1] Even here it is extremely probable that the *ă* belongs originally to the verbal form, see § 58. *f*, note.

[2] According to Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 38, p. 415, the ground-form of the 2nd *plur. masc.* probably terminated in *tumû*.

lengthened to *Qameṣ;* similarly original *ĭ* (as in the 3rd *sing. masc. without* a suffix) reappears, and is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. אֲהֵבֵךְ 1 Sam. 18, 22. Prov. 19, 7.

d The forms of the perfect of Qal consequently appear as follows:—

Singular.	*Plural.*
3. *m.* קָטַל	3. *c.* קָטְלוּ
3. *f.* קָטְלַת (קָטַלָת, letter *g*)	
2. *m.* קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתְּ, letter *h*)	2. *m.* קְטַלְתֻּ
2. *f.* קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתִּ, letter *h*)	
1. *c.* קָטַלְתִּי	1. *c.* קָטַלְנוּ

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C.* It will be seen there also, how the *Ṣere* in the Perfect *Pi'ēl* changes sometimes into *Seghôl*, and sometimes into *vocal Šewâ.*

e Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶם and הֶם, since they end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms כֶן and הֶן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶם alone occurs, Ps. 118, 26. The form קְטַל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd sing. masc. before כֶם and כֶן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the Old Testament.

f 2. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* קְטָלָהוּ (especially in verbs ל״ה; in the strong verb only in Jer. 20, 15 in *Pi'ēl*) is mostly contracted to קְטָלוֹ, according to § 23. *k;* likewise in the 2nd sing. masc. קְטַלְתָּהוּ to קְטַלְתּוֹ.—As a suffix of the 1st sing. נִי occurs several times with the 3rd sing. masc. perf. Qal of verbs ל״ה, not only in *pause* (as עָנָנִי Ps. 118, 5; קָנָנִי Prov. 8, 22 with *Dehi*), but also with a conjunctive accent, as הִרָנִי Job 30, 19; עָנָנִי 1 Sam. 28, 15 (where, however, the reading עֲנָנִי is also found).

g 3. The 3rd *sing. fem.* קְטָלַת (=קְטָלָה) has the twofold peculiarity that (*a*) the ending *ath* always takes the tone[1], and consequently is joined to those suffixes, which form a syllable of themselves (נִי, ךָ, הוּ, הָ, נוּ), without a connecting vowel, contrary to the general rule, § 58. *f;* (*b*) before the other suffixes the connecting vowel is indeed employed, but the tone is drawn back to the *penultima*, so that they are pronounced with shortened vowels, viz. ךְ—, ם—, e.g. אֲהֵבָתְךָ *she loves thee*, Ruth 4, 15; גְּנָבָתַם *she has stolen them*, Gen. 31, 32; שְׂרָפָתַם *it burns them*, Is. 47, 14. Jos. 2, 6. Hos. 2, 14. Ps. 48, 7. For תְּנִי—, תְּךָ—,

[1] חִבְּלָתְךָ Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. כֶם would probably even here have the tone (letter *e*); but no example of the kind occurs in the Old Testament. In Is. 51, 2 the *imperfect* is used instead of the *perfect* with a suffix.

&c., in *pause* תָנִי__ is found, Jer. 8, 21. Ps. 69, 10, and תְךָ__ Cant. 8, 5; and also without the *pause* for the sake of the assonance חֲבָלָתְךָ, *she was in travail with thee*, in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The form קְטָלַתּוּ (e. g. Ruth 4, 15) has arisen, through the loss of the ה and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נּוּ__ and נָּה__ for נֻנְהוּ and נָנְהָ, comp. § 58. *i*), from the form קְטָלָתְהוּ, which is also found even in *pause* (אֲהֵבָתְהוּ 1 Sam. 18, 28; elsewhere it takes in *pause* the form סְמָכָתְהוּ Is. 59, 16); so קְטָלַתָּה from קְטָלָתְהָ; comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6. Is. 34, 17. Jer. 49, 24. Ruth 3, 6; in *pause* Ezek. 14, 15, always, on the authority of Qimḥi, without *Mappîq* in the ה, which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

h 4. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* the form קְטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e. g. זָנַחְתָּנוּ פָּרַצְתָּנוּ *thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down*, Ps. 60, 3; but with the suff. of the 1st sing. the form קְטַלְתַּנִי is used, e. g. חֲקַרְתַּנִי Ps. 139, 1; in *pause*, however, with *Qameṣ*, e. g. עֲזַבְתָּנִי Ps. 22, 2; Jud. 1, 15 (with *Zaqeph qaṭon*); comp., however, also צָרַפְתָּנִי Ps. 17, 3 with *Merᵉkha.*—In the 2nd *sing. fem.* תְּי__ is also written defectively, רְמִיתֻנִי 1 Sam. 19, 17. Jud. 11, 35. Jer. 15, 10. Cant. 4, 9. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the shorter form (תְ__), viz. הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנוּ *thou (fem.) dost adjure us*, Cant. 5, 9. Jos. 2, 17. 20; comp. Jer. 2, 27, and, quite abnormally, with *Ṣere* הוֹרַדְתִּנוּ *thou (fem.) didst let us down*, Jos. 2, 18, where הוֹרַדְתְּנוּ would be expected. In Is. 8, 11 וַיְיַסְּרֵנִי is probably intended as an *imperfect.*

i 5. In verbs *middle e*, the *ē* remains even before suffixes (see above, letter *c*), e. g. אֲהֵבְךָ Deut. 15, 16, אֲהֵבָתְהוּ 1 Sam. 18, 28, comp. 18, 22; יְרֵאוּהוּ Job 37, 24. From a verb *middle o* there occurs יְכָלְתִּיו *I have prevailed against him*, Ps. 13, 5, from יָכֹל with *ŏ* instead of *ō* in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44. *e*).

§ 60. *Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.*

a In those forms of the *imperfect* Qal, which have no afformatives, the vowel *ō* of the second syllable mostly becomes ᵉ (simple vocal *Šᵉwâ*), sometimes ᵉ (ֶ__); thus in the principal *pause*, Num. 35, 20. Is. 27, 3. 62, 2. Jer. 31, 33. Ezek. 35, 6. Hos. 10, 10; before the principal *pause*, Ps. 119, 33; before a secondary *pause*, Ezek. 17, 33; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos. 23, 5. Before ךָ__, כֶם__, however, it is shortened to *ŏ* (*Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*), e. g. יִשְׁמָרְךָ (but in *pause* יִשְׁמָרֶךָּ or יִשְׁמָרֶךָּ; with *Nûn energicum*, see § 58. 4), יִשְׁמָרְכֶם, &c. Instead of תִּקְטֹלְנָה, the form תִּקְטֳלוּ[1] is used for the 2nd and 3rd *fem. plur.* before suffixes; Jer. 2, 19. Job 19, 15. Cant. 1, 6.

[1] This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix, Jer. 49, 11. Ezek. 37, 7. In the latter passage וַתִּקְרְבוּ is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וְיִקְ, intended to suggest the reading וַתִּקְרַבְנָה, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצָמוֹת.

b Rem. 1. יְחָבְרֶךָּ Ps. 94, 20 is an anomalous form for יְחַבְּרֶךָּ (comp. the analogous יָחֳנֵךְ § 67. *n*) and יְפַנְּשֶׁךָּ (so Baer; others יְפַגְּשֶׁךָּ) Gen. 32, 18 for יְפַגֶּשְׁךָ. To the same category as יְחָבְרֶךָּ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תָּעָבְדֵם (from תַּעֲבֹד), Ex. 20, 5. 23, 24. Deut. 5, 9, and נָעָב׳ Deut. 13, 3. As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *o* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יַעַבְדֵנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex. 23, 24, (on the analogy of which Deut. 13, 3 was then wrongly pointed,) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix = *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them?*

c Verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, and imperative, *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiae* and *mediae guttur.* belong, § 64 and § 65) do *not*, as a rule, change the *Pathaḥ* of the *imperfect* (nor of the imperative, see § 61. *g*) into *vocal Šᵉwâ* before suffixes; but the Pathaḥ, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is rather lengthened to *Qameṣ*, e. g. וַיְלַבְּשֵׁנִי Job 29, 14; יְנַאֲלוּהוּ 3, 5; וַיְשַׁלְּחֵם Jos. 8, 3; יְקָרְאֻהוּ Ps. 145, 18; but also יְקָרְאוֹ Jer. 23, 6.

d 2. As exceptions, though they are not rare, suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are found with the imperfect, e. g. תְּדַבְּקֵנִי Gen. 19, 19, comp. 29, 32. Ex. 33, 20. Num. 22, 33. 1 Ki. 2, 24 *Qᵉrê*, Is. 56, 3. Job 9, 18; also יְ֫, Gen. 27, 19. Job 7, 14. 9, 34. 13, 21 (in principal *pause*); וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ Gen. 37, 33, comp. 16, 7. 2 Sam. 11, 27. Is. 26, 5. Job 28, 27. 1 Chron. 20, 2; יַבִּירֵנוּ Is. 63, 16 (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding יְדָעֵנוּ); יְלַבְּשֵׁם Ex. 29, 30, comp. 2, 17. Num. 21, 30. Deut. 7, 15. Ps. 74, 8; even אַמְיִלֵם 118, 10–12; וַיּוֹשִׁיעֵן Ex. 2, 17, and יְחַיְּתֵן Hab. 2, 17 (where, however, the old versions read יְחַיֶּתְךָ); even יְרַדְּפוֹ (*ô* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3; comp. Ex. 22, 29, Jos. 2, 4. 1 Sam. 18, 1 *Kᵉth.*, 21, 14 (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 Sam. 14, 6 (where it would be better to read וַיִּכּוּ, or with the old versions וַיַּךְ); Jer. 23, 6 (see § 74. *e*). Ps. 35, 8. Eccles. 4, 12.—On pausal *Sᵉghôl* for *Ṣere* in וְאֵבְרְכֵם Gen. 48, 9 and וַתְּאַלְּצֵהוּ (so Baer, but not ed. Mant.) Jud. 16, 6, see § 29. *q*.

e 3. Suffixes are sometimes also appended to the plural forms in ן֫, e.g. תְּדַכְּאוּנֵנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Job 19, 2; יְשַׁרְתוּנֵךְ (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is. 60, 7. 10; Prov. 5, 22 (ì); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; יְקָרְאֻנֵנִי with two other examples Prov. 1, 28. Hos. 5, 15; comp. וּנְךָ Ps. 63, 4. 91, 12; נְהוּ Jer. 5, 22; וּנְהָ Jer. 2, 24 — all in principal *pause*.

f 4. In *Pᵉ'ēl*, *Pᵒ'ēl*, and *Po'lēl*, the *Ṣere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in Qal, becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ;* but before the suffixes ךָ֫ and כֶם֫ it is shortened to *Sᵉghôl*, e. g. יְכַבֵּצְךָ Deut. 30, 4. Ps. 34, 12. Is. 51, 2. With a final guttural, however, *ē* is retained in the tone-syllable אֲשַׁלַּחֲךָ Gen. 32, 27; also Prov. 4, 8, where with Qimḥi תְּכַבְּדֶךָּ is to be read; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is יְרַפֵּדְךָ Deut. 32, 7. Less frequently *Ṣere* is sharpened into *Ḥireq*, e. g. אֲאַמִּיצְכֶם Job 16, 5, comp. Ex. 31, 13. Is. 1, 15. 52, 12; so in *Po'lēl*, Is. 25, 1. Ps. 30, 2. 37, 34. 145, 1, and probably also in *Qal* אֹסְפְךָ 1 Sam. 15, 6; comp. § 68. *h*.

g 5. In *Hiph'il* the long *î* remains, e. g. תַּלְבִּישֵׁנִי Job 10, 11 (after *wāw con-*

secutive often written defectively, e. g. וַיַּלְבִּשֵׁם Gen. 3, 21 and passim). Forms like תַּעְשְׁרֶנָּה *thou enrichest it*, Ps. 65, 10. 1 Sam. 17, 25, are rare. Comp. § 53. *n*.

6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (ן), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (ם) is affixed to the afformative וּ, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending וֹן; comp. וַיְמַלְאוּם Gen. 26, 15 (previously also with a perf. סִתְמוּם); Gen. 26, 18. 33, 13. Ex. 2, 17 (where וַיּוֹשִׁעָן occurs immediately after); 39, 18. 20. 1 Sam. 6, 10 (where also בְּנֵיהֶם is for בְּנֵיהֶן, a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135. *o*). *h*

§ 61. *Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.*

1. The *infinitive construct* of an *active verb* may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can take a *verbal suffix*, i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the Old Testament are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e. g. לִדְרָשֵׁנִי *to inquire of me*, Jer. 37, 7. As a rule the infinitive (as a *noun*) takes *noun*-suffixes (in the *genitive*), e. g. עָבְרִי *my passing by*; טָלְכוֹ *his reigning*, see § 115. *a* and *e*. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qŏṭl*, the short vowel returning to the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qŭṭŭl*, see § 46. *a*). The result is, as a rule, a half-closed syllable, e. g. בְּכָתְבוֹ *in his writing*, Jer. 45, 1, not בָּתְבוֹ *kŏth-bô*, see § 21. *f*; comp., however, הָפְכִי Gen. 19, 21; נָגְפוֹ (so ed. Mant.; others נָגְּפוֹ) Ex. 12, 27; עָצְבִי 1 Chron. 4, 10; before ךָ֫ and כֶם֫ also the syllable is completely closed, e. g. בְּאָסְפְּךָ Ex. 23, 16. Lev. 23, 39 (but in pause לְהָרְגֶךָ Gen. 27, 42), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see letter *d*. With the form קְטֹל generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form קֶטֶל (before a suffix קָטְלִ or קִטְלִ), § 84*a*, 1; § 93. *q*. *a*

Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the *imperfect* of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qiṭl*, before suffixes, e. g. בִּבְגְדוֹ Ex. 21, 8; מִכְרָם Am. 2, 6 (but מָכְרָהּ Ex. 21, 8), נִפְלוֹ 2 Sam. 1, 10 (but נָפְלוֹ 1 Sam. 29, 3), שִׁבְרִי Lev. 26, 26. Ezek. 30, 18 &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47. *i* with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects. *b*

Infinitives of the form קָטַל (§ 45. *c*) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also שְׁכָבָהּ Gen. 19, 33. 35—elsewhere שָׁכְבְךָ and שָׁכְבוֹ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qaṭl*, as וַעְפוֹ Jon. 1, 15 (and, with the syllable only half closed, בַּעֲמוֹ Jud. 13, 25), מַחֲאֵךְ and רַקָּעֵךְ Ez. 25, 6; sometimes *qiṭl*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially verbs third guttural; as בִּטְחֵךְ, בִּלְעִי, בִּקְעָם, בִּגְעוֹ, פִּתְחִי, רִבְעָהּ.—Contrary to § 58. *f* נִי֫ (1 Chron. 12, 17) and נוּ֫ (Ex. 14, 11) are found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי֫ and נוּ֫. On רִדוּפִי *my following* *c*

Ps. 38, 21, for which the *Qᵉrê* requires רָדְפִי, comp. the analogous examples in § 46. *e*.

d 2. With the suffixes ךָ‍ and כֶם‍, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אֲכָלְךָ *thy eating*, Gen. 2, 17; אֲכָלְכֶם Gen. 3, 5; עֲמָדְךָ (others עָמְדֶךָ)[1] Obad. 11, i. e. with *ō* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קְצִרְכֶם *your harvesting*, Lev. 19, 9. 23, 22 (with a return of the original *ŭ*), and מָאֳסְכֶם (read *mŏšᵉkhèm*) *your despising*, Is. 30, 12; comp. Deut. 20, 2; on בְּמֹצַאֲכֶם Gen. 32, 20 (for בְּמָצְאִי), see § 74. *h*.

e Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, הִכָּבְדִי Ex. 14, 18; הִשָּׁמְדְךָ Deut. 28, 20 (in *pause*, הִשָּׁמְדֶךָ verse 24); הִשָּׁפְטוֹ Ps. 37, 33; הִזָּכְרֶכֶם Ezek. 21, 29; הִשָּׁמְדָם Deut. 7, 23. In the *infinitive* of *Pi'ēl* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60. *f*) the *ē* before the suff. ךָ‍, כֶם‍ becomes *Sᵉghôl*, e. g. דַּבֶּרְךָ Ex. 4, 10, and with a sharpening to *ĭ* בְּרִשְׁכֶם Is. 1, 15 (see § 60. *f*). In the *infinitive Pō'ēl*, בּוֹשַׁסְכֶם occurs (with *a* for *ĕ* or *ĭ*) Am. 5, 11, but probably בִּוְסְכֶם, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction ם has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* ש.

f 2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before *suffixes* (קְטָל) is due probably (see § 46. *d*) to the return of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qŭṭŭl*). In the *imperative* also *ŏ* stands in a half-closed syllable, e. g. כָּתְבֵם *kŏthᵉbhēm* (not *kŏth-bēm*), &c.[1] As in the *imperfect* (§ 60. *d*) and *infinitive* (see above, letter *c*), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e. g. כָּתְבָהּ Is. 30, 8; comp. 2 Sam. 12, 28. — The forms קִטְלִי, קִטְלוּ, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קִטְלָנָה, the masc. form קִטְלוּ is used, as in the *imperfect*.

g In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שְׁלַח (to which class belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qameṣ* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60. *c*), e. g. שְׁלָחֵנִי *send me*, Is. 6, 8, בְּחָנֵנִי Ps. 26, 2, קְרָאֵנִי Ps. 50, 15, שְׁמָעֵנִי Gen. 23, 8. In Am. 9, 1, בְּצַּעַם (so Baer, instead of the ordinary reading בְּצַּעֵם) for בְּצָעֵם is irregular. The retraction of the tone, which causes the

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[1] שָׁמְרֵנִי *šāmᵉrēnî* required by the Masora in Ps. 16, 1 (also שָׁמְרָה Ps. 86, 2. 119, 167; comp. Is. 38, 14 and עָמְדָךְ Obad. 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9. *v* and § 48. *i*, note. According to Delitzsch, the short *å*, which is the value of the *Qameṣ ḥaṭuph* of the Masora (see above, § 8. *d*), is here simply lengthened to long *å*.

change of *ē* to *ă*, is doubtless to be explained, with König, as a case of *nasog 'aḥor* (comp. 29. *e*, and the analogous קָחֶם־נָא *bring them, I pray thee*, Gen. 48, 9).—In the imperative *Hiph'îl*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd *sing. masc.* הַקְטֵל, but הַקְטִיל (with *î* on account of the open syllable, comp. § 60. *g*), e. g. הַקְרִיבֵהוּ *present it*, Mal. 1, 8.

3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116. 3. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *Šᵉwâ* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קֹטֵל; רָדְפִי, רָדְפוֹ, &c.; but before *Šᵉwâ mobile* יֹצְרֵךְ, &c., or with sharpening אֹיְבֵךְ Ex. 23, 4 and elsewhere, אֹסְפֵךְ 2 Kings 22, 20 (coinciding in form with the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal*, 1 Sam. 15, 6; comp. § 68. *h*). On the other hand, with a middle guttural (גֹּאֲלִי), גֹּאֲלֵךְ; with a third guttural, בֹּרְאֵךְ Is. 43, 1, but שֹׁלְחֵךְ, comp. § 65. *d*. The form מְקַטֵּל, with suffix מְקַטְּלִי; before *Šᵉwâ* sometimes like מְלַמֶּדְךָ Is. 48, 17, מְנַחֲמֶכֶם 51, 12, sometimes like מְאַסְּפְכֶם 52, 12. In Is. 47, 10, רְאָנִי is irregular for רְאֵנִי; instead of the quite meaningless בַּלָּה מְקַלְלוּנִי Jer. 15, 10, the true reading is בַּלָּהֶם קִלְלוּנִי. *h*

§ 62. *Verbs with Gutturals.*

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the complete loss of the doubling in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niph'al* of verbs *first guttural*) can be called a real weakness (§§ 63. *h*, 64. *d*). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ă* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יַחְמֹד, whilst elsewhere it is attenuated to *ĭ*, יִקְטֹל.—In guttural verbs א and ה are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the א in some verbs פ״א (§ 68), in a few ע״א (§ 73. *g*), and in most ל״א (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the א was at least originally a full consonant, while the ה in verbs ל״ה was never

anything but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The really consonantal ה at the end of the word is marked by *Mappîq*.—Verbs containing a ר also, according to § 22. 5, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second or third radical. (Comp. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

§ 63. *Verbs First Guttural*, e. g. עָמַד *to stand.*

a In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a *simple Šᵉwâ mobile*, the initial guttural takes a *compound Šᵉwâ* (*Ḥaṭeph*, § 10. *f*, § 22. *l*). Thus the *infinitives* עֲמֹד, אֲכֹל *to eat*, and the *perfects*, *2nd plur. masc.* עֲמַדְתֶּם, חֲפַצְתֶּם from חָפֵץ *to be inclined*, correspond to the forms קְטֹל and קְטַלְתֶּם, and אֲבָלוּ to קָטָלוּ, and so always with initial חֲ before a suffix for an original *ă*, according to § 22. *o*.

b **2.** When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, the two may either form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Ḥaṭeph* under the guttural. If the vowel of the preformative was originally *a*, two methods of formation may again be distinguished, according as this *a* remains or is attenuated to *ĭ*.

c Examples: (*a*) of firmly closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable; but cf. letter *e*): יַחְמֹד, יַחְמֹל, יַחְשֹׁב, יַחְשֹׁף, יַעְקֹב Jer. 9, 3 (probably to distinguish it from the name יַעֲקֹב, just as in Jer. 10, 19, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of חָלָה is נַחֲלָה to distinguish it from נַחֲלָה), &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with ח, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ă* as a *Ḥaṭeph*, e.g. יַחֲשֹׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'îl* יַחְסִיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ă* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative נ of the *perfect Niph'al:* נַחְבֵּאתָ Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2. Jos. 2, 16, also the *infinitive absolute* נַחְתּוֹם Esth. 8, 8, נַעְתּוֹר 1 Chron. 5, 20, and the *participle fem.* נַחְלָה (see above, letter *c*), *plur.* נַעֲתָרוֹת Prov. 27, 6. In these forms the original *ă* is commonly kept under the preformative followed by *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ;*

thus in the *perfect* of some verbs ל״ה, e. g. נַעֲשָׂה, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, נֶהֱפוֹךְ Esth. 9, 1; in the *participle*, נֶעֱרָץ Ps. 89, 8, &c.

(*b*) Of half-closed syllables (where a *Ḥaṭeph* follows) with the original vowel: יַחֲבֹשׁ (but יָחְבְּשׁוּ Job 5, 18 in *pause*), יַחֲלֹם, יַעֲמֹד, יַהֲרֹס, and so almost always with ע and ה in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, הָעֳמַד, יָעֳמַד. *d*

The *ĭ* of the preformative, attenuated from *ă*, before a guttural almost always (§ 22. *i*) becomes *Seghôl* (comp., however, letter *g*). This *Seghôl* again appears sometimes (*c*) in a closed syllable, e. g. יֶחְבַּשׁ, יֶחְסַר, יֶאְשַׁם, יֶעְתַּר, always with *ă* in the second syllable, corresponding to the imperfects of verbs ע״ע, with original *ĭ* in the first and *ă* in the second syllable, § 67. *p*, and also to the imperfects of verbs ע״ו, § 72. *h*; but cf. also יֶאְסֹר and יֶהְדֹּף; in *Niph.*, e. g. נֶחְלוּ, Am. 6, 6, &c., in *Hiph.* הֶחְסִיר, הֶעֱלִים 2 Kings 4, 27, &c.: sometimes (*d*) in a half-closed syllable (followed by *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl*), e. g. יֶאֱסֹף, יֶחֱשַׁף, יֶעֱרַב in *imperfect Qal*; הֶעֱמִיד *Hiph'il*; נֶעֱמַד *Niph'al*. *e*

Rem. With regard to the above examples the following points may also be noted: (1) The forms with a firmly closed syllable (called the hard combination) frequently occur in the same verb with forms containing a half-closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative א invariably receives *Seghôl*, whether in a firmly or half-closed syllable, e. g. אֶחְבֹּשׁ (with the cohortative אֶחְבְּשָׁה), אֶחְסָר (in *pause*) &c. In Job 32, 17 אַעֲנֶה must unquestionably be *Hiph'il*, since elsewhere the pointing is always אֶעֱנֶה. Cohortatives like אַהֲרֹגָה Gen. 27, 41, and אַחְדְּלָה Job 16, 6, are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Paṯaḥ* of the preformative to change into *Seghôl*, and *vice versa*, e. g. נַעֲשָׂה, but נְעֲשָׂתָה 3rd *sing. fem.*; יֶאֱסֹף, but תַּאַסְפִי; הֶעֱמִיד, but with *wāw consecutive* וְהֶעֱמַדְתָּ &c.; so וַיַּחְסְרוּ Gen. 8, 3 the plur. of וַיֶּחְסַר, comp. Gen. 11, 8; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* group (ֱֲֳ) into the lighter *Ḥaṭeph-Paṯaḥ* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (comp. § 27. *w*). *f*

3. When in forms like יַעֲמֹד, נֶעֱמַד, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šewâ* in consequence of the addition of an afformative (וּ, ִי, ָה) or suffix, the *compound Šewâ* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד, *plur.* יַעַמְדוּ (*ya-ʿa-me-dhû* as an equivalent for *ya-ʿ-me-dhû*); נֶעֱזָבָה *she is forsaken*. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. יַחְבְּלוּ *they take as a pledge* (comp. in the *sing.* תַּחְבֹּל, also יַחְבֹּל); יֶחְזְקוּ (also יֶחֱזְקוּ) *they are strong*. Comp. letter *m* and, in general, § 22. *m*, § 28. *c*. *g*

h **4.** In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niph'al*, where the first radical should regularly be doubled (הִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Ṣere*; יֵעָמֵד for *yi"āmēd*[1], &c. Comp. § 22. 1.—For תֵּיעָשֶׂה Ex. 25, 31 (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation תֵּעָשֶׂה, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read תֵּיעָשֶׂה.

REMARKS.

I. *On Qal.*

i 1. In verbs פ״א the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* in the first syllable (according to § 22. *o*), e. g. אֱזֹר *gird thou*, Job 38, 3, אֱהַב *love thou*, Hos. 3, 1, אֱחֹז *seize thou*, Ex. 4, 4 (on אֱפֵה *bake ye*, Ex. 16, 23, see § 76. *d*); אֱכֹל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix בֶּאֱכֹל, לֶאֱכֹל, לֶאֱחֹז Is. 5, 24; לֶאֱהֹב Eccles. 3, 8. Sometimes, however, *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* is found as well, e. g. *infinitive* אֲחֹז 1 Ki. 6, 6; בַּאֲכֹל הָאֵשׁ Num. 26, 10 (before a suffix אֲכָלְכֶם, אֲכָלֵךְ § 61. *d*); comp. Deut. 7, 20. 12, 23. Ezek. 25, 8. Ps. 102, 5. Prov. 25, 7 (אֲמָרֵ֫ךָ), Job 34, 18, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל comp. לַחְסוֹת Is. 30, 2; לַחְתּוֹת 30, 14. Hag. 2, 16; לַחְשֹׁב Ex. 31, 4, &c.; לַעְזֹר 2 Sam. 18, 3 *Qerê*, but also לָעְזֹר 1 Chron. 15, 26.

k הֻחְדַּלְתִּי Jud. 9, 9. 11. 13 is altogether anomalous. According to Qimḥi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הֶהֳחְדַּלְתִּי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al* of חָדַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הֶחְדַּלְתִּי. But since the *Qameṣ* under the ח, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָדַלְתִּי, without the ה interrogative, it was weakened, not to simple *Šewâ*, but to ֻ, in order to represent the sound of the *Qameṣ* (likewise pronounced as *o*) at least in a shortened form. The *Seghôl* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100. *n* (comp. the similar pointing of the article, e. g. in הַחֳדָשִׁים, § 35. *k*).

l Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *ĭ* (on this *ĭ* cf. § 48. *i*) into *ĕ*, e. g. אֱסְפָה *gather thou*, Num. 11, 16; עֱרָכָה *set in order*, Job 33, 5; חֱשָׂפִי *strip off*, Is. 47, 2 (comp. on this irregular *Dageš* § 46. *d*), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e. g. אֱהָבוּ Am. 5, 15. Ps. 31, 24; comp. Zech. 8, 19; אֱחָזוּ Cant. 2, 15; comp. also in verbs ל״ה עֱנוּ *sing ye*, Num. 21, 17. Ps. 147, 7 (compared with עֲנוּ *answer ye*, 1 Sam. 12, 3) and אֱלִי Joel 1, 8.—*Pathaḥ* occurs in חֲבָלֵהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Prov. 20, 16, and probably also in Ps. 9, 14 (חֳנֵנִי).—As a pausal form for חָרְבִי (comp. the *plur.* Jer. 2, 12) we

[1] אֱעָנֶה Job 19, 7 (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read אֶעֱנֶה, with Baer.

find in Is. 44, 27 חָרְבִי (comp. the *imperf.* יֶחֱרַב) with a repetition of the *ă* in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10. *h* and § 46. *e*.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the imperfects in *ă* with *Seghôl* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e. g. יֶחְבַּק, יֶחְדַּל) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time ל״ה, e. g. יֶחֱזֶה, יֶחֱצֶה &c. (but comp. יֶחְפֶּה &c., יַחְפֶּה Prov. 6, 27, אֶעֱשֶׂה ed. Mant., Ex. 3, 20). Even in the strong verb יֶחֱזַק is found along with יֶחְזַק. Comp. also וַתַּעֲנֵב Ezek. 23, 5; וַיַּעֲקְבֵנִי Gen. 27, 36 (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעְקְבֵנִי); וַתַּחֱלָקֵם Neh. 9, 22, and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עָוַר with suffixes, Gen. 49, 25 &c.—תֶּאֱהַבְנוּ Prov. 1, 22 (for תֶּאֱהַבוּ) is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel; comp. the analogous instances under letter *p*, and such nouns as בְּאֵר, וָאֵב, § 93. *t*.—On יָחְבְּרֵךְ Ps. 94, 20 for יַחְבְּרֵךְ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) comp. § 60. *b*. *m*

יַאְטֵם Ps. 58, 5 and יַעְרֵם *to deal subtilly*, 1 Sam. 23, 22. Prov. 15, 5. 19, 25, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47. *i*),—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יְעָרִים Ps. 83, 4.—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיִּחְלָקֵם (so ed. Mant.; Baer as in 24, 3) 1 Chron. 23, 6 and וַיִּח׳ 24, 3 the Qal וַיַּחְלְקֵם is to be read. The form יִרְדֹּף Ps. 7, 6, which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol;* but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'ēl*), a composite form of *Qal* (יִרְדֹּף) and *Pi'ēl* (יְרַדֵּף), can only be understood as a development of יִרְדֹּף (comp. § 64. *h* on יִצְחַק, and § 69. *x* on תִּהְלַךְ Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9). Pathaḥ has taken the place of *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שָׁמַעְתָּ § 28. *e*, note 4) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. *n*

II. *On Hiph'îl and Hoph'al.*

3. The above-mentioned (No. 2, Rem. 3) change of ֶ ֶ to ֶ ַ occurs in the *perfect Hiph'îl*, especially when the *wāw consecutive* precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forwards upon the afformative, e. g. הֶעֱמַדְתָּ, but וְהַעֲמַדְתָּ Num. 3, 6. 8, 13. 27, 19; הֶעֱבַרְתִּי, but וְהַעֲבַרְתִּי Jer. 15, 14. Ezek. 20, 37; even in the 3rd *sing.* וְהַאֲזִין Ps. 77, 2.—On the contrary ֶ ֶ occurs instead of ֶ ַ in the *imperative Hiph'îl*, Jer. 49, 8. 30; and in the *infinitive* Jer. 31, 32. The preformative of עתר in *Hiph'îl* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex. 8, 4 הַעְתִּיר; verse 5 אַעְתִּיר; also verse 25 and Job 22, 27. *o*

4. In the *perfect Hiph'îl* ֶ ֶ is sometimes changed into ֶ ַ, and in *Hoph'al* ָ ֶ into ָ ַ (comp. § 23. *h*), the short vowel supported by *Metheg* being lengthened; הַעֲבַרְתָּ Jos. 7, 7, הָעֳלָה Hab. 1, 15, הָעֲלָה Jud. 6, 28. 2 Chron. 20, 34. Nah. 2, 8. On a further case of this kind (זָעֲמָה) see § 64. *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qŏṭl;* comp. § 93. *q*, and (on אֱמוּן &c. for אֲמוּן) § 84 *a*, III. 12. On the *Hoph'al* הָעְבַדְתֶּם Ex. 20, 5, and elsewhere, see § 60. *b*. *p*

III. הָיָה *and* חָיָה.

5. In the verbs הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus *imperfect Qal* יְהִיֶה and יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, *Niph'al* נִהְיָה; *q*

but in the *perfect Hiph'îl* הֶחְיָה (2nd *plur.* וְהַחֲיִתֶם Jos. 2, 13, and even without *wāw consecutive*, Jud. 8, 19). Initial ה always has *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* instead of *vocal Šewâ*; הֱיוֹת, הֱיֹתָם, הֱיוֹתָם 1 Sam. 25, 7, הֱיִיתֶם (except הֱיִי *be thou! fem.* Gen. 24, 60). The 2nd *sing. fem. imperative* of חָיָה is חֲיִי *live thou*, Ezek. 16, 6; the infinitive, with suffix, חֲיוֹתָם Jos. 5, 8. After the prefixes וְ, בְּ, כְּ, לְ, מִ (=מִן) both ה and ח retain the *simple Šewâ* (§ 28. *b*) and the prefix takes *ĭ*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Šewâ*; hence in the *perfect Qal* וְהָיִיתָם, *imperative* וְהִיוּ, *infinitive* לִהְיוֹת, בִּהְיוֹת &c. (comp. § 16. *f*, ε). The only exception is the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative* after *wāw*; וְהֱיֵה Gen. 12, 2 and elsewhere, וְחֱיֵה Gen. 20, 7.

§ 64. *Verbs Middle Guttural*, e. g. שָׁחַט *to slaughter.*

a The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined chiefly to the following[1]:—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with *simple Šewâ*, it necessarily takes a *Ḥaṭeph*, and almost always *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, e. g. *perfect* שָׁחֲטוּ, *imperfect* יִשְׁחֲטוּ, *imperative Niph'al* הִשָּׁחֲטוּ. In the *imperative Qal*, before the afformatives *î* and *û*, the original *Pathaḥ* reappears in the first syllable, and is followed by *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, since the syllable is only half closed, thus, זַעֲקִי, זַעֲקוּ, &c.; in אֶהֱבוּ the preference of the א for *Seghôl* (but cf. also יֶאֱחֱזוּךְ Jer. 13, 21) has caused the change from *ă* to *ĕ*; in שְׁחֲטוּ Job 6, 22, the *ĭ* remains even before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e. g. אַהֲבָה *to love*, דַּאֲבָה *to pine*; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְכַעֲדָהּ Is. 9, 6; to the same form also belongs, according to König, שַׁחֲטָה Hos. 5, 2, which Ewald and others explain as *infinitive Pi'ēl*.

b **2.** As the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Ḥolem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal*, both in the *construct* שְׁחֹט (with the fem. ending and retraction of the *o* רָחְצָה and רָחֳקָה, comp. § 45. *b*) and in the *absolute* שָׁחוֹט, but also, for the most part, the *Ṣere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Pi'ēl*, e. g. יִלָּחֵם *he fights*, יִנָּחֵם *he comforts*, and even the more feeble *Seghôl* after *wāw consecutive* in such forms as וַיִּלָּחֶם, וַתִּפֶּעֶם Gen. 41, 8 (comp., however, וַיִּעַץ 1 Kings 12, 6 and elsewhere). But in the *imperative* and *imperfect Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly

[1] *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'îl* is regular.

takes *Pathaḥ*, even in transitive verbs, e. g. יִשְׁחַט, שְׁחַט; יִזְעַק, זְעַק; יִבְחַר, בְּחַר; with *suffixes* (according to § 60. *c*), *imperative* שַׁאֲלוּנִי, בְּחָנֵנִי, *imperfect* יִנָּאֲלוּהוּ.

c With *ō* in the *imperative Qal*, the only instances are נְעַל 2 Sam. 13, 17; אֱחֹז Ex. 4, 4. 2 Sam. 2, 21, *fem.* אֲחֻזִי Ruth 3, 15 (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* אֲחֻזוּ Neh. 7, 3; without the *pause* אֲחֻזוּ Cant. 2, 15); סְעָד Jud. 19, 8[1]. Finally זְעָמָה for זָעֲמָה, Num. 23, 7, is an example of the same kind, see § 63. *p*. Just as rare are the imperfects in *ō* of verbs *middle guttural*, as תִּמְעַל, יֶאֱחֹז, יִנְהֹם Lev. 5, 15, &c. (but וַיִּמְעַל 2 Chron. 26, 16); cf. וַתִּשְׁחֲדִי Ezek. 16, 33; תִּפְעָל Job 35, 6. Also in the *perfect Pi'ēl*, *Pathaḥ* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e. g. נִחַם *to comfort* (comp., however, כִּהֵן, כִּחֵד, כִּחֵשׁ, שִׁחֵת); but א and ע always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, comp. § 61. *b*.

d 3. In *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*, the *Dageš forte* is inadmissible in the middle radical; but in the majority of cases, especially before ה, ח and ע, the preceding vowel, nevertheless, remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* doubled, comp. § 22. *c*; e. g. *Pi'ēl* שִׁחַת, נִחֲלוּ Jos. 14, 1, וּבְעַרְתִּי 1 Ki. 14, 10, נִהַג Ex. 10, 13 (comp., however, אֵחַר Gen. 34, 19; נֶהֱלַךְתָּ Ex. 15, 13, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יְנַהֵל, &c.; in verbs ה״ל, e. g. רֵעָה), *infinitive* שַׁחַת, *Pu'al* רֻחַץ (but comp. דֻּחוּ Ps. 36, 13 from דָּחָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בֻּחַן[2] Ezek. 21, 18, and in the *perfect Hithpa'ēl* הִתְרֻחַצְתִּי Job 9, 30); *Hithpa'ēl perfect* and *imperative* הִטַּהֲרוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22. *c*; 27. *g*; 29. *v*; 54. *k*) הִטְּהָרוּ Num. 8, 7. 2 Chron. 30, 18; יִתְנַחֵם Num. 23, 19, &c.

e The complete omission of the doubling, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (פָּרַת Ezek. 16, 4 is an exception; כָּרְתָה also occurs, Jud. 6, 28), e. g. בָּרַךְ (in *pause* בָּרֵךְ), *imperfect* יְבָרֵךְ, *Pu'al* בֹּרַךְ. Before א it occurs regularly in the stems בֵּאֵר, גֵּאֵל, מֵאֵן, פֵּאֵר, and in the *Hithpa'ēl* of באשׁ, ראה, and שׁאה; on the other hand, א is *virtually* doubled in the

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[1] Also Jud. 19, 5 (where Qimḥi would read *s^{e}ād*), read *s^{e}ōd*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for Metheg, cf. § 9. *u* (*c*) and § 16. *b*.

[2] בֻּחַן is explained by Abulwalîd as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimḥi as a noun.

perfects, נָאַף (once in the imperfect, Jer. 29, 23) *to commit adultery*, נָאַץ *to despise* (also in the *imperfect* with *ă*, Ps. 74, 10; in the *participle*, Num. 14, 23. Is. 60, 14. Jer. 23, 17), נָאַר *to abhor* Lam. 2, 7 (also נֵאַרְתָּה Ps. 89, 40) and שָׁאַל Ps. 109, 19; moreover, in the *infinitive* יָאַשׁ Eccles. 2, 20, according to the best reading. On the *Mappîq* in the *Pu'al* רָאוּ Job 33, 21, comp. § 14. *d*.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׁאַל *to ask, to beg*, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, comp. שְׁאֵלְךָ Gen. 32, 18. Jud. 4, 20; שְׁאֵלוּנִי Ps. 137, 3; שְׁאֵלְתֶּם 1 Sam. 12, 13. 25, 5. Job 21, 29; שְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ Jud. 13, 6. 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph'îl* הִשְׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ 1 Sam. 1, 28). Comp., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ă*, § 69. *s*, and especially § 44. *d*. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *ĕ* attenuated from *ă* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *ĕ* would have been modified to *ĕ*.

g 2. In *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural not infrequently causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Ṣere* of the ultima to be shortened to *Seghôl*. Thus (*a*) before monosyllables, according to § 29. *e*, e. g. לְשָׁרֵת שָׁם *to minister there*, Deut. 17, 12, even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* doubled, Gen. 39, 14. Job 8, 18 (see § 29. *g*). (*b*) after *wāw consecutive*, e. g. וַיְבָרֶךְ *and he blessed*, Gen. 1, 22 and frequently, וַיְגָרֶשׁ *and he drove out*, Ex. 10, 11.

h 3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere תִּצְחַק &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, comp. § 10. *g* (*c*) and § 63. *n*); וְאֶחַר Gen. 32, 5 (for וְאֶאְחַר); in the *perfect Pi'ēl* אִחֲרוּ Jud. 5, 28 (perhaps primarily for אֶחֱרוּ; according to Gen. 34, 19 אֶחֲרוּ would be expected), and similarly יְחַכַּתְנִי Ps. 51, 7 for יְחַכֵּתְנִי; in the *imperative Pi'ēl* קָרֵב Ezek. 37, 17 (comp. above, § 52. *n*); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'îl* הַרְחֵק Job 13, 21 and הַמְעַר Ps. 69, 24, in both cases probably influenced by the closing consonant, and by the preference for *Pathaḥ* in *pause* (according to § 29. *q*); without the pause הַרְחֵק Prov. 4, 24, and elsewhere; but also הַנְחֵת Joel 4, 11.

i 4. As *infinitive Hithpa'ēl* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֲשָׁם Ezr. 8, 1, and elsewhere, with a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מִתְיַחֲשִׁים Neh. 7, 64; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֲשָׁם &c.—The quite meaningless *K'thîbh* ונאשאר Ezek. 9, 8 (for which the *Q'rê* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִשַּׁאַר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִשְׁאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וְאֶשָּׁאֵר (*imperf. consec.*); comp. the exhaustive discussion by König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 266 sq.—In יְתָאֲרֵהוּ Is. 44, 13 (also יְתָאֲרֵהוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Pô'ēl* appears to be intended by the Masora (*y'thô'ᵃrēhû* with an irregular shortening of the *ô* for *ā*: יְתָאֵר; comp. מְלָשְׁנִי Ps. 101, 5 *Q'rê*); on the other hand Qimḥi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pi'ēl*, *y'thā'ᵃrēhû* with an irregular ֶ for ֵ, as in the reading אֲלַקֶּטָה Ruth 2, 2. 7; comp. § 10 *h*.

5. A few examples in which א, as a middle guttural, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73. *g*.

§ 65. *Verbs Third Guttural*, e. g. שָׁלַח *to send*[1].

1. According to § 22. 2, when the last syllable has a vowel incompatible with the guttural (i. e. *not* an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel *remains*, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathaḥ*, or *Pathaḥ* (in pause *Qameṣ*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked— *a*

(*a*) The unchangeable vowels ֵי, וֹ, וּ (§ 25. *b*) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *infinitive absolute Qal* שָׁלוֹחַ, *participle passive* שָׁלוּחַ, *Hiph'il* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *imperfect* יַשְׁלִיחַ, *participle* מַשְׁלִיחַ. So also the less firm *ō* in the *infinitive construct* שְׁלֹחַ is almost always retained: comp., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is. 58, 9, and נְוַ֫ע Num. 20, 3. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are בְּבָרְחָךְ Gen. 35, 1; בְּפָנְעוֹ Num. 35, 19; לְרִבְעָהּ Lev. 18, 23, &c.

(*b*) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ă* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *ō*, originally *ŭ*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus יִשְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלָחֵ֫נִי, שְׁלָחֵ֫נִי, see § 60. *c*. *b*

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלוח Jer. 5, 7, *K^eth.* (אֶסְלַח *Q^erê*); in the *imperative* טְבַח Gen. 43, 16. On such cases as אֶפְשָׁעָה Is. 27, 4, comp. § 10. *h*.

(*c*) Where *Ṣere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with *ē^a* and *ă*) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e. *c*

Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle Qal*, *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl*, the forms שֹׁלֵחַ (with suff. שֹׁלְחִי, but שֹׁלַחְךָ), מְשֻׁלָּח (with suff. מְשֻׁלַּחְךָ) and מִשְׁתַּגֵּעַ are used exclusively; on the other hand, the closer connexion in the case of the *construct state participle Qal* causes the sharper pronunciation שֹׁלַח, e. g. רֹקַע Is. 42, 5. Ps. 136, 6, comp. 94, 9. Lev. 11, 7 (no example of a *construct state* is found in the *participle Pi'ēl*); so also in the *participle Pu'al* מְרֻבַּע Ezek. 45, 2. *d*

2. Similarly, in the *imperfect* and *infinitive Niph'al*, and in the *perfect*, *infinitive* and *imperfect Pi'ēl* the (probably more original) form with *ă* commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with *ē^a* in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e. g. with D^eḥi Ps. 86, 4 in the *imperative Pi'ēl;* with *Tiphḥa* 1 Ki. 12, 32 in the *infinitive Pi'ēl;* Jer. 4, 31 *imperfect Hithpa'ēl;* Jer. 16, 6 *imperfect Niph'al*), comp. e. g. יִגָּרַע Num. 27, 4, with יִגָּרֵעַ 36, 3, וַיִּשָּׁבַע Deut. 1, 34; even with retraction of the tone in the *infinitive Niph'al* הִשָּׁבַע Num. 30, 3 *e*

[1] Verbs ל״ה in which the ה is *consonantal* obviously belong also to this class, e. g. גָּבַהּ *to be high*, תָּמַהּ *to be astonished*, מָהַהּ (only in *Hithpalpel*) *to delay*.

(elsewhere הִשְׁבִּיעַ Jer. 7, 9. 12, 16 twice, in each case without the pause); תְּבַקַּע־ Hab. 3, 9, with תְּבַקַּע Ezek. 13, 11; בַּלַּע *to devour* Hab. 1, 13. Num. 4, 20 with בְּלַע Lam. 2, 8; for *infinitive Hithpa'ēl*, comp. Is. 28, 20. The *infinitive absolute Pi'ēl* has the form שַׁלֵּחַ Deut. 22, 7. 1 Ki. 11, 22; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is לְשַׁלֵּחַ Ex. 10, 4.—יָזֵבַח Hab. 1, 16 has *ē*, though not in *pause*, and even וַיְזִבְּחוּ 2 Ki. 16, 4. 2 Chron. 28, 4; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* הֵאָנַח Ezek. 21, 11; *jussive Pi'ēl* תְּאַחַר Ps. 40, 18; comp. § 52. *n*. An example of *ă* in the *imperative Pi'ēl* under the influence of a final ר is כַּתַּר־ Job 36, 2, in the *imperfect Niph'al* וַתֵּעָצַר Num. 17, 13, &c.—In יָפְרַח Job 14, 9 (cf. Ps. 92, 14. Prov. 14, 11), Barth (see above, § 63. *n*) finds an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the intransitive meaning is only found in *Qal*.

f 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of *Hiph'il* which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e. g. הַצְלַח *prosper thou*, יַבְטַח *let him make to trust*, וַיִּצְמַח *and he made to grow* (so in *Hithpalpel* יִתְמַהְמַהּ, &c., Hab. 2, 3); even in *pause* וַיַּצְלַח 1 Chron. 29, 23 (but also with the pausal lengthening of the *ă* to *ā* יוֹכַח 1 Chron. 12, 17); וְיַשְׁעֲכֶם Is. 35, 4 is to be emended into וְיֹשִׁיעַ (=וְיוֹשִׁיעַ).—In the *infinitive absolute Ṣere* remains, e. g. הַנְבֵּהַ *to make high;* as *infinitive construct* הוֹכַח also occurs in close connexion (Job 6, 26); on הוֹשַׁע as *infinitive construct* (1 Sam. 25, 26. 33), comp. § 53. *k*.

g **2.** When the guttural with *quiescent Šᵉwâ* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e. g. שָׁלַחְתִּי, שָׁלַחְתָּ. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathaḥ* takes the place of the *Šᵉwâ*, שָׁכַחַתְּ Jer. 13, 25 (§ 28. *d*); also in 1 Ki. 14, 3, לָקַחְתְּ is to be read according to Qimḥi, not לָקְחָה.

h Rem. The soft combination with *compound Šᵉwâ* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e. g. יְדַעֲנָךְ *we know thee*, Hos. 8, 2 (comp. Gen. 26, 29. Ps. 44, 18. 132, 6). Before the *suffixes* ךָ and כֶם, the guttural must have ַ, e. g. אֶשְׁלָחֲךָ *I will send thee*, 1 Sam. 16, 1; וַאֲשַׁלְּחֲךָ Gen. 31, 27; אַשְׁמִיעֲךָ Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs ל״א, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb[1].

§ 66. *Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn* (פ״נ), e. g. נָגַשׁ *to approach.*

a The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (comp. § 19. *h*). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (see

[1] Cf. the Table, § 41.

below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the triliteral character of the stem is still preserved by the doubling of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (*a*) in the *infinitive construct.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect.* Thus from the stem נגשׁ, *imperfect* יִגַּשׁ, *infinitive* properly גַּשׁ, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ת to the segholate form גִּשֶׁת[1]; with *suffix* גִּשְׁתּוֹ Gen. 33, 3; with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַע *to touch,* imperfect יִגַּע, infinitive גַּעַת (also נְגֹעַ, see below); נָטַע *to plant,* infinitive טַעַת (also נְטֹעַ, see below); on the verb נָתַן *to give,* see especially letters *h* and *i.* On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect,* e. g. נָפַל *to fall,* imperfect יִפֹּל, infinitive נְפֹל, with *suffix* נָפְלוֹ, also נִפְלוֹ; לִנְדֹּר Num. 6, 2 and elsewhere; comp., moreover, לִנְגֹּעַ Gen. 20, 6 and elsewhere, וְנִגַּע Ex. 19, 12 (even לְנָגוֹעַ Job 6, 7; comp. Jer. 1, 10); with *suffix* בְּנָגְעוֹ Lev. 15, 23. Also לִנְטֹעַ Is. 51, 16 (but לָטַעַת Eccles. 3, 2); נְשֹׂא Is. 1, 14. 18, 3; with *suffix* בְּנָשְׂאִי Ps. 28, 2 (elsewhere שְׂאֵת, comp. § 74. *i* and § 76. *b*), לְנָשְׁקֹ־ 2 Sam. 20, 9. *b*

(*b*) In the *imperative.* Here the *Nûn* is always dropped in verbs with *a* in the *imperfect,* e. g. נָגַשׁ, *imperative* גַּשׁ (frequently with *paragogic ā,* גְּשָׁה; before *Maqqeph* also גְּשׁ־ Gen. 19, 9), *plur.* גְּשׁוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *ō,* גֹּשִׁי Ruth 2, 14 (with *retarding* Metheg in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'aḥor,* according to § 29. *e,* before הֲלֹם) and גֹּשׁוּ Jos. 3, 9 (before הֲנָּה), 1 Sam. 14, 38 (before הֲלֹם) and 2 Chron. 29, 31; in all these cases without the *pause.* The only instance of *Nûn* being retained, as if in a strong verb, is נְהַג *drive,* 2 Ki. 4, 24 (*imperfect* יִנְהַג, without assimilation of the *Nûn*); comp. also the verbs ל״ה, which are at the same time פ״נ; נְהֵה Ezek. 32, 18, נְחֵה Ex. 32, 34, נְטֵה Ex. 8, 1 and elsewhere; the verb ל״א, נְשָׂא Ps. 10, 12 (usually שָׂא). Here also the *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect,* e. g. נָצֹר, נָתֹן, &c. *c*

2. When, through the addition of a *preformative, Nûn* stands at *d*

[1] The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the Law of Compensation' (*Nominalbildung,* p. xiii).

the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19. 2); thus in the *imperfect Qal*[1], e. g. יִפֹּל for *yinpōl, he will fall;* יִגַּשׁ for *yingaš;* יִתֵּן for *yintēn, he will give* (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. letter *h*)[2]; also in the *perfect Niph'al* נִגַּשׁ for *ningaš;* throughout *Hiph'îl* (הִגִּישׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuṣ*, in a sharpened syllable, comp. § 9. *n*) הֻגַּשׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all *Pi'ēl, Pu'al*, &c.

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

e The *characteristic* of these verbs in all forms with a preformative is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פ״י (§ 71), and even in verbs ע״ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* גֶּשֶׁת and the *imperative* גַּשׁ, also גֶּשׁ־ (Gen. 19, 9) and תֵּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פ״ו (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, קַח, and לָקַחַת, from לָקַח *to take*, see letter *g*.—In יְקוֹם (*imperfect Niph'al* of קוּם), and in similar forms of verbs ע״ו (§ 72), the *full* writing of the *ô* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of נָקַם, &c.—Also אֶסַּק (Ps. 139, 8) is not to be derived from נסק, but stands for אֶסְלַק (with a sharpening of the ס as compensation for the loss of the ל), from סָלַק *to ascend*, see § 19. *f*, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 44.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e. g. נָטַר, imperfect יִנְטֹר Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere יִטֹּר); also of נָצַר the pausal form is *always* יִנְצֹר (without the *pause* יִצְרוּ Prov. 20, 28); similarly in Is. 29, 1. 58, 3. Ps. 61, 8. 68, 3 (where, however, תִּנְדֳּדָה is intended), 140, 2. 5. Prov. 2, 11. Job 40, 24, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* כְּהִנָּתִיךְ Ps. 68, 3, cf. § 51. *k*), in *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e. g. לְהַנְתִּיךְ Ezek. 22, 20, הֻנְתְּקוּ Jud. 20, 31; for לַנְפֹּל Num. 5, 22 read לִנְפֹּל, according to § 53. *g*. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e. g. יִנְחַל *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יֶחֱת (also יִנְחַת) *he will descend*, Jer. 21, 13 (even תֶּחֱת Prov. 17, 10; without any apparent reason accented as *Mil'ēl*), *plur.* יֶחֶתוּ Job 21, 13 (comp. § 20. *i*; the Masora, however, probably regards יֶחֱת and יֶחֶתוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from חָתַת); *Niph'al* נִחַם for נִנְחַם *he has grieved.*

g 2. The ל of לָקַח *to take* is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פ״ן (§ 19. *d*). Hence

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[1] Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פ״ו, פ״ן, פ״א,' in the *Revue des études Juives*, xxvii. 136 sqq.

[2] An imperfect in *a* (יִגַּשׁ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

imperfect Qal יִקַּח, cohortative (§ 20. *m*) אֶקְחָה, *imperative* קַח, in *pause* and before *suffixes* קָח (on קָחֶם־נָא Gen. 48, 9, see § 61. *g*), *paragogic* form קָחָה; קָחִי, &c. (but comp. also לְקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ezek. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16, לְקְחִי 1 Ki. 17, 11); *infinitive construct* קַחַת (once קְחַת 2 Ki. 12, 9, comp. § 93. *h*); with לָ, לָקַחַת; with *suffix* קָחְתִּי; *Hoph'al* (comp., however, § 53. *u*) *imperfect* יָקַח; *Niph'al*, however, is always נִלְקַח.—On קָח Ezek. 17, 5 and קָחֶם Hos. 11, 3, see above, § 19. *i*.

h 3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above, letter *d*, is the only example of a verb פ״ן with *imperfect* in *ē* (יִתֵּן for *yintēn*; נְתַן־ only in Jud. 16, 5, elsewhere before *Maqqeph* יִתֶּן־, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* תֵּן or (very frequently) תְּנָה, which the Masora must intend even in Ps. 8, 2, although the text is certainly corrupt; before *Maqqeph* תֶּן־, *fem.* תְּנִי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nûn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַתִּי for *nāthántī*, נָתַתָּ or, very frequently, נָתַתָּה, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nûn* (comp. § 44. *g*); *Niph'al perfect* נִתַּתֶּם Lev. 26, 25. Ezr. 9, 7.

i In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tèneth* (as גֶּשֶׁת from נָגַשׁ), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to תֵּת, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20. *l*; but with suffixes תִּתִּי, תִּתּוֹ, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לְ = לָתֶת־, e. g. Ex. 5, 21, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gen. 15, 7; however, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נְתֹן Num. 20, 21 and נְתָן־ Gen. 38, 9; comp. § 69. *m*, note 2. On the other hand, לְתֵתַן 1 Ki. 6, 19 could not be an *infinitive*: it might conceivably be an *imperfect* with לְ in a final sense, but probably we ought simply to read לָתֵת, just as the *Qᵉrê*, 1 Ki. 17, 14, requires תֵּת for תתן.

k In other stems, the נ is retained as the third radical, e. g. שְׁכַנְתִּי, זְכַנְתִּי, comp. § 19. *c* and § 44. *n*. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in תַּתָּה (for נָתַתָּ) 2 Sam. 22, 41, comp. § 19. *i*.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתַּן, comp. § 53. *u*.

§ 67. *Verbs* ע״ע, e. g. סָבַב *to surround*.

a **1.** A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs ע״ע. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained (in this grammar, as by others) on a general theory of contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently augmented from the monosyllabic

stem[1]. The appearance of a general contraction of triliteral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affformatives, except in the cases noted in § 22. *b* and *q*. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of triliteral forms.

The augmentation of biliteral to triliteral stems (ע״ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of *transitive* verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e. g. סָבַב, סָבְבָה, סָבְבוּ: חָנַן Gen. 33, 5 (but with suffix חֲנָנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר *to make strait*, צַר *to be in a strait*; see further details, including the exceptions, in letter *aa*. The augmentation of the stem *must* always take place wherever the ordinary strong form has an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable (e. g. סָבוֹב, סָבוּב), or where the strengthening of the second radical is required by the character of the form, e. g. שֹׁדֵד, חֹלֵל, &c.

b **2.** The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) receives the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43. *b*), e. g. תַּם answering to קָטַל, תַּמָּה to the ground-form *qăṭălă*, תַּמּוּ to the ground-form *qăṭălû*; *infinitive*, סֹב to קְטֹל.

c **3.** The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under letter *a*), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20. *l*) in the final consonant of a word, e. g. תַּם, סֹב, not תַּמ, סֹבּ; but it appears again on the addition of affformatives or suffixes, e. g. תַּמּוּ, סֹבּוּ, סַבֻּנִי, &c.

d **4.** When the affformative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affformative, in the *perfect* ִ, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* ְ, e. g. סַבֹּותָ, סַבֹּונוּ, *imperfect* תְּסֻבֶּינָה (for *sabb-ta*, *sabb-nu*, *tasobb-na*). The artificial opening of the syllable by means

[1] So (partly following Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 sqq.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385. *b*, *c*; Nöldeke, &c.

of a separating vowel is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible[1].

e The *perfect* תַּמְנוּ (for תַּמּוֹנוּ) Num. 17, 28. Ps. 64, 7 (Jer. 44, 18 תְּמַנּוּ with *Silluq*), owing to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs ע״י (comp. קַמְנוּ from קוּם).

f **5.** Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27. 2, *a*), e. g. *imperfect Hiph'îl* יָסֵב for *yă-sēb*, *imperative* הָסֵב for *hă-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *ĭ*, either the original *ă* (which was attenuated to *ĭ*) is restored and lengthened, e. g. יָסֹב in *imperfect Qal* for *yă-sōb*, or the *ĭ* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e. g. הֵסֵב *perfect Hiph'îl* for *hĭ-sēb* (see further under letter *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be retained, however, only before the tone (except the *û* of the *Hoph'al*, lengthened from an original *ŭ*, הוּסַב for *hŭ-săb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šᵉwâ*, according to § 27. 3 (under א and ה *compound Šᵉwâ*), e. g. תְּסֹב, but תְּסֵבֶּינָה; *imperfect Hiph'îl* תָּסֵב, but תְּסֵבֶּינָה; *perfect* הֲסִבֹּתִי, &c.

g Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another which predominates in *Aramaic*, in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסַּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, comp. וַיִּשַּׁם 1 Ki. 9, 8, וַיִּקַּד Gen. 24, 26, יִהַם; with *a* in the second syllable, יִגַּר Lev. 11, 7, יִחַם (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 Ki. 1, 1; in the plural, יְתַמּוּ Num. 14, 35, &c. (in pause יְתַמּוּ

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[1] No satisfactory explanation of these separating vowels has as yet been found. In none of the forms can it be said that the original vowel has returned, although König calls both separating vowels vocalic endings of the stem (*Vokalstamm-auslaute*), and regards the ◌ִ of the imperfect as differentiated from *u*, *ĕ*. Consequently there remains only the supposition that we have here the insertion of a really new vowel, as an aid to pronunciation, with the object mentioned above. Rödiger, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs ל״ה in formations like תְּגַלֶּינָה, גָּלִיתָ; but in those instances, the tone-bearing vowel is no new importation, but was there from the first. On the other hand, Rödiger notes the analogy of the vulgar Arabic (comp. Spitta's *Gr.*, p. 216), which for the classical Arabic *madâdta, madâdti, madâdtu*, uses the forms *maddêt, maddêti, maddêt*, and even *maddât*. The last of these forms might indicate that the *ô* in the *perfect* of Hebrew verbs ע״ע is obscured from an original *â;* comp., however, G. Hoffmann in *ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 756, according to whom *maddâta* has arisen rather from *maddauta*, which he holds to be also the ground-form of מַדּוֹתָ. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 229 f.]

Ps. 102, 28); perhaps also יִשַּׁח, יִדַּל, יִמַּל (unless these four forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, as certainly יִדָּמוּ is, 1 Sam. 2, 9); with suffix תִּקַּבְּנוּ occurs (comp. § 10. *h*) in Num. 23, 25; *Imperfect Hiph'îl* יִתֵּם, *Hoph'al* יֻבַּת, &c. This sharpening of the first radical obviously only serves the purpose of giving to a biliteral stem at least a triliteral appearance[1]; at the same time, the vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (comp., also, letters *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with afformatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not doubled, e. g. וַיִּקְּדוּ Gen. 43, 28 and elsewhere for וַיִּקֹּדוּ *and they bowed the head;* וַיַּכְּתוּ *and they beat down*, Deut. 1, 44 (from כָּתַת); וַיִּתְּמוּ Deut. 32, 8; יִדְּמוּ Exod. 15, 16. Job 29, 21 (comp., however, וַיַּפֵּגוּ Jud. 18, 23, יַכֵּתוּ Jer. 46, 5. Job 4, 20). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תְּצַלֶּינָה (without the separating vowel, for תְּצַלֶּלְנָה, comp. 1 Sam. 3, 11 and below, letter *p*) *they shall tingle*, 2 Ki. 21, 12. Jer. 19, 3. On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see Rem. 5.

h **6.** The restoration of the original vowel, as mentioned in No. 5, occurs (*a*) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יָסֹב for *yă-sōb* (comp. §§ 47. *b*, 63. *b*, and for verbs ע״ו § 72); (*b*) in the *perfect Niph'al* נָסַב for *nă-săb* (§ 51. *a*), as well as in the *imperfect* יִסַּב (comp. on *ă* in the final syllable of strong *imperfects Niph'al*, § 51. *m*); (*c*) in *Hoph'al* הוּסַב, with irregular lengthening for *hōsăb* from *hŭ-sab*, imperfect יוּסַב from *yŭ-sab*, &c.

i On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ă* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e. g. יָמַר for *yĭ-măr* (see letter *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'îl* הֵסֵב from *hĭ-sēb* (ground-form הַקְטֵל, § 53. 1). In the second syllable of this form the underlying vowel is *ĭ*, attenuated from an original *ă*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *í* (§ 53. 1). The *ē* lengthened from *ĭ* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone, and before *Dageš forte* we have e. g. הֲסִבֹּותָ. On the return of the original *ă* in the second syllable, comp. letter *v*.

k **7.** The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and thus does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the afformatives ה־, ו and י־ (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e. g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* חָתָה, in *pause* חָתָה; with ר and gutturals כָּרָה (for כָּרְתָה), שָׁחָה Ps. 44, 26; on the other hand, with *wāw consecutive* וְרִבָּה Is. 6, 12 (but וְחִיָּה

[1] Possibly the analogy of verbs פ״ן may also have had some influence, as Paul Haupt has suggested verbally to the writer.

Ex. 1, 16). In the 3rd *plur. perfect* the tone varies; along with דַּלּוּ, קַלּוּ, we also find דַּלּוּ and קַלּוּ רַבּוּ Is. 59, 12, שַׁחּוּ Hab. 3, 6, &c.; but in *pause* always חָמּוּ, תָּמּוּ, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in יָסֹבּוּ, תָּסֹבִּי; *perfect Hiph'îl* הֵסַבָּה, הֵסַבּוּ; *imperfect* יָסֵבּוּ, תָּסֵבִּי, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, comp. Rem. 12), e. g. סַבּוֹתָ, תְּסֻבֶּינָה, &c.; except before the endings תֶּם and תֶּן in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *ĭ* and *ŭ* (*ŏ*, see letter *n*), hence הֲסִבּוֹתָ from הֵסֵב, תְּסֻבֶּינָה from יָסֹבּ: on the vowel of the preformative becoming *Šᵉwâ*, see above, letter *f*.

8. In numerous verbs ע״ע, instead of *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*, *l*
the less frequent conjugation *Pō'ēl* (§ 55. 1), with its passive and reflexive, occurs, generally with the same meaning[1], e. g. עוֹלֵל *to treat ill*, passive עוֹלַל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל; comp. the *Hithpō'ēl* from רָעַע and פָּרַר Is. 24, 19 sq.); in a few also *Pilpēl* (§ 55. 4) is found, e. g. גִּלְגֵּל *to roll*, *Hithpalpēl* הִתְגַּלְגֵּל *to roll oneself* (from גָּלַל); שִׁעֲשֵׁעַ *to comfort, to delight in;* passive שֻׁעְשַׁע *to be caressed* (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*.—For תִּתָּבָר 2 Sam. 22, 27 read, according to Ps. 18, 27, תִּתְבָּרָר.

Remarks.

I. *On Qal.*

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *Ḥōlĕm* in the first syllable, *m*
which it is customary to refer to triliteral stems with middle *ō* (like יָכֹל, § 43. *a*); viz. רֹמּוּ to רָמַם *they are exalted*, Job 24, 24; רֹבּוּ to רָבַב *they shot*, Gen. 49, 23; זֹרוּ Is. 1, 6 to זָרַר. But this explanation is very doubtful: זֹרוּ especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52. *e*.

2. *Imperfects Qal* with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the pre- *n*
formative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָחֹן, יָמֹד, יָעֹז, יָרֹן; imperfects with *ă* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ĭ*. See examples below, letter *p*, and § 63. *c* and *e*, § 72. *h*, and specially Barth in *ZDMG.* 1894, p. 5 sq.

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[1] Sometimes both *Pi'ēl* and *Pō'ēl* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e. g. רִצֵּץ *to break in pieces*, רֹצֵץ *to oppress;* חִנֵּן *to make pleasing*, חוֹנֵן *to have pity;* הִלֵּל *to praise*, הוֹלֵל *to make foolish;* סִבֵּב *to turn, to change*, סוֹבֵב *to go round, to encompass.*

The *Ḥōlĕm* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (יִכְתֹּב, סֹב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. צוֹר *bind up*, Is. 8, 16; גּוֹל Ps. 37, 5; דּוֹם ver. 7; לָבוֹז for לָבֹז *to plunder*, Esth. 3, 13. 8, 11). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ŏ*, in a sharpened syllable *ŭ*, or not infrequently even *ŏ* (see above, letter *k*). Examples of *ŏ* are: (*a*) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רָנֹּ (*rŏn*) *to rejoice*, Job 38, 7; וַיִּרְכַּב Jud. 11, 18 (once even with *ŭ* in a toneless final syllable, וַיִּרְכֻּם Ex. 16, 20); on the other hand, in the *plur.* וַיִּסְבּוּ, *fem.* וַתִּסְבֶּינָה; (*b*) before a tone-bearing *afformative* or *suffix*, e. g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* גֻּוִּי (comp. letter *ff*); חָנֵּנִי *pity me*; סָלּוֹחָ Jer. 50, 26; יְשָׁדֵם Prov. 11, 3 *Qᵉrê*; תְּחַנֵּהוּ Ex. 12, 14; for the defective writing, cf. יְסַכֵּהוּ Job 40, 22. In יְחָנֵךְ Gen. 43, 29. Is. 30, 19 (for יְחָנֵךְ) this *ŏ* is thrown back to the preformative.

o Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רֹעֵה Is. 24, 19 (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רֹעַ, comp. קֹב Num. 23, 25 and שֹׁל Ruth 2, 16); so also are the *imperatives* קִבְרָה־לִי Num. 22, 11. 17, and אֹרָה־לִי 22, 6. 23, 7, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect אֹרָה, קִבָּה (comp. עֹרָה Is. 32, 11). If these forms are to be read *qŏballî*, *'ŏrallî*, they would be analogous to such cases as מְרֻבַּדָּה (§ 90. *i*), the addition of the *paragogic* ה_ causing no change in the form of the word (קָבֹ־ *qŏb* like רָנֹ־ above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballî*, *'ārallî*, then in both cases the *Qameṣ* would have to be explained, with Stade, as the equivalent of an *ō* (קִבָּה־לִי, &c.; comp. § 9. *v*). Still more striking is קָבְנוֹ *curse him*, Num. 23, 13, for קִבֶּנּוּ or קְבָנּוּ[1].

p 3. Examples with *Pathaḥ* in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* are בַּר (in לְבָרְם *to prove them*, Eccles. 3, 18); רַד *to trample down*, Is. 45, 1; שַׁדְּ Jer. 5, 26; perhaps also בְּשַׁגָּם *in their error*, Gen. 6, 3 (Baer, following the versions and the Masora, בְּשַׁגַּם). Also גַּל *take away*, Ps. 119, 22; and the *imperfects* יֵחַם *it is hot*, Deut. 19, 6 &c. (on the *ē* cf. letter *n*); יֵמַר *it is bitter*, Is. 24, 9; יֵצַר *it is straitened*; יֵרַךְ *it is soft*, Is. 7, 4; תֵּשַׁם *it is desolate*, Ezek. 12, 19 (in *pause* תֵּשֵׁם Gen. 47, 19); וַתֵּקַל *she was despised*, Gen. 16, 4 (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e. g. וַיֵּצַר Gen. 32, 8 and elsewhere; וַיֵּרַע Gen. 21, 11 and elsewhere, comp. Ezek. 19, 7); in the 1st *sing. imperfect* אֵיתָם[2] Ps. 19, 14, contrary to rule written fully for אֶתָּם, unless אֶתָּם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יְהִי־.— The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original *ĭ* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'îl in the same sense: וַיִּגֶל Gen. 29, 10; יִגֶּן Is. 31, 5, &c.; וַיִּסֶּךְ Ex. 40, 21. Ps. 91, 4, &c.; perhaps also תְּצִלֶּינָה 1 Sam. 3, 11 and יְהֵל Job 31, 26, &c.; in accordance

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[1] For נוֹ as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יְשָׁנוֹ, § 100. *o*, and probably in the *Nûn* of the Phoenician suffix נם; cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643.

[2] Also in Ezek. 6, 6, instead of תֵּישַׁמְנָה, which could only come from יָשַׁם, תֵּישׁ is intended, and יאשמו in the same verse is probably only an error for יֵשַׁמּוּ.

with this last form, הֻלּוֹ(בְּ) Job 29, 3 would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not Hiph'îl (for בַּהֲהַלּוֹ), as formerly explained below, letter *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתָּרֶן Jud. 9, 53 may probably be added to the list.

Imperfects, with an original *u* in the second syllable, are also found with this *ŭ* lengthened to *û* (instead of *ō*), e. g. יָרֹן, if the text is correct, in Prov. 29, 6; יָשׂוּד Ps. 91, 6 (unless it be simply an imperfect from שׂוּד *to be powerful, to prevail*); יָרוּץ (if from רצץ) Is. 42, 4 and elsewhere (also defectively written אָרֵץ Ps. 18, 30; but in Eccles. 12, 6, according to Baer, וְתָרוּץ); תִּתֵּם Ezek. 24, 11 (on the sharpening of the ת cf. letter *g* above)[1]. *q*

A similar analogy with verbs ע״י is seen in the infinitives לָבוּר (for לַבֹּר) Eccles. 9, 1; בְּחֻקוֹ Prov. 8, 27 (comp. בְּחוּקוֹ Prov. 8, 29) for בְּחֹקוֹ, and in the *imperfect* אֲמֻשֵּׁךְ Gen. 27, 21. Infinitives in וֹת (on the analogy of verbs ל״ה) are חֲנוֹת in Ps. 77, 10, שַׁמּוֹת Ezek. 36, 3; also with a suffix חֲלוֹתִי הִיא Ps. 77, 11. On other similar cases, see below, letter *ee*. For examples of the *aramaïzing imperfect*, see above, letter *g*. *r*

4. In the *participle*, the aramaïzing form שְׂאַסְיָךְ for שְׂסָיִךְ occurs in K^{e}thîbh, Jer. 30, 16 (the *Q^{e}rê* points to a *participle* from שָׂסָה); in רֹעָה Prov. 25, 19, there appears to be a contraction from רֹעֲעָה, *part. fem. = breaking in pieces*. *s*

II. *On Niph'al.*

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathaḥ* (in *pause* נָסָב) and the *participle* נָסָב with *Qameṣ* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Ṣere*, and a third with *Ḥolem*, e. g. *perfect* נָקֵל *it is a light thing* (also נָקַל), Is. 49, 6; נָסֵבָּה (for נָסַבָּה) Ezek. 26, 2; *part.* נָמֵס (comp., however, § 75. *y*), *molten, refuse*, 1 Sam. 15, 9; with *ō*, e. g. נָגֹלּוּ *they are rolled together*, Is. 34, 4; comp. 63, 19. 64, 2. Amos 3, 11. Nah. 1, 12. Eccles. 12, 6 *b*. In the *imperfect*, on the analogy of verbs ע״י (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ō*), we find תֹּדֹמִי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer. 48, 2 (unless this form should be referred to *Qal*); תֵּרוֹץ (for *tirrōṣ*) Ezek. 29, 7; with *ē* in the second syllable תֵּחֵל *she profanes herself*, Lev. 21, 9, but וְאֵחַל Ezek. 22, 26, and יֵחֵל Is. 48, 11. For *infinitives*, cf. הֵמֵס *to melt*, Ps. 68, 3 (as *inf. constr.*; 2 Sam. 17, 10 as *inf. absol.*); moreover, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הֵחֵל Ezek. 20, 9. 14. 22, but with suffix הֵחֵלּוֹ Lev. 21, 4; also הֵבּוֹז *to be plundered*, and הֵבּוֹק *to be emptied*, Is. 24, 3; in the *imperative* only, הֵבָרוּ *be ye clean*, Is. 52, 11. On הֵרֹמּוּ *get you up*, Num. 17, 10, *imperf.*, Ezek. 10, 17 and elsewhere, comp. § 72. *dd*. *t*

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are, נְחַל *it is profaned*, Ezek. 22, 16. 25, 3 (from חָלַל); נְחַר (from חָרַר) Ps. 69, 4. 102, 4 (also נָחַר Jer. 6, 29); נְחַת *fractus est* (from חָתַת) Mal. 2, 5; comp. with this in the *participle*, נְחֻמִים (for *niḥḥāmîm*) Is. 57, 5, and נְאָרִים Mal. 3, 9: in the *u*

[1] According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with *û*, since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

imperative and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual doubling of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *ô* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נְשַׁחֲנוּ Mic. 2, 4 is abnormal.

III. *On Hiph'îl and Hoph'al.*

v 6. The second syllable in *Hiph'îl* has *Pathaḥ* instead of *Ṣere*, especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e. g. *perfect* הֵמַר *he made bitter*, הֵשַׁח *he bowed*, הֵפַר *he hath broken*, Gen. 17, 14, in *pause*, comp. § 29. *q*; otherwise הֵפֵר, *plur.* הֵפֵרוּ Is. 24, 5; in הֵפִיר Ps. 33, 10. Ezek. 17, 19, comp. Ps. 89, 34, and also in הֵשִׁירוּ Hos. 8, 4 (perhaps also in יְחִיתֵן Hab. 2, 17, but comp. § 20. *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע״ו, see letter *z*, while conversely, in הֵתַז Is. 18, 5 from תִּיז, an ע״י verb is assimilated to a ע״ע verb. Also הֵצַר Deut. 28, 52; *inf.* לְהָבֵר *to cleanse*, Jer. 4, 11, in *pause*; but also with other consonants, e. g. הֵרֵק 2 Ki. 23, 15, הֵקֵל Is. 8, 23; הֵרֵךְ Job 23, 16; *plur.* הֵסַבּוּ 1 Sam. 5, 9. 10 (and so usually in the 3rd *plur. perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e. g. הֵרֵעוּ); *imper.* הָשַׁע *besmear*, Is. 6, 10; *plur.* הָשֹׁמּוּ *be astonished*, Job 21, 5; *imperfect* תָּרַע *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מֵצַל *shadowing*, Ezek. 31, 3 (but מֵסִיךְ Jud. 3, 24 is assimilated to the form of verbs ע״ו. So in the *imperative* הַמִישֵׁנִי Jud. 16, 26 *Q^erê*, and in the *infinitive* הָתֵמְךָ Is. 33, 1).

w The *ē* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *ĕ*, e. g. הֶחֱל בִּי Gen. 31, 7 (comp. also letter *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53. *k*) to find the *ē* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהָפִיר Zech. 11, 10. Instead of *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* a *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl* is found under the Preformative in הֶחֱלִיתָנִי 2 Sam. 19, 44, and a *Pathaḥ* occurs before ח (with a virtual sharpening of the ח) in such forms as הַחְתַּתָּ Is. 9, 3; comp. Gen. 11, 6. Deut. 2, 31. 3, 24. 1 Sam. 22, 15. Esth. 6, 13—in all these cases before ח. On בְּהִלּוֹ Job 29, 3, see above, letter *p*: on וְהַחְתַּתִּי Jer. 49, 37, see below, letter *dd*.

x 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs, whose second radical is a guttural, *ă* is retained (§ 22. *d*) in the second syllable instead of *ĕ*, e. g. וַיַּרַע 1 Ki. 6, 11: so also when the second radical is ר, as וַיַּצַר 2 Chron. 28, 20. Deut. 2, 9—but cf. also וַיַּפֵּר Neh. 4, 9.

y 8. Aramaïzing forms in *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיַּפֶב Ex. 13, 18; comp. Jud. 18, 23; אַל־תַּמֵּר Exod. 23, 21: וַיִּכְתּוּ Deut. 1, 44 (comp. Num. 14, 45); אַחֵל *profanabo*, Ezek. 39, 7; תַּתֵּם Job 22, 3; without syncope of the ה (comp. § 53. *q*), וַיְהַתֵּל 1 Ki. 18, 27; with *î* in the second syllable יַשִּׁים Jer. 49, 20. 50, 45; comp. וַנַּשִּׁים Num. 21, 30; in the *perfect* הִוַּלּוּהָ Lam. 1, 8. In *Hoph'al*, הֻמְּכוּ *they are brought low*, Job 24, 24; יֻכַּת *he is smitten*, Is. 24, 12 (*plur.* Jer. 46, 5. Mic. 1, 7); in *pause*, יֻחְקוּ Job 19, 23, but also יֻכְּתוּ Job 4, 20; with *ŏ* in the initial syllable, הָשַׁמָּה (*infinitive* with *suffix* = הָשַׁמָּה, comp. § 91. *e*) Lev. 26, 34 sq., comp. 2 Chron. 36, 21; בָּהְשַׁמָּה, with irregular syncope for בְּהָשַׁמָּה, Lev. 26, 43.

IV. *In General.*

z 9. Verbs ע״ע are most nearly related as regards inflexion to verbs ע״ו (§ 72). The form of verbs ע״ע is generally the shorter (comp. e. g. יָסֹב and יָקוֹם, הֵסֵב

and חֲקִים); in a few cases, however, both classes exactly coincide, e. g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw consecutive*, in *Hoph'al* and in the less frequent conjugations (see above, letter *l*).

aa 10. The augmented forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in letter *a*, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur.* (i. e. in forms without an afformative or with an afformative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e. g. סָבַב, סֵבְבוּ (but before a suffix also סִבַּנִי, as well as סְבָבֻנִי, שִׁהֲיֻנִי, &c.); זָמַם, זְמָמָה, אָפַף, אֲפָפוּ, &c. Sometimes the contracted, *as well as* the uncontracted form, is found, e. g. בָּזַז *to plunder, plur.* בָּזְזוּ, בָּזֻזוּ Deut. 2, 35, as well as בַּזֹּתֶנוּ Deut. 3, 7 (other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.*, Deut. 25, 12; in 1st *sing.*, Jos. 5, 9); but in the 1st pers. זְמַמְתִּי Zech. 8, 14. 15 is the only instance of the augmented form.

bb On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; comp. דַּק Deut. 9, 21 (Ex. 32, 20 דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חַת, *fem.* חַתָּה; מַר, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צַר, *fem.* צָרָה (comp. וְחָרָה Ezek. 24, 11); שַׁח, רַךְ, *fem.* שַׁחָה, תַּם, &c.; *plur.* חַתּוּ, תַּמּוּ, &c. (but on the tone, comp. letter *ee* below).

cc The intransitive but augmented perfects דַּלְלוּ (also דָּלּוּ), חָלַל, נָדְדָה, נָדְדוּ (in *pause* נָדָדוּ), סָרַר, עָשְׁשָׁה (*plur.* in *pause* עָשְׁשׁוּ Ps. 31, 11), צָלְלוּ, שָׁחֲחוּ (also שָׁחוּ), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, as opposed to a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after לְ are, לְסָבֵּב Num. 21, 4; לִשְׁדוֹד Jer. 47, 4; לָגוּז Gen. 31, 19 (also לָגֹז Gen. 38, 13); comp. also לַחְמָם Is. 47, 14, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחַמָּם; with *suffix* לְחָנְנֵכֶם Is. 30, 18, and, from the same form חָנַן, with retraction and modification of the vowel, לְחָנְנָהּ Ps. 102, 14; also שְׁחוֹחַ Is. 60, 14, בְּגוֹז 1 Sam. 25, 2, כְּמֹסַּ Is. 10, 18, בְּעוֹז Prov. 8, 28.—*Imperative* שְׁדֹד Jer. 49, 28 (comp. § 20. *b*, and ibid. also on חָנְנֵנִי Ps. 9, 14); in the *imperfect*, יְהוֹד Nah. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13; comp. Gen. 31, 40) from נדד; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nûn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, יְשָׁדְדֵם Jer. 5, 6 for יְשָׁדֵּם (Prov. 11, 3 *Qerê*) is anomalous; the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a *vocal Šᵉwâ*. Comp. also יְחָנֵן Am. 5, 15 (elsewhere יְחֹנֵן). In *Niph'al*, the triliteral form יִלָּבֵב is found, Job 11, 12; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of רנן, thus *imperative* הַרְנִינוּ, *imperfect* תַּרְנִין; *infinitive* הַשְׁמֵם Mic. 6, 13; *participle* מַשְׁמִים Ezek. 3, 15. That the augmented (triliteral) forms possess a certain emphasis, is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in Ps. 118, 11 (סַבּוּנִי גַם־סְבָבוּנִי) after a biliteral form.

dd 11. The above-mentioned (letter *g*) neglect of the doubling in aramaïzing forms, as יְדֹמוּ and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect Qal* תַּמְנוּ for תַּמֹּנוּ Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18; comp. above, letter *e*); *imperfect* נָבְלָה 1 Sam. 14, 36 (ה_ *parag.* without any influence on the form, comp. letter *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to *vocal Šᵉwâ*; נִבְלָה Gen. 11, 7 for נָבְלָה (cohortative from בָּלַל); יְזֻמּוּ for יָזֹמּוּ ibid. ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs ע״י, אֲמֻשָׁךְ (see above, letter *r*); from *intransitive imperfects*

Qal, תִּצְרִי Is. 49, 19 (*plur. masc.* Job 18, 7); יִרְעוּ Neh. 2, 3; תִּישְׁמְנָה Ezek. 6, 6 (for which תִּישׁ = תִּישׁ ought to be read) might also be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* נִסְבָּה for נִסַּבָּה Ezek. 41, 7; נִוְלוּ Jud. 5, 5 for נָוָלוּ; נִמַּלְתֶּם for נִמַּלְתֶּם Gen. 17, 11 (as if from מָלַל not מוּל *to circumcise*), comp.
ע Is. 19, 3. Jer. 8, 14; *Imperfect* תִּפַּקְנָה Zech. 14, 12; *Participle* נִחָמִים, comp. letter *u*. So also נִפַּץ 1 Sam. 13, 11, נִפְצָה Gen. 9, 19 (comp. Is. 33, 3), are perfects *Niph'al* from פצץ (= פוּץ), not *Qal* from נָפַץ.—In *Hiph'il* הֶחָלְתָּ (for הַחְלֵתָ) Jud. 16, 10 (2 Sam. 15, 34); הֶעָוָה for הֶעֱוָה Prov. 7, 13 (cf. Cant. 6, 11. 7, 13), and the very strange form וְהַחְתַּתִּי Jer. 49, 37 (from *haḥtath-tî*) from חָתַת.

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in לְהַפְרְכֶם Lev. 26, 15.—On the perfect דַּלִּיו Prov. 26, 7, comp. § 75, letter *u*.

ee 12. Instances in which the tone is thrown forward on the afformatives (see letter *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. וַהֲצַרֹתִי Jer. 10, 18 before לָהֶם) after ו *consec.*, Ex. 33, 19. 22. 2 Ki. 19, 34, &c., also Is. 44, 16 (חַמּוֹתִי before ר); Ps. 17, 3. 92, 11. 116, 6, perhaps also Job 19, 17, וְחַנּוֹתִי (though in this passage, and in Ps. 17, 3, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ôth*; see above, letter *r*, and Delitzsch on Job 19, 17); in the 2nd *sing.* וְצַוֹּתָה (before א) Deut. 25, 12; in the 3rd *plural*, רַבּוּ *multi sunt*, Ps. 3, 2. 104, 24. Jer. 5, 6. 1 Sam. 25, 10; רַכּוּ *they are soft*, Ps. 55, 22; קַלּוּ *they are swift*, Jer. 4, 13. Hab. 1, 8; זַכּוּ *they are pure*, Job 15, 15. 25, 5. Lam. 4, 7; שַׁחוּ *they did bow*, Hab. 3, 6; חָרוּ *they are burned*, Is. 24, 6. A by-form of שָׁתוּ (ע״ו, comp. § 72. *dd*) is שַׁתּוּ Ps. 49, 15. 73, 9.

ff (*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) רֻנִּי *sing*, Is. 54, 1. Zeph. 3, 14. Zech. 2, 14; רֻנּוּ Is. 44, 23. 49, 13. Jer. 31, 7 (but רֹנִּי *cry out*, Lam. 2, 19), חֻגִּי *keep* (*thy feasts*), Nah. 2, 1. Jer. 7, 29; עוּזָּה (= עֻזָּה) before א, Ps. 68, 29. On the return of the short vowels *ŭ* (*ŏ*) and *ĭ* before *Dageš forte*, in place of the tone-long *ō* and *ē*, see above, letter *k*; on the change of the vowels of the preformative into *Šᵉwâ*, when they no longer stand before the tone, see letter *g*.

The Weakest Verbs (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. *Verbs* פ״א, e.g. אָבַל *to eat.*

a So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—

b 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אָבַד *to perish*, אָבָה *to be willing*, אָכַל *to eat*, אָמַר *to say*, אָפָה *to bake*) regularly allow the א to

quiesce in a long *ô*, e. g. יֹאכַל [1]. In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יֹאחֵז (18 times) and וַיֶּאֱחֹז (3 times) *he takes hold;* יֹסֵף (see letter *h*), also וַיֶּאֱסֹף, *he collects.* This *ô* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *â* (§ 9. *q*), and the *â* from אָ—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *ă* to *â;* comp. § 23. *a.*

In the second syllable the *ō* (for the original *ŭ*) never appears, but either *ē* [2] or *ă;* and in *pause* almost always *ē*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* afformative וּן, e. g. יֹאכְלוּן Deut. 18, 1, without the pause יֹאכְלוּן Deut. 4, 28. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אָמַר, however, *ă* is always retained in pause, יֹאמַר and אֹמַר, cf. also תֹּאכַל 1 Sam. 1, 7, &c. But with conjunctive accents in continuous discourse, *ă* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e. g. תֹּאבַד לָעַד Ps. 9, 19, but in *pause* תֹּאבֵד Ps. 1, 6; תֹּאמֶר 1 Ki. 5, 2; comp. a similar interchange of *ē* and *ă* in § 65. *c.* *c*

When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אָבַד and אָכַל, with a conjunctive accent, always takes *Pathaḥ*, e. g. יֹאבַד יוֹם Job 3, 3, וַיֹּאכַל *and he did eat;* in אָמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw consecutive* (but never in the 1st *sing.*, וְאֹמַר; cf. וְאֹכַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *Seghôl*, וַיֹּאמֶר *and he said.* *d*

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* always has the form וַיֹּאכַל (but *plur.* always יֹאכְלוּ, וַיֹּאכְלוּ), וַיֹּאמַר; except וַיֹּאמֶר in the poetic portion of the Book of Job, as 3, 2. 4, 1, &c., but not in 32, 6, in the middle of the verse; comp. also וַתֹּאמֶר־לוֹ Prov. 7, 13. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֹאחֵז and וַיֹּאחֶז, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49. *e*, וָאֹחֵז Jud. 20, 6; comp. וָאֹכַל Gen. 3, 12. 13 in *pause.*—אָבָה and אָפָה are, at the same time, verbs ל״ה, hence *imperfect* יֹאבֶה (§ 75. *c*). *e*

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Šᵉwâ, as יֹאכְלֵם, תֹּאכְלֶנּוּ, but תֹּאכַלְנָה.—In a few cases, instead of the *ô* in the first *f*

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[1] So in the vulgar Arabic as now spoken in South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yôkul.*

[2] On this *ē* (originally *ĭ*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ŭ*), cf. § 27. *x*, and F. Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. xiv. 2, p. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אָכַל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אֱכֹל, the Arabic *ya'kul*, and the Aramaic יֵכֶל, as well as by the fact that וַיֶּאֱחֹז and וַיֶּאֱסֹף are found along with יֹאחֵז and יֹסֵף.

syllable an *ê* is found, which is due to contraction from the group ___ (or ___) in place of ___; e.g. תְּאֵתָה *it shall come*, Mic. 4, 8, from תְּאַתָּה (from אָתָה); אֵהַב (for אֶאֱהַב) *I love*, Prov. 8, 17, also אֹהַב Mal. 1, 2, &c., with suffixes אֹהֲבֹהוּ Hos. 11, 1. 14, 5, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise יֶאֱהַב, &c., from אֶאֱהַב, אָהַב); וְאֵחַר *and I stayed*, Gen. 32, 5. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with לְ is always לֵאמֹר *dicendo*, for לֶאֱמֹר.—According to Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 179) וַיֵּאֵצֶל Num. 11, 25 is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of א__ to *ô*, not as *imperfect Hiph'îl*, since אצל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al;* on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67. *p*. For תְּאָכְלֵהוּ Job 20, 26 we should simply emend תְּאֻכַּל; for the view that it is *imperfect Pô'ēl* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ô* to *ŏ*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of Ps. 62, 4 (see § 52. *q*) and Ps. 101, 5 *Qᵉrê* (see § 55. *b*), while the view that it is *Pi'ēl* (תְּאָכֵּל = תְּאֻכַּל = תְּאָכְּלֵהוּ) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that תְּאָכְּלֵהוּ stands for תְּאָכֵּל, *Pu'al* (comp. אֲכֻלָּךְ for אֲכַלֵּךְ, § 27. *q*); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation תְּאֻכַּל.

g **2.** In the 1st *pers. sing. imperfect*, where two א's would ordinarily come together, the second (which is radical) is regularly dropped (§ 23. *f*), as אֹמַר[1] (for אֶאֱמַר), &c., and even *plene* וְאוֹמַר Neh. 2, 7, &c., אוֹמְרָה Ps. 42, 10. In the other cases, also, where the א is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ô* or *ê*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

h Always in the contracted forms of אָסַף, as תֹּסֵף for תֹּאסֵף Ps. 104, 29; וַיֹּסֶף 2 Sam. 6, 1 (but for יֹאסֵף Job 27, 19 read יֹאסֶף with the LXX); comp. also in the 1st *pers.* Mic. 4, 6 and אֹסְפָה 1 Sam. 15, 6, which is apparently, from the *Metheg* with *i*, intended for an *imperfect Hiph'îl;* instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֹסִפָה (with *ĭ*, according to § 60. *f*). But תֹּאסִפוּן Ex. 5, 7 (for תּוֹסִיפוּ) and וַיֹּאסֶף 1 Sam. 18, 29 (for וַיּוֹסֶף) are due to a mistake, since both forms must be derived from the stem יָסַף. Furthermore, יֹמְרוּךָ Ps. 139, 20 (where certainly יַמְרוּ is to be read); הֹבֵא Prov. 1, 10 (comp. § 75. *hh*); וַתֹּפֶּהוּ 1 Sam. 28, 24; וְיֹכְלוּ Ezek. 42, 5; תֹּמְרוּ 2 Sam. 19, 14; וַתֹּחֶז 2 Sam. 20, 9; תּוֹלִי *thou gaddest about* (from אָוַל), Jer. 2, 36; וַיֹּתֵא Deut. 33, 21 (for יֹאתֶה), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75. *p*) וַיֹּתֶא, וַיֹּתֵא or וַיֹּתֵא.

[1] The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to *â* in this 1st *pers.* occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the א was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Nöldeke (*ZDMG.*, Bd. xxxii. p. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd *pers.* are still written *yă'kŭlŭ, tă'kŭlŭ*, but the 1st *pers.* *'âkŭlŭ*, not *'ă'kŭlŭ*.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

i Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נֹאחֲזוּ Num. 32, 30. Jos. 22, 9; *Hiph.* וַיֶּרֶב (for וַיַּאֲרֶב?) *and he laid wait*, 1 Sam. 15, 5; אָזִין *I listen*, Job 32, 11; אוֹכִיל (*ô* from *â*) *I give to eat*, Hos. 11, 4; אֹבִידָה (*ô* from *â*) *I will destroy*, Jer. 46, 8; וַיּוֹחֶר 2 Sam. 20, 5 *Qᵉrê* (for וַיָּאַח); the *Kᵉthîbh* appears to require the *Pi'ēl* וַיְיַחֵר, from יחר as a secondary form of אחר; but וַיְיַחַר = וַיְיַאֲחַר for וַיְּאַחַר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וָאוֹצְרָה Neh. 13, 13, comp. § 53. *n.*—*Infinitive* לְהָכִיל Ezek. 21, 33 (= לְהָאֲבִ׳ unless it is rather *infin. Hiph.* from כִּיל); *Participle* מֵיזִין *giveth ear*, Prov. 17, 4. *Imperative* הֲתָיוּ *bring* (from אָתָה) Jer. 12, 9. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is. 21, 14, comp. § 76. *d.*)

k 2. In the *Pi'ēl* the א is sometimes dropped by syncope, like ה in יְהַקְטִיל, יַקְטִיל, thus מַלֵּף (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) *teaching*, for מְאַלֵּף Job 35, 11; יַהֵל for יְאַהֵל Is. 13, 20; וַתְּזָרֵנִי *thou hast girded me*, 2 Sam. 22, 40, for וַתְּאַזְּרֵנִי, as Ps. 18, 40; וָאַבָּדֵךְ Ezek. 28, 16; comp. § 23. *d.*

§ 69. *Verbs* פ״י. *First Class, or Verbs originally* פ״ו, e. g. יָשַׁב *to dwell.*

a Verbs which at present begin with Yôdh in their simple form (i. e. when without preformatives), are divided into two classes according to their origin and hence frequently in their inflexion: (*a*) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e. g. יָלַד *to give birth to*, Arab. and Eth. *wălădă*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into *Yôdh*, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (*b*) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nûn* in verbs פ״ן (see § 71).

b With regard to verbs פ״ו (i. e. פ״י with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see letter *h*) on the analogy of the following:

A. *Imperfect* יֵשֵׁב, יֵדַע with an unchangeable[1] *Ṣere* in the first syllable and original *ĭ* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27. *c*) becomes *ē* (thus יֵלֵד, יֵצֵא, יֵרֵד; יֵלֵךְ), or under the influence of a guttural with *ă* in the second (יַחַד, יַעַל, יַדַע).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to the shortening to *Sᵉghôl* or *vocal Šᵉwâ*, e.g. וַיֵּשֶׁב, יֵשְׁבוּ, &c.; in the same way *ă* becomes *Šᵉwâ* in such cases as יִדְעוּ, &c., but is lengthened to *Qameṣ* in *pause* (יֵדָעוּ) and before suffixes (יֵדָעֵם).

B. *Imperative* שֵׁב with *aphaeresis* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *ĭ*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* שֶׁבֶת from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פ״י (comp. § 66. *b*) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

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[1] The *e* of the first syllable is really *ê*, not tone-long *ē*; thus *yiwšib*, with the first *ĭ* attenuated from *ă*, after elision of the *Wāw* must have been lengthened to *yēšēb*, as it was still explained, with Ewald and others, in the twenty-third edition of this Grammar. The character of this *e* is seen from the fact that it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. וַיֵּדַע Hos. 14, 10), but also in אֵדָעֲךָ Ex. 33, 13. 17. Its explanation, however, presents great difficulty. The view that original *yawšĭb* became *yayšĭb*, and then *yêšĭb*, *yêšēb* (so still König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 401), seems to be supported by the fact that, in Arabic, besides such *imperfects* as *yălĭdŭ*, *yătĭbŭ* (with complete elision of the *Wāw*) we also find in the dialects *yûlid*, *yûṣal*, &c., 1st *sing. aulid*, *auṣal*, &c.; comp. Spitta, *Gramm. des Arab. Vulgärdial. v. Ägypten*, p. 223 sq.; on the corresponding strong formation in Ethiopic, comp. Dillmann, *Gramm.*, p. 146; Praetorius, § 93. But how comes then the almost invariable *scriptio defectiva* of this *ê*? From an original יְ we should expect, according to § 7. *g*, a prevalence of the *scriptio plena*; in reality it occurs (with the exception of יֵיקַר Ps. 72, 14, elsewhere pointed יִיקַר) only in Mic. 1, 8 and Ezek. 35, 9 *Kᵉth.*; in Ps. 138, 6 the Masora prefers to point יֵיֵדַע.—According to Stade (*Gramm.*, §§ 108, 117 *a*) the original *ĭ* of the second syllable has exercised a backward influence upon the original *ă* of the first syllable, 'in consequence of which an *ĭ* forces itself in after this *ă*, as it were by anticipation. The two coalesce into a diphthong, which is then merged into *ê*: הֵקִים *hêqîm* for *haiqîm* from *haqim*, Aramaic *'aqîm*; מֵקִים from *maqîm*,' &c. The latter comparison must indeed be rejected, since the *e* in הֵקִים and מֵקִים is not unchangeable; but Stade's view has the advantage of attempting to explain at any rate the unchangeableness of the first *e* in יֵשֵׁב and יֵדַע, which he likewise refers to an original *yadi'*.—According to Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) an original *yălĭd*, for example (see above), became *yilid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yêlēd* instead of *yēlēd*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ê* instead of *ē*) to a triliteral form.

Rem. Since the infinitives לֶדֶת, דְּעָה (see below, letter *m*) point to a ground-form *di'at*, *lidat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 42) and Barth (ibid. xli. p. 606), assign to שֶׁבֶת, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שָׁבְתִּי, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *i* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending. *c*

In more than half the number of verbs פ״ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yôdh*, which in the *imperatives* יְצֹק, יְרַשׁ (see letter *f*) and *infinitive* יְסֹד is a strong consonant, but in the *imperfect* יִירַשׁ, properly *yiyrăš*, merges with the preceding *i* into *î*. *d*

In the second syllable *imperfects* of this form regularly have *ă*.

(*a*) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yôdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'îl*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs פ״ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; comp. *wălădă*, imperf. *yălîdu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wăġîlă*, *yauġalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*. *e*

(*b*) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; comp. צַק 2 Ki. 4, 41 and יְצֹק *pour*, Ezek. 24, 3 (comp. יִצְקוּ 1 Ki. 18, 34 and the *infin.* צָקֶת Ex. 38, 27); יֶרֶשׁ *take possession*, Deut. 1, 21. 1 Ki. 21, 15 (comp., however, letter *s*), רָשׁ (in *pause* for יֵרַשׁ) Deut. 2, 24. 31; *plur.* רָשׁוּ Deut. 1, 8. 9, 23, but also, with ה— *paragogic*, יְרָשָׁה Deut. 33, 23. In the *imperfect* יִיקַר Deut. 32, 22 and יֵקַר Is. 10, 16 *it shall be kindled*; וַיִּיקַר *it was precious*, 1 Sam. 18, 30 and יָקַר Ps. 49, 9 (comp. יִיקַר Ps. 72, 14).—The form וַיִּיחַמוּ Gen. 30, 39, for וַיֶּחֱמְנָה, beside וַיֶּחֱמְנָה verse 38, is remarkable. *f*

(*c*) On רַד Jud. 19, 11 for יָרַד and שׁוֹב Jer. 42, 10 for the *infinitive absolute* יָשׁוֹב, comp. § 19. *i*.—But יָרַד Jud. 5, 13 *a* and *b* is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'ēl* from יָרְדָה (=יְיָרְדָה) *to have dominion*. *g*

(*d*) The eight verbs[1], of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יָלַד *to bring forth*, יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשַׁב *to sit*, *to dwell*, יָרַד *to descend*, also הָלַךְ *to go* (comp. below, letter *x*); and with *ă* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע *to know*, יָחַד *to be united*, יָקַע *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יִירַשׁ &c.) are יָעֵף *to be wearied*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשֵׁן *to sleep*, יָרֵא (*imperfect* יִירָא) *to fear*. *h*

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[1] A ninth יָסַף *to add*, is also to be included. For since on the Mêša' stone, l. 21, the *infinitive* is not written לספות but לספת (comp. יספתי, l. 29), we must also read in Is. 30, 1 (Num. 32, 14. Deut. 29, 18) סֶפֶת for סְפוֹת. The 2nd *plur. masc. imperative* סְפוּ Is. 29, 1. Jer. 7, 21 corresponds to שְׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סָפָה *addere*, there remains only אַסְפֵּה Deut. 32, 23, for which, according to 2 Sam. 12, 8, אֹסְפָה is to be read.

i **2.** The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (*a*) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the doubling, e.g. הִוָּשֵׁב, יִוָּשֵׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל; (*b*) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e.g. הִתְוַדַּע from יָדַע, הִתְוַכַּח from יָכַח, הִתְוַדָּה from יָדָה; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e.g. יָלָד *proles* from יָלַד *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous vowel *ŭ* coalesces into *û*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e.g. הוּשַׁב for *hŭwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ô* (וֹ); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e.g. נוֹשַׁב from an original *năwšăbh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hăwšîbh*.

k The first radical always appears as *Yôdh* in the *perfect* and *participle Qal*, יָשַׁב &c., יֵשֵׁב, יָשׁוּב, even when וְ precedes, e.g. וְיָשַׁב (but וַיֹּאשֶׁב, according to § 24. *b*), also throughout *Pi'ēl* and *Pu'al*, e.g. יִחֵל *to wait*, יֻלַּד *to be born*, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יֵדַע, מְיֻדָּע *known* (from יָדַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e.g. הִתְיַלֵּד, הִתְיַצֵּב, הִתְיַחֵשׂ (as against הִתְוַדַּע, &c. with *Wāw*).

l The beginner may recognize verbs פ״י in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *Ṣere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'îl*, and *Hoph'al* by the *Wāw* (ו, וֹ, וּ) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הֹלִיד, is rare). Verbs פ״י have forms like שֵׁב (דַּע), שֶׁבֶת, in common with verbs פ״ן. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע״ע and ע״י.

m Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (שֶׁבֶת, ground-form *šibt*, comp. above, letter *c*) with suffixes is pointed as שִׁבְתִּי[1], &c. The masculine form is very rare, e.g. דָּעַ *to know*, Job 32, 6. 10, as also the feminine ending ־ָה, e.g. דָּעָה[2] Ex. 2, 4, לָדָה Is. 37, 3 (2 Ki. 19, 3); Jer. 13, 21. Hos. 9, 11; מָרָדָה[2] *to descend*, Gen. 46, 3, where the change of the *ē* into vocal *Šᵉwâ* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, דַּעַת is formed, with *suff.* דַּעְתִּי &c.; but from יצא, צֵאת for *ṣᵉ'ēth*, see § 94. *f*. From יָרַד there occurs in Ps. 30, 4 in *Qᵉrê* מִיְּרַדְתִּי (the *Kᵉth.* requires מִיּוֹרְדִי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מֵרַדְתִּי). For לַת 1 Sam. 4, 19 (generally explained as a case of

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[1] וְשַׁבְתִּי Ps. 23, 6 can hardly be intended for an *infinitive* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perfect consecutive* from שׁוּב; we should, however, read וְיָשַׁבְתִּי.

[2] The infinitives דָּעָה and רָדָה belong to the source marked E (B by Dillmann) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has נָתַן *to give*, for תֵּת; הָלַךְ *to go*, for לֶכֶת; and עָשָׂה *to make*, for עָשׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

assimilation of ד to ת in the supposed ground-form *ladt;* according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לֶדֶת = *lidt*, see above, letter *c*) read simply לֶדֶת.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יְרֹא *to fear*, Jos. 22, 25, with preposition לְיִסֹּד Is. 51, 16 (but 2 Chron. 31, 7 according to Ben Naphtali לְיַסֵּד, where the י is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the ס; the reading of Ben Asher, לְיָסוֹד, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לְיֹשֵׁן Eccles. 5, 11; לֵרֹא 1 Sam. 18, 29 is irregular, probably, however, לְרֹא (for לִרְאֹת) is intended. With *suff.* בְּיָסְדִי Job 38, 4, comp. Jud. 14, 15. Ezr. 3, 12; with ת *fem.* יְכֹלֶת *to be able*, Num. 14, 16. On יְבֹשֶׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, comp. the note on § 70. *a*. *u*

2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by ה־, e. g. שְׁבָה *sit thou*, רְדָה *descend thou*. From יָהַב *to give*, Arab. *wăhăbă*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הַב *give*, lengthened הָבָה generally with the meaning *age, go to* (Gen. 29, 21 הָבָה before א to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הָבִי Ruth 3, 15, *Mil'ra'* on the analogy of the plural הָבוּ (in Job 6, 22 הָבוּ before the tone-syllable; but comp. Deut. 32, 3), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פ״י, הָבִי, הָבוּ would rather be expected.—On דְּעֵה Prov. 24, 14, comp. § 48. *l*. *o*

3. The *imperfect* with ו elided takes *ă* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (letter *f*), also in תֵּרַד Jer. 13, 17 (comp. Lam. 3, 48) and in the pausal form יֵלַךְ Job 27, 21 &c. (from הָלַךְ, see letter *x*); on יֵקַד Is. 10, 16 see above, letter *f*. The *ă* in the second syllable, when followed by the afformative נָה (תֵּרַדְנָה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (letter *c*), by which *ă* takes the place of *ĭ* in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with *ē* in the second syllable shorten the *ē* to *Seghôl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw consecutive*), e. g. יֵשְׁבֶ־נָּא Gen. 44, 33; וַיֵּשֶׁב, וַיֵּרֶד; but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with Mil'el-tone, in יֵצֵא Ex. 16, 29. Jud. 9, 39, in both cases with *nasog 'aḥor*, § 29. *e*. The *pausal* is either of the form וַיֵּשֶׁב Ruth 4, 1 or וַיֵּרֵד Ps. 18, 10; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְאֵרֵד, וְאֵלֵךְ &c., except וְאֵלְכָה Job 19, 10, see letter *x*. For יֵידַע Ps. 138, 6 (comp. the note above, on letter *b* and the analogous cases, § 70. *d*) יֵידָע is intended. *p*

The *imperfect* of the form יִירַשׁ is frequently (especially before afformatives) written defectively, in which case the *ĭ* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16. *f*), e. g. יַעֲפוּ Is. 40, 30, יָגְעוּ Is. 65, 23; and so always יִרְאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִרְאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of רָאָה).—On וַיִּישֶׁם Gen. 50, 26. 24, 33 *K'th.*, and יִיסַךְ Ex. 30, 32, see § 73, letter *f*. *q*

From יָכֹל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יוּכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יוֹכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yawkhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47. *b*, אֶקְטֹל is differentiated from יִקְטֹל. Comp. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yôru'u*) from *waru'a*, *yauġalu* (*yôġalu*) from *waġila*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yûṣal* &c. from *waṣala*. Others regard יוּכַל as an *imperfect Hoph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal;* comp., how- *r*

ever, § 53. *u*.—וְתוּכְלִי occurs in Jer. 3, 5 as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וַתּוּכְלִי, according to König, because the 2nd *fem.* was already sufficiently indicated.

s 4. The attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44. *d* (comp. § 64. *f*) occurs in verbs פ״י in a few forms of יָלַד Num. 11, 12. Jer. 2, 27. Ps. 2, 7, &c. (always after יְ), as well as of יָרַשׁ, e. g. וְיִרְשְׁתֶּם, &c., Deut. 4, 1. 8, 1. 17, 14. 19, 1. 26, 1. 31, 3 (always after וְיִ for וְיָ). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial יְ was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *i* (§ 47. *b*). In the case of יָרַשׁ, however, a secondary form יֵרַשׁ (comp. § 44. *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb has the form *wărĭṯă*. The forms וְיִרַשְׁתָּהּ Ezek. 36, 12 and וְיִרְשָׁתְהָ Ps. 69, 36, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *ĭ*.

t 5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a יִ instead of the וַ, e. g. וַיִּחַל *and he stayed*, Gen. 8, 12 (unless the *Pi'ēl* or וַיְחַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), comp. Ex. 19, 13; 1 Sam. 13, 8 *K^eṯhîbh*.—The first person always has the form אִוָּשֵׁב, not אֶוָּשֵׁב, comp. § 51. *p*.—In the plural of the *participle* נִגְעֵי (from נָגַע, with depression of *ô* to *û*, comp. § 27. *n*) is found in Zeph. 3, 18; comp. Lam. 1, 4. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נִוַּלְדוּ *null^edhû*, 1 Chron. 3, 5. 20, 8, for נוֹלְדוּ which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

u 6. In the *imperfect Pi'ēl* syncope of the first radical (יְ) sometimes takes place after *wāw consec.* (as in the case of א, § 68. *k*), e. g. וַיִּגֵּהּ for וַיְיַגֵּהּ *and he has grieved*, Lam. 3, 33, וַיִּדּוּ for וַיְיַדּוּ *and they have cast*, verse 53: on the other hand, in יַדּוּ גוֹרָל *they have cast lots*, Joel 4, 3. Ob. 11. Nah. 3, 10, a *perfect Qal* of יָדַד is required by the context. So from a verb פ״י, of the second class, וַיִּבֵּשֵׁהוּ for וַיְיַבֵּשֵׁהוּ *and he made it dry*, Nah. 1, 4; comp. וַיִּשֵּׁרֵם 2 Chron. 32, 30 *Q^erê* (the *K^eth.* points either to *Pi'ēl* וַיְיַשֵּׁרֵם or *Hiph'îl* וַיְיִשֵּׁרֵם).

v 7. In the *imperative Hiph'îl* instead of the usual form הוֹשֵׁב, *î* is also found in the second syllable; הוֹצִיא Is. 43, 8; הוֹפִיעַ Ps. 94, 1 (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעָה); הוֹכִיחַ Prov. 19, 25. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ă*, as הוֹדַע, הוֹשַׁע, comp. also הַקֵּר Prov. 25, 17 (as in the *infin. constr.* הוֹבַח Job 6, 26; see § 65. *d*). On the other hand, *î* always reappears when the syllable becomes open, thus הוֹשִׁיבָה, הוֹשִׁיבִי, הוֹשִׁיעָה, and so also before suffixes (§ 61. *g*). הֵיצֵא Gen. 8, 17 *Q^erê* (*K^eth.* הוֹצֵא, see § 70. *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'îl* when the tone is drawn back take *S^eghôl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e. g. יֶסֶף *that he may increase*, Prov. 1, 5, before לָקַח; cf. Ex. 10, 28. Deut. 3, 26; וַיֹּסֶף (תּוֹסֶף Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause*, however, also תּוֹסֵף as *jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usual *jussive* in *pause* יוֹשֵׁב &c., which occurs even without the pause after *wāw consecutive*, Gen. 47, 11. Josh. 24, 3. 2 Sam. 8, 4, &c.). With a final guttural יֵדַע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and וַיּוֹכַח, &c.; with a final ר in *pause* וַתֵּחֶר Ruth 2, 14: on וַיּוֹשַׁעֵם Is. 35, 4, comp. § 65. *f*).—On forms like יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53. *q*.

In *Hoph'al ô* stands instead of וּ, in הוּדַע (for הוּדְעַ) Lev. 4, 23. 28, הֹנָה 2 Sam. 20, 13, and perhaps in יוֹרֶא (for יוּרֶה) Prov. 11, 25; but comp. Delitzsch on the passage.—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הֳלָדֶת Gen. 40, 20, for הֻלֶּדֶת = הוּלַד; comp. above, letter *t*, on נוֹלַדְתִּי, and § 71 at the end. *w*

8. The verb הָלַךְ *to go*, belongs in some respects to the פ״י class, for it forms (as if from וָלַךְ) *imperfect* יֵלֵךְ, with *wāw consecutive* וַיֵּלֶךְ (in *pause* וַיֵּלֶךְ Gen. 24, 61, &c.), 1st sing. וְאֵלֵךְ (but in Job 19, 17 וְאֵלַךְ); *infinitive construct* לֶכֶת with suff. לֶכְתִּי, &c.; *imperative* לֵךְ, לֶךְ־, in the lengthened form לְכָה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gen. 19, 32, or a *plural*, Gen. 31, 44) and לֵךְ (Num. 23, 13. Jud. 19, 13. 2 Chron. 25, 17, and the Mêša' inscription, line 14); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיךְ (also in Ex. 2, 9 הוֹלִיכִי 2nd *fem. imperative* is to be read for הֵילִיכִי, which probably arose merely through confusion with the following הֵינִיקָהּ); *imperfect* יוֹלִיךְ, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always וְאוֹלִיךְ Lev. 26, 13. Amos 2, 11, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively in the later Books or in poetry, the regular inflexions of הָלַךְ are also found: *imperf.* יְהַלֵּךְ (Ps. 58, 9, &c.; but תְּהַלַּךְ Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9; comp. § 64. *a* and *h*); אֶהֱלַךְ Job 16, 22, also Mêša' inscription, line 14, אהלך; *infin.* הֲלֹךְ (Ex. 3, 19. Num. 22, 13 sq. 16[1]. Eccles. 6, 8. 9), *imperative plur.* הִלְכוּ Jer. 51, 50. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always הָלַךְ, *participle* הֹלֵךְ, *infinitive absolute* הָלוֹךְ, *Niph'al* נֶהֱלַךְ, *Pi'ēl* הִלֵּךְ, *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְהַלֵּךְ, so that a י never appears unmistakeably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete יָלַךְ. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ״ו forms of הלך with Praetorius (*ZAW.* ii. 310 sqq.) as originating with the Hiph'îl, of which the ground-form *hahlîkh* became *hâlîkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs פ״א, *hôlîkh*. This *hôlîkh* being referred to a supposed *haulîkh* (properly *hawlîkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ״ו. *x*

§ 70. *Verbs* פ״י. *Second Class, or Verbs properly* פ״י, e. g. יָטַב *to be good. Paradigm L.*

Verbs properly פ״י differ from verbs פ״ו in the following points: *a*

1. In *Qal* the initial Yôdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form יְבֹשׁ[2], the *imperfect* יִיטַב, יִיצַר, יִינַק (in *pause* יִינָק), also written יִטַּב, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ă* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e.g. וַיִּיטַב, except וַיִּיקַץ Gen. 9, 24,

[1] Comp. above, letter *m*, second note.

[2] This may be inferred from בִּיבֹשׁ (= בִּיְ) Is. 27, 11, which with its fem. יְבֹשֶׁת Gen. 8, 7, is the only example of an infinitive *construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently יְטַב, &c. (in Paradigm L of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

and וַיֵּיצֵר Gen. 2, 7. 19, unless יָצַר is to be included among verbs פ״ו (comp. נוֹצַר Is. 43, 10).

b 2. In *Hiph'îl* the original form הַיְטִיב is regularly contracted to הֵיטִיב (rarely written הֶטִיב, הֵיטֵב, &c.); *imperfect* יֵיטִיב, וַיֵּיטֶב. Instances of the uncontracted form are יַיְשְׁרוּ Prov. 4, 25, according to Barth (see above, § 67. *p*), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'îl* is otherwise always *causative*; הַיְשֵׁר (*imperative*) Ps. 5, 9 *Qᵉrê* (the *Kᵉth.* requires הושר according to the form of verbs פ״ו; comp. Is. 45, 2, אושר *Kᵉth.*, אֲיַשֵּׁר *Qᵉrê*), comp. Gen. 8, 17 *Qᵉrê*; מַיְמִינִים 1 Chron. 12, 2, to be explained as a denominative from יָמִין; אַיְסִירֵם Hos. 7, 12 (§ 24. *f*, note); but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading אֲיַסְּרֵם.

c Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יָטַב *to be good* (only in the *imperfect Qal* and in *Hiph'îl*; in the *perfect Qal* טוֹב, a verb ע״ו, is used instead), יָנַק *to suck*, יָקַץ *to awake*, יָצַר *to form* (but see above, letter *a*), יָלַל *Hiph'îl* הֵילִיל *to bewail*, יָשַׁר *to be straight, right*, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic *yâbîsă*) *to be dry* (but *Hiph'îl* הוֹבִישׁ 2 Sam. 19, 6, on the analogy of verbs פ״י; on Is. 30, 5, comp. § 72. *x*), and the *Hiph'îl* הֵימִין (denominative from יָמִין) *to go to the right*.

d 2. In some examples of the *imperfect Hiph'îl* the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: יֵיטִיב Job 24, 21; יֵילִיל Is. 15, 2. 3. 16, 7; אֵיילִיל Jer. 48, 31; plur. יֵיְלִילוּ Hos. 7, 14, comp. Is. 65, 14. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yôdh* and *He*, arising from the unsyncopated forms יְהֵילִיל, &c. (comp. Is. 52, 5). It would, perhaps, be more correct to suppose that the regular forms (יֵילִיל, יֵיטִיב) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

e Isolated anomalies are: *perfect Hiph'îl* וְהֵיטַבְתִּי Ezek. 36, 11 with separating vowel (for הֵיטַבְתִּי) on the analogy of verbs ע״ו; *imperfect* יֵיטִיב for יֵיטֵב 1 Ki. 1, 47; תֵּיטְבִי (*imperfect Qal* for תִּיטְבִי) Nah. 3, 8; וַתְּנִיקֵהוּ *imperfect Hiph'îl*, Ex. 2, 9, either an error for וַתֵּינֶק, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'îl* הֲקִין (from קוּן) is always used for הֵיקִיץ from יָקַץ. On וַיְבַשֶּׁהוּ Nah. 1, 4, see § 69. *u*.

§ 71. *Verbs* פ״י. *Third Class, or Verbs with Yôdh assimilated.*

In some verbs פ״י, the *Yôdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nûn*[1], is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms,

[1] These verbs, like verbs ע״ע (cf. above, note on § 67. *g*), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ״ן.

therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יָצַע (prop. יצע) *to spread under; Hiph'il* הִצִּיעַ, *Hoph'al* הֻצַּע; יָצַת *to burn*, imperfect יִצַּת, *Niph'al* נִצַּת, *Hiph'il* הִצִּית (in Is. 27, 4 also אַצִּיֶּתְנָּה is to be read with König; in 2 Sam. 14, 30 the Masora has rightly emended the *K^ethîbh* והוציתיה, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ״י, to the imperative וְהַצִּיתוּ in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַג, *Hiph'il* הִצִּיג *to place*, *Hoph'il* הֻצַּג; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from נָצַב, viz. נִצַּב (*Niph'al*), הִצִּיב, יַצִּיב, הֻצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְיַצֵּב; instead of the anomalous וַתִּתְצַב Ex. 2, 4 read with the Samaritan ותתיצב, i. e. וַתִּתְיַצֵּב. Besides the common form we find once אֶצֹּק in Is. 44, 3 (from יָצַק *to pour*) with a *transitive* meaning, beside וַיֵּצֶק *intransitive*, 1 Ki. 22, 35. Elsewhere the *imperfect consecutive* has the form וַיִּצֹק Gen. 28, 18. 35, 14. &c., comp. § 69. *f*, where also other forms of יָצַק are given; וַיֵּיצֶר and יְצֹר (Is. 44, 12. 49, 8. Jer. 1, 5 *Q^erê*), from יָצַר *to form*, are, however, used in the same sense. Comp. also אֶפֹּרֵם Hos. 10, 10; וַיְשֹׁרֲנָה (for וַתְּ according to § 47. *k*) 1 Sam. 6, 12; לְיסֹד 2 Chron. 31, 7 (comp. § 69. *n*) and מוּסָּד Is. 28, 16. This assimilation is found only with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיִּקֹּן 1 Ki. 3, 15 (where, however, others read וַיִּקַץ) and in הֻלָּדֶת Gen. 40, 20. Ezek. 16, 5 (comp. הוּלֶּדֶת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of יָלַד (comp. נוֹלְדוּ § 69. *t*).

§ 72. *Verbs* ע״י (*vulgo* ע״ו), e. g. קוּם *to rise up*. *Paradigm M.*

1. According to § 67. *a* a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the triliteral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i. e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39. *a*), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39. *b*), the *û* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs ע״ו or more correctly (see Rem.) ע״וּ[1]. *a*

[1] The term ע״ו was consequent on the view (formerly accepted in this Grammar) that the *Wāw* (or י in the case of verbs ע״י) in these stems was originally

b **2.** As in the case of verbs ע״ע, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ע״ו generally retains the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, since this belongs essentially to the character of the verbal form (§ 43. *b*; § 67. *b*). However, it is to be remarked: (*a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hophʿal*, see letter *d*), e.g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* קָם, *fem.* קָמָה, *plur.* קָמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* קָמְתָּ, &c.[1]; (*b*) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Comp. letter *f*.

c Intransitive verbs *middle E* in the *perfect Qal* have the form מֵת *he is dead;* verbs *middle O* have the form אוֹר *luxit,* בּוֹשׁ *he was ashamed*[2]. Comp. letters *n* to *r*.

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consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Piʿēl* (עִוֵּר), the ו usually passing into י as in קִיַּם, cf. Arabic *qáwwăma*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e.g. מָוֶת *death*, compared with מוּת *to die*. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs ע״י e.g. *šayat*) was always assumed, and יָקוּם was referred to an original *yaqwŭm*, the *infinitive absolute* קוֹם to original *qāwôm*, the *participle passive* קוּם to original *qāwûm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עִוֵּר, קִיַּם (letter *m*) are only to be found in the latest Books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קוֹמֵם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָוַם, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These ע״ו stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real ע״ו stems of the strong form, such as רָוַח, גָּוַע, &c. (see below, letter *gg*). As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to ע״ו stems was taken by Samuel Hannagîd (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwalîd*, p. 16), recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and especially by Müller and Stade (see above, p. 182, note) with regard both to ע״ו and ע״ע verbs.

[1] In Aramaic, however, always קָמְתָּ; also in Hebrew Grammars before Qimḥi קָמְתָּ, קָמְתִּי, &c. are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e.g. קָמְתִּי Mic. 7, 8, מָתְנוּ 2 Ki. 7, 3. 4.

[2] According to Stade (*Grammatik*, § 385. *e* and *f*) the *e* in מֵת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel *ĭ*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ă* of the root), and likewise the *o* in אוֹר, &c. (from *au*). But *ô* (from *au*) could not, by § 26. *p*, remain in a closed penultima (בֹּשְׁתָּ, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i.e. due to lengthening of an original *ŭ*, and similarly the *ē* of מֵת to lengthening of an original *ĭ*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בֹּשְׁתָּ, בֹּשְׁתִּי, בֹּשְׁנוּ is always, and in בֹּשׁוּ,

3. In the *imperfect Qal, perfect Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niph'al* the original *ă* is the basis of the form and not the *ĭ* attenuated from *ă* (§ 67. *h;* but cf. also below, letter *h* on יֵבוֹשׁ), hence יָקוּם for *yăqûm;* נָקוֹם for *năqôm;* on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'îl* הֵקִים for *hĭqîm; participle* מֵקִים (on the Ṣere cf. letter *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הוּקַם for *hŭqam.* *d*

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and becomes *vocal Šᵉwâ* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. יְמִיתֶנּוּ *he will kill him;* so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragogic;* יְמוּתֻן (without *Nûn* יָמוּתוּ). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in הֲהֵיטִיב Jer. 2, 11 (beside הֵמִיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended into הֲיֵטִיב; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative, however, necessarily led to the form being pointed as *perfect* instead of *imperfect.*—Only in *Hoph'al* is the *û* retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ע״ע). *e*

4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in letter *b* are: *imperfect Qal* יָקוּם (also in Arabic *yăqûmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48. *g*), יָקֹם, with retraction of the tone יָקֻם (*yāqŏm*), וַיָּקָם (in *pause* וַיָּקֹם); *imperative* קוּם; the normal lengthening of the *ŭ* occurs in the 2nd *plur. fem.* קֳמְנָה, since, according to § 26. *p*, *ŭ* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* קוּם. In *Hiph'îl* the lengthening of the original *ĭ* to *î* (הֵקִים, *imperfect* יָקִים, *jussive* יָקֵם, with retraction of the tone יָקֶם, וַיָּקֶם) exactly agrees with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53. *a*). *f*

The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* קָם is to be traced to the ground-form with *á* unobscured, Arab. *qâtil*, § 9. *q*, and § 50. *b*. The analogous form *qâïm*[1], after absorption of the *ĭ*, became קָם, owing to the predominating character of the *á*. The unchangeableness of the *á* (*plur.* קָמִים, *constr.* קְמֵי, &c.) favours this explanation. *g*

3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2) written defectively. Forms like בֹּשָׁה, בֹּשׁוּ, אֹורוּ, &c. are therefore to be treated as orthographic licences.

[1] So in Arabic (prop. *qâ'ĭm*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an א, comp. Aram. קָאֵם); but also contracted, as *šâk*, *hâr*, for *šâ'ĭk*, &c. (comp. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ŭ* (now *û*) there are also forms with original *ă*. This *ă* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō;* hence especially יָבוֹא (יָבֹא), וַיָּבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יֵאוֹר and יֵבוֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* אוֹר, בּוֹשׁ (see above, letter *c*), most probably also in יֵאֹתוּ 2 Ki. 12, 9, נֵאוֹת Gen. 34, 15 from an unused אוּת *to consent*, and perhaps in וַתֵּהֹם 1 Sam. 4, 5, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63. *e* and especially § 67. *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ĭ* (which is attenuated from the original *ă*) and thus *yĭ-băš* became *yĭ-bāš*, and finally *yē-bôš*. Finally the *Niph.* נָקוֹם (*nă-qām*), *imperfect* יִקּוֹם from *yᵉhinqăm* (§ 51. *a*) = *yiqqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ă*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'îl* a י is inserted before the afformatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons and ִי regularly in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'îl*, before the termination נָה (see, however, the Rem.). As in verbs ע״ע (§ 67. *d*) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order that it may retain its long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'îl*, however, before the י, instead of the *î* an *ē* is somewhat frequently found[1] (as a normal lengthening of the original *ĭ*), especially after *wāw consecutive*, Deut. 4, 39. 30, 1, as well as before the afformatives תֶּם and תֶּן or before suffixes, Deut. 22, 2. 1 Sam. 6, 8. 1 Ki. 8, 34. Ezek. 34, 4. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the י to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *î* to *ē;* thus הֵקִים, הֲקִימוֹתָ (or הֲקֵ׳), but וַהֲקִמֹתָ, &c., Ex. 26, 30, &c.; Deut. 4, 39. Num. 18, 26 (comp., however, וַהֲקִמֹנוּ Mic. 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st *pers. sing.* of the *perfect Niph'al* the *ô* before the separating vowel is always modified to *û* (נְקוּמוֹתִי); comp. letter *v*. In the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'îl* the separating vowel ִי always bears the tone (תְּקוּמִינָה).

k Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *ō* and *ē* instead of *û* and *î* we find in *imperfect Qal* תְּבֹאנָה (see § 76. *g*); תֵּשְׁבֹן Ezek. 16, 55 (also תְּשֹׁבֶינָה in the same verse); וַתֵּשְׁבֹנָה 1 Sam. 7, 14 (comp. Ezek. 35, 9 *Qᵉrê;*

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[1] וַהֲשִׁיבֹתֶם 1 Sam. 6, 7 (comp. 2 Chron. 6, 25) could only be an orthographic licence for וַהֲשֵׁבֹ׳; perhaps, however, וַהֲשִׁיב׳ was originally intended.

on the *K^ethîbh* תֵּישְׁבָנָה comp. above, note on § 69. *b*); תְּאֹרְנָה 1 Sam. 14, 27 from אוֹר (*K^ethîbh* תְּרְאֶנָה *they saw*, see § 75. *w*); in *Hiph'îl*, e.g. הֲנֵפְתָּ Ex. 20, 25, also הֲנִיפוֹתִי Job 31, 21; וְהֲטַלְתִּי Jer. 22, 26; תְּשֻׁבְנָה Job 20, 10; with a separating vowel, e.g. תְּבִיאֶינָה Lev. 7, 30 from בּוֹא. *S^eghôl* without י occurs in the *imperfect Qal* in תְּמוּתָנָה Ezek. 13, 19. Zech. 1, 17; and in *Hiph'îl* Mic. 2, 12: the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is תְּקִימְנָה Jer. 44, 25, probably an erroneous transposition of ימ (for תְּקֻמֶּינָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תְּקִימֶּנָה or תְּקִימְנָה.

l **6.** The tone as in verbs ע״ע (comp. § 67. *k*) is also retained in verbs ע״י before the affformatives ־ָה, ־וּ, ־ִי, generally on the stem-syllable; thus קָמָה (but also בָּוָה לְךָ 2 Ki. 19, 21, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following לָעֲנָה לְךָ; after *wāw consecutive* וְשָׁבָה Is. 23, 17); קָמוּ (but also קָמוּ, comp. Is. 28, 7. 29, 9. Nah. 3, 18. Ps. 76, 6. Lam. 4, 18; וְרָצוּ 1 Sam. 8, 11; so especially before a following א, cf. § 49. *l*, Num. 13, 32; וְנָעוּ Is. 19, 1; before ע, Lam. 4, 14); תָּקוֹמִי, תָּקוֹמוּ, but before a *suffix* or with *Nûn paragogic* וַיְסֻבּוּם 2 Chron. 28, 15; יְקוֹמֻנּוּן Deut. 33, 11, &c.

m **7.** The formation of the conjugations *Pi'ēl*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl* is, strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ע״י. It is only in the latest Books that we find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ע״ו (with consonantal ו, see below, letter *gg*); e.g. the *Pi'ēl* עִוֵּד *to surround*, Ps. 119, 61, and with change of ו to י, קַיֵּם, *infinitive* קַיֵּם Esth. 9, 31. 32, &c., from קוּם; וְחִיַּבְתֶּם Dan. 1, 10 from חוּב *to be guilty*. The *Hithpa'ēl* הִצְטַיֵּד Josh. 9, 12, which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צַיִד. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pi'lēl* (properly *Pa'lēl*, see § 55. *d*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually employed in the sense of *Pi'ēl* and as a substitute for it, e.g. קוֹמֵם from *qāmēm* with obscuring of *ā* to *ô* (comp. § 55. *b*) *to set up* from קוּם; מוֹתֵת *to slaughter*, 1 Sam. 14, 13. 17, 51. 2 Sam. 1, 9, from מוּת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוֹמַם from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (comp. יִתְעָרֶר Job 17, 8 in *pause*) from עוּר; reciprocal הִתְבּוֹשֵׁשׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gen. 2, 25. The conjugation *Pilpēl* (§ 55. *f*) is less common, e.g. טַלְטֵל *to hurl away* from טוּל; קַרְקֵר *to destroy* from קוּר.

REMARKS.

I. *On Qal.*

n 1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2) the following are the only examples: מֵת *he is dead, fem.* מֵתָה, 2nd *masc.* מַתָּה (comp. § 44. *g*; § 66. *h*); 1st *sing.* מַתִּי, וָמַתִּי (even in *pause*, Gen. 19, 19); *plur.* מֵתוּ, 1st *pers.* מַתְנוּ, in *pause* מָתְנוּ; נָד *it fleeth away*, Is. 17, 11; בּוֹשׁ *he was ashamed*, בֹּשְׁתִּי, בֹּשְׁנוּ, בֹּשְׁתֶּם; אוֹר *it has shone, plur.* אוֹרוּ; טוֹב *to be good*, טֹבוּ. *Participles* מֵת *a dead man* (*plur.* מֵתִים, מֻתִי); בּוֹשִׁים *ashamed*, Ezek. 32, 30.

o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁבַתְּ (with the original ending of the *fem.* for וְשָׁבָה) Ezek. 46, 17 (see § 44. *f*); צָקוֹן Is. 26, 16 (*Nûn paragogic* with the *perfect* elsewhere only in Deut. 8, 3. 16).—In בָּנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for בָּאנוּ from בּוֹא) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In בָּאוּ Jer. 27, 18 (instead of בָּאוּ) the Masora seems to point to the *imperfect* יָבֹאוּ which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.

p The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9. *b*) with א in the *perfect*, קָאַם Hos. 10, 14, also in the *participles* לָאַט *softly*, Jud. 4, 21, רָאשׁ *poor*, 2 Sam. 12, 1. 4. Prov. 10, 4, *plur.* 13, 23; שָׂאטִים *doing despite unto*, Ezek. 28, 24. 26; *fem.* 16, 57; also in Zech. 14, 10 רָאמָה is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאַמָה. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle Ō* (like בּוֹשִׁים, see above) קוֹמִים occurs for קָמִים 2 Ki. 16, 7 and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט *occultans*, Is. 25, 7; בּוֹסִים Zech. 10, 5. *Participle passive*, מוּל *circumcised*; but סוֹג *a backslider*, Prov. 14, 14, and סוּרָה *put aside*, Is. 49, 21 (cf. Jer. 17, 13 *Q^erê*), are verbal adjectives of the form qāṭûl (§ 50. *f*), not passive participles. For חֻשִׁים *hastening*, Num. 32, 17, read חֲמֻשִׁים as in Ex. 13, 18.

q 2. With imperfects in *û* there are almost always the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *û*, as יָקוּם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קוּם (also defectively written יָקֻם, קֻם); but with יָדוּשׁ *he threshes* (*infin.* דּוּשׁ) the *imperative* דּוֹשִׁי (*fem.*) occurs in Mic. 4, 13; with יָמוּט *it slippeth*, the *infinitive* מוֹט (Ps. 38, 17. 46, 3); comp. נוֹחַ (also נוּחַ) Num. 11, 25 and נוֹעַ Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere נוּעַ) with the *imperfects* יָנוּחַ and יָנוּעַ; לָעוֹז Is. 30, 2; שׁוֹב Josh. 2, 16; רוֹם Ezek. 10, 17 (vers. 16 רוּם).

r Where the *imperfect* has *ô* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יָבוֹא (יָבֹא), *infinitive*, &c., בּוֹא or בֹּא[1]; וַיֵּאֹר 2 Sam. 2, 32, אֹורִי, אֹורוּ; יְבוֹשׁ, בּוֹשׁ, &c.—יָקוֹם Job 8, 14 (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע״ע, since the *imperfect* of קוּם appears as אָקוּם in Ps. 95, 10. On the other hand יְקוֹשׁוּן (as if from קוֹשׁ) occurs as *imperfect* of יָקֹשׁ (פ״י), on the analogy of יָבוֹא, &c. The *imperfect* יָרוֹן, with *ô*, Gen. 6, 3 probably in the sense of *to rule, to govern* has no corresponding *perfect*, and is

[1] In 1 Ki. 14, 12 (בְּבֹאָה before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בְּבֹאֵךְ.

perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb דִּין *to judge* (from ע״ו, דִּין). Or can יָדוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109. *d*)? Similarly לֹא תָחוֹס (עֵינְךָ) עֵינִי might be taken as a case of a jussive after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Jud. 16, 30), in Deut. 7, 16. 13, 9. 19, 13. 21. 25, 12. Ezek. 5, 11. 7, 4. 9. 8, 18. 9, 10. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תָחוֹס was originally intended, as in Is. 13, 18. Jer. 21, 7. The *infinitive absolute* always has *ô*, e. g. קוֹם יָקוֹמוּ Jer. 44, 29.

3. In the *imperative* with afformatives (קוֹמִי, קוֹמוּ) the tone is on the stem syllable; comp., however, עוּרִי Jud. 5, 12 intentionally varied from עֲוּרִי; also עוּרִי Zech. 13, 7 and Is. 51, 9 beside עֲוּרִי כִּימֵי; גּוּלִי Zech. 9, 9; צוּרִי Is. 21, 2, שׁוּבִי Ps. 116, 7 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So also the lengthened form, as שׁוּבָה Jer. 3, 12. Ps. 7, 8, and עוּרָה verse 7. But if an א, ה or ע follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קוּמָה, &c.[1], in order to avoid a hiatus, e. g. Jud. 4, 18. Ps. 82, 8; hence also before יְהוָה, *Q^erê perpetuum* אֲדֹנָי (§ 17), e. g. Ps. 3, 8. 7, 7 קוּמָה (comp., however, in the same verse עוּרָה before א; קוּמָה Ps. 44, 27, and רוּמָה Ps. 57, 6. 12, before ע; שׁוּבָה before א Jer. 40, 5, and before ה 2 Sam. 15, 27), and even before ר Ps. 43, 1. 74, 22 and elsewhere (רִיבָה). *s*

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקָם (see above, letter *f*), יָקוֹם also occurs (as subjunctive, Eccles. 12, 4; נָסוֹג Ps. 80, 19 may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקֵם (Gen. 27, 31; comp. Jud. 6, 18. Prov. 9, 4. 16), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (comp. Is. 46, 6). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיָּקָם, in *pause* וַיָּקֻם, see above, letter *f*) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable, *ă* often takes the place of *ŏ*, e. g. וַיָּנַח *and he rested;* וַיָּנַע *and it was moved;* וָיָסַר *and he turned aside*, Jud. 4, 18. Ruth 4, 1 (different only in meaning from *Hiph'îl* וַיָּסַר *and he removed*, Gen. 8, 13); וַיָּצַר 2 Ki. 5, 23. 17, 5 (but also וַיָּגָר both from גּוּר *to sojourn*, and גּוּר *to fear*); וַיָּעַף (to be distinguished from וַיָּעָף *and he flew*, Is. 6, 6) *and he was weary*, Jud. 4, 21. 1 Sam. 14, 28. 31. 2 Sam. 21, 15, but probably in all these cases וַיִּעַף for וַיִּיעַף from יָעָף is intended. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיָּקוּמוּ, וַיָּסוּרוּ, &c. On וָאָקֻם (וְאָקֻם), see § 49. *e*. *t*

Examples of the full plural ending וּן with the tone (see above, letter *l*) are תְּמוֹתוּן Gen. 3, 3. 4; יְנוֹסֵנוּן Ps. 104, 7; יְרוֹצֵנוּן Joel 2, 4. 7. 9. *u*

II. *On Niph'al.*

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נָקוֹמֹתִי, which frequently occurs (נָסוֹגֹתִי, נָפוּגֹתִי), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נָקוֹמֹתָ, נָקוֹמוֹת, and the 1st *plur.* נָקוֹמֹנוּ given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; *v*

[1] Comp. Delitzsch's *Commentary* on Ps. 3, 8.

but of the 2nd *plur.* the only examples found have *ô* (not *û*), viz. נְפוֹצֹתֶם *ye have been scattered*, Ezek. 11, 17. 20, 34. 41, and נְקוֹטֹתֶם *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ezek. 20, 43. 36, 31.—To the *ĭ* (instead of *ă*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* נֵעוֹר Zech. 2, 17 (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* נָמוֹל, see below, letter *ee*), *imperfect* יֵעוֹר for *yi*"*ōr*.—The *infinitive construct* הָדוּשׁ occurs in Is. 25, 10; in לֵאוֹר Job 33, 30, the Masora assumes the syncope of the ה (for לְהֵאוֹר); but probably לָאוֹר (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51. *l*).—נָמוֹג Is. 14, 31, נָסוֹג Is. 59, 13 are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

III. *On Hiph'îl, Hoph'al, and Pi'lēl.*

w 6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, letter *k*) are: הֵבֵאתָ, &c. (see further, § 76. *g*); הֲמַתָּה (from מוּת) for *hēmáth-tā* (comp. § 20. *a*, and such cases as הֲסַתָּה 3rd *fem. perfect Hiph'îl* from סוּת or סִית 1 Ki. 21, 25; הֲכַנּוּ 1st *plur. perfect Hiph'îl* from כּוּן 2 Chron. 29, 19), even הֲמִתֶּם (§ 27. *s*) Num. 17, 6, and elsewhere; cf. 2 Sam. 13, 28, also וְהֲמִתֶּן Ex. 1, 16, and וְהֲמִתִּיהָ Hos. 2, 5; but elsewhere, with *wāw consecutive* וְהֵמַתִּי Is. 14, 30; comp. וְהֵטַלְתִּי Is. 16, 13, and וְהֵנַפְתָּ Ex. 29, 24, and elsewhere.—In these cases the *ē* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes ֵ (1 Chron. 15, 12, &c.) or more frequently ֶ, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily ֶ (e.g. וְהַקְמֹתִי Gen. 6, 18). Before a suffix in the 3rd *sing. masc.* (except Gen. 40, 13) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd *plur.*, the vowel of the initial syllable is *Ḥaṭeph-Seghôl*, in the other persons always *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* (König); on הֲקִמוֹתִי 2 Ki. 9, 2. Ps. 89, 44, comp. Ex. 19, 23. Num. 31, 28. Deut. 4, 39. 22, 2. 30, 1. Ezek. 34, 4, and above, letter *i*.

x As in verbs ע״ע with ח for their first radical (§ 67. *w*) all the forms of עוּד Ex. 19, 23, &c., and עוֹר Is. 41, 25. 45, 13, take Pathaḥ in these conjugations instead of ֵ. The irregular וְהוֹשְׁבוֹתִים Zech. 10, 6 has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. וְהוֹשַׁבְתִּים (from יָשַׁב) and וְהֹשְׁבוֹתִים (from שׁוּב): the latter is to be preferred.—On הֹבִישׁ and הוֹבִישׁ as a (metaplastic) *perfect Hiph'îl* of בּוֹשׁ, cf. § 78.

y 7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form הָקֵם (on הָשֵׁב Is. 44, 22 with Silluq, comp. § 29. *q*; but in Ezek. 21, 35 for הָשַׁב the *infinitive* הָשֵׁב is to be read) the lengthened form הָקִימָה is also found. With *suffix* הֲקִימֵנִי, &c. The *imperative* הָבִיא Jer. 17, 18 is irregular (for הָבֵא Gen. 43, 16); perhaps הָבֵיא (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40; comp. 2 Ki. 8, 6) is intended, or it was originally הָבִיאָה.

z In the *infinitive* syncope of the ה occurs in לָבִיא Jer. 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for לְהָבִיא); ה_ *fem.* is added in לְהַנְפָּה Is. 30, 28; comp. Esth. 2, 18 and the analogous *infinitive Haph'el* in Biblical Aramaic, Dan. 5, 20.—As *infinitive absolute* הָכֵן occurs in Ezek. 7, 14 (perh. also Jos. 4, 3. Jer. 10, 23).—The *participles* have *ē* as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs ע״ע. On מֵבִי 2 Sam. 5, 2, &c. (in *K*e*thîbh*), see § 74. *k*.

aa On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* (יָקֶם, וַיָּקֶם, but always וַיָּבֵא) see above, letter *f*. If the final radical be a guttural or ר the last syllable generally has

Pathaḥ (as in *Qal*), e.g. יָרַח *he smells*, 1 Sam. 26, 19; וַיָּרַח Gen. 8, 21; וַיָּסַר *and he took away*, Gen. 8, 13. The 1st *sing.* of the *imperfect consecutive* commonly has the form וָאָשִׁיב Neh. 2, 20, less frequently the form וָאָשֹׁב Jos. 14, 7; וָאָעַד 1 Ki. 2, 42 and elsewhere. For אָסַף Zeph. 1, 2 (after אָסֹף) and in verse 3, read אֹסֵף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אֹמַר § 68. *g*: similarly in Jer. 8, 13 אֹסְפֵם instead of אֲסִיפֵם.

bb In the *imperfect Pi'lēl* the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e. g. תְּרוֹמֵם גּוֹי Prov. 14, 34; תְּחוֹלֵל לוֹ Job 35, 14; comp. also תִּתְבּוֹנֵן בֵּי Job 30, 20; always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Ṣere*, comp. § 16. *f*, γ.—As *participle Hoph'al* הַמּוּשָׁב occurs in close connexion, Gen. 43, 12; comp. § 65. *d*.

cc Peculiar contracted forms of *Pi'lēl* (unless they are transitives in *Qal*) are וַיְכֹנְנֵנוּ Job 31, 15, יְעוֹרְרֵנוּ 41, 2, וַתְּמוֹגְגֵנוּ Is. 64, 6 for וַיְכוֹנְנֵנוּ, &c.; also תְּרֹמֵם Job 17, 4 for תְּרוֹמֵם.—In Is. 15, 5 יְעֹעֵרוּ appears to have arisen from the *Pilpel* יְעֹרְעֵרוּ, the *ă* after the loss of the ר having been lengthened to *ā*, which has then been changed into the obscure *ŏ*.—The strange form בְּתָקְוֹמְמֵיךְ Ps. 139, 21 cannot (according to § 52. *s*) be explained as a *participle* with the מ omitted, but must be emended to בְּמִתְקָ׳.

IV. *In General.*

dd 8. The verbs ע״י are primarily related to the verbs ע״ע (§ 67), which were also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analyzing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e. g. *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw consecutive*, the whole of *Hoph'al*, the *Pi'lēl* of verbs ע״י, and the *Pō'ēl* of verbs ע״ע; see § 67. *z*. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע״י sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע״ע, e. g. *perfect Qal* בַּז *he has despised* (from בּוּז, as if from בָּזַז) Zech. 4, 10, טַח (for טָח) *he hath daubed*, Is. 44, 18; *perfect Niph'al* נָמַר Jer. 48, 11 (for נָמוֹר from מוּר, as if from מָרַר). The same explanation equally applies to נָקְטָה Job 10, 1 for נָקֹטָה (comp. § 67. *dd*) =נָקוֹטָה from קוּט, and נָקְטוּ Ezek. 6, 9 (for נָקוֹטוּ); יְרֻמּוּ Ezek. 10, 17 and וַיִּרְמוּ verse 15; הָרִמּוּ (*imperative*) Num. 17, 10; יְפַג Mic. 2, 6; *Hiph'il perfect* הֵתַז Is. 18, 5 for הֵתִז (comp. § 29. *q*), which is for הֵתִיז from תִּיז. On the other hand the *imperfects* יָמֵר Ezek. 48, 14 (unless it be intended for יָמֹר, comp. Ps. 15, 4) and יָפַח Hab. 2, 3 are to be regarded according to § 109. *i*, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמִיר and יָפִיחַ.

ee 9. In common with verbs ע״ע (§ 67. *g*) verbs ע״י sometimes have in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'al* the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e. g. הִסִּית *to incite*, imperfect יַסִּית (also יָסִית, הֵסִית); הִסִּיג, imperfect יַסִּיג *to remove* (from סוּג), also *Hoph'al* הֻפַּג Is. 59, 14 (on הֻקַּם comp. § 29. *g*); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הֵנִיחַ *to cause to rest*[1], but הִנִּיחַ

[1] As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הוּנַח, which is, no doubt, to be read for הוּנַּח in Lam. 5, 5.

(*imperfect* יַנִּיחַ, *consecutive* וַיַּנַּח Gen. 39, 16; *imperative* הַנַּח, *plur.* הַנִּיחוּ) *to set down;* for וְהֻנִּיחָה (Baer, Ginsburg וְהֻנְ׳) Zech. 5, 11 (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of *Hiph'îl* on the analogy of the Biblical Aramaic הֳקִימַת Dan. 7, 4) we should probably read וְהִנִּיחָה with Klostermann and the LXX; in Dan. 8, 11 the *K^ethîbh* הרים is intended for a *perfect Hiph'îl*. The same distinction in meaning is also noticeable between לָלִין *to spend the night, to remain*, but יָלִין Ex. 16, 7 *Q^erê* (*K^ethîbh* תְּלוֹנוּ; on the contrary, verse 2 *K^ethîbh* יְלִינוּ, *Q^erê* (יְלוֹנוּ), *participle* מַלִּין Ex. 16, 8. Num. 14, 27. 17, 20, *to be stubborn, obstinate:* in the latter sense from the form יָלִין only וַיָּלֶן is found, Ex. 17, 3. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִמּוֹל *he was circumcised*, Gen. 17, 26 sq.; *participle* 34, 22 (from מוּל, not נָמַל); נָעוֹר *he is waked up*, Zech. 2, 17 (see above, letter *v*); *Hiph'îl* הֵילִילָה Lam. 1, 8; יֵלִיזוּ Prov. 4, 21.

ff Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e.g. וַתַּחַשׁ for וַתָּחָשׁ *and she hastened* (from חוּשׁ) Job 31, 5; וַיַּעַט (another reading וַיֶּעָט), וַתַּעַט 1 Sam. 15, 19. 25, 14 (14, 32 *Q^erê*) from עוּט or עִיט *to fly at anything*. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשָׁה and עָטָה (ל״ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

gg 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e.g. חָוַר, *imperfect* יְחֻוַּר *to be white;* גָּוַע, *imperfect* יִגְוַע *to expire;* רָוַח *to be wide;* צָוַח *to cry;* *Pi'ēl* עִוֵּל, *imperfect* יְעַוֵּל *to act wickedly;* עָוַת *to bend, Hithpa'ēl* הִתְעַוֵּת *to bend oneself;* and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל״ה, e.g. צָוָה, *Pi'ēl* צִוָּה *to command*, קִוָּה *to wait*, רָוָה *to drink*, *Pi'ēl* רִוָּה (on אַרְוֶיךָ Is. 16, 9, see § 75. *dd*) and *Hiph'îl* הִרְוָה *to give to drink*, &c.

§ 73. *Verbs middle I* (*vulgo* ע״י), e.g. בִּין *to discern. Paradigm N.*

a **1.** These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs ע״ו, and in contrast to them may be termed verbs *'ayin-i*, from the characteristic vowel of the *imperfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive construct*. In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in ע״ו, has *ā* lengthened from *ă*, thus: שָׂת *he has set; infinitive* שִׂית, *infinitive absolute* שׂוֹת, *imperative* שִׂית, *imperfect* יָשִׂית, *jussive* יָשֶׂת (§ 48. *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיָּשֶׂת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'îl* without the preformative, e.g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּילֹתִי Dan. 9, 2, also בַּנְתָּ Ps. 139, 2; רִיבוֹתָ *thou strivest*, Job 33, 13, also רַבְתָּ Lam. 3, 58. The above *perfects* (בִּין, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *ĭ*), the *ĭ* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like

the *ŭ* lengthened to *û* in the *imperfect Qal* of קוּם). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'îl*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of בִּין, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e. g. *perfect* הֲבִינוֹתָם (but בִּין Dan. 10, 1), הֲבִינוֹתָם, *infinitive* הָבִין (but *infin. abs.* בִּין Prov. 23, 1), *imperative* הָבֵן (but Dan. 9, 23 וּבִין immediately before וְהָבֵן, also בִּינוּ three times, and בִּינָה Ps. 5, 2), *participle* מֵבִין[1]. Elsewhere *Hiph'îl*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מֵרִיב (also רָב), מֵשִׂים *placing* (but only in *Job* 4, 20, which, with the critically untenable הָשִׂימוּ Ezek. 21, 21, is the only instance of שׂוּם in *Hiph'îl*), מֵצִין *glancing*, also in *perfect* צָן. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53. *u*) *imperfects passive* of *Qal*, e. g. יוּשַׁר from שִׁיר *to sing*, יוּשַׁת from שִׁית *to set*.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'îl*-forms might equally well be *b* derived from verbs ו״ע[2]; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע״ו is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבוֹן, *Pi'lēl* בּוֹנֵן and *Hithpa'lēl* הִתְבּוֹנֵן. The very close relation existing between verbs ע״י and ע״ו is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from חִיל *to turn round*, *imperative* also חוֹלִי Mic. 4, 10; שִׂים *to place*, *infinitive construct* commonly שׂוּם, *imperfect* יָשִׂים, but Ex. 4, 11 יָשׂוּם. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. גִּיל *to exult* (גּוּל only Prov. 23, 24 *K'thîbh*); from לִין (perhaps denominative from לַיִל) *to spend the night*, לָלוּן occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָלִין only in Gen. 24, 23; the *imperative* is always לִין, &c.—Of verbs ע״י the most common are, שִׁית *to set*, רִיב *to strive*, דִּין *to judge*, שִׂישׂ *to rejoice;* comp. also *perfect* כָּל (*middle Yôdh* in Arabic) *to comprehend, to measure*, Is. 40, 12; עִיט (as in

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[1] Since בנת Ps. 139, 2, might be intended for בִּנָּתָ, there remains really no form of בין which must *necessarily* be explained as a Qal. Nevertheless it is not impossible that all the above instances of Hiph'îl-forms, parallel with Qal-forms of the same meaning, might be merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יָבִין, יָשִׂים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'îl:* so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 sq., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 sq.

[2] Against the view of earlier grammarians that all supposed ע״י-forms are alike to be classed as ע״ו, compare the exhaustive statement of the case by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* 1883, p. 525 sqq.

Arabic and Syriac) *to rush upon*, and the denominative *perfect* קַיִן (from קַיִץ) *to pass the summer*, Is. 18, 6. On the other hand, וְדִיגוּם *and they shall fish them*, Jer. 16, 16, generally explained as *perfect Qal*, denominative from דָּג *fish*, probably represents a denominative *Pi'ēl*, וְדִיגֵם.

c Corresponding to verbs properly ע״י, mentioned in § 72. *gg*, there are certain verbs ע״י with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָיַב *to hate*, עָיֵף *to faint*, הָיָה *to become, to be*, חָיָה *to live*.

d Rem. 1. In the *perfect Qal* 3rd *fem. sing.* וְלָנָה occurs once, Zech. 5, 4, for וְלָנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ĕ* (like the *fem. participle* זוֹרֶה Is. 59, 5); comp. the analogous examples in § 48. *l* and § 80. *i*.—2nd *sing. masc.* שַׂתָּה Ps. 90, 8, *Qᵉrê* (before ע; cf. § 72. *s*); 1st *sing.* once שַׂתִּי Ps. 73, 28, *milᵉra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st *plur.* וְלַנּוּ Jud. 19, 13 for *lán-nû*. The lengthened *imperative* has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, רִיבָה יהוה Ps. 35, 1; see further, § 72. *s*.—Examples of the *infinite absolute* are: רֹב *litigando*, Jud. 11, 25. Job 40, 2; שׂוֹם Jer. 42, 15; שׂת *ponendo*, Is. 22, 7. On the other hand, ריב יָרִיב Jer. 50, 34. בִּין תָּבִין Prov. 23, 1, חול תחיל Ezek. 30, 16 *Kᵉth.*, are irregular; for the last the *Qᵉrê* requires חִיל תָּחוּל; comp. § 113. *x*.

e 2. The *shortened imperfect* usually has the form יָשֶׂם, יָבֶן; more rarely the tone is moved back, e. g. יָרֹב לוֹ Jud. 6, 31; cf. Ex. 23, 1. 1 Sam. 9, 20. So with *wāw consecutive* וַיָּשֶׂם *and he placed*, וַיָּבֶן *and he perceived*; with a middle guttural וַיָּעַט בָּהֶם 1 Sam. 25, 14 (see § 72. *ee*). As jussive of לִין, תָּלֶן is found in Jud. 19, 20 (in *pause*) and Job 17, 2, for תָּלֶן.

f 3. As *participle active Qal* לֵן *spending the night*, occurs once, Neh. 13, 21; *participle passive* שִׂים Num. 24, 21. 1 Sam. 9, 24. Obad. 4; *feminine* שׂוּמָה 2 Sam. 13, 32, in the *Qᵉrê*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 36, note 2): the *Kᵉthîbh* has שִׂימָה.—A *passive* of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52. *e* and *s*, § 53. *u*) from שִׂים may perhaps be seen in וַיִּישֶׂם Gen. 50, 26 (also Gen. 24, 33 *Kᵉthîbh* ויישם, *Qᵉrê* וַיּוּשֶׂם; the Samaritan in both places has ויושם), and also in וַיִּסַּךְ Ex. 30, 32, Samaritan יוסך. Against the explanation of יסך as a *Hoph'al*-form from סוּךְ, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . des Dr. I. Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a Hiph'îl of סוּךְ is the doubtful וַיָּסֶךְ, which is probably an *i*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יישם as a *passive* of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuysam* (so Barth, ibid., note 1) is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

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g 4. In verbs ע״א the א almost always retains its consonantal value; they are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *'Ayin Guttural* (§ 64). The only exception is נָאוּ *they are beautiful* (from נַאֲוָה *Pi'lēl* of נָאָה, properly נָאֲוו) Is. 52, 7. Cant. 1, 10.—Very doubtful on the other hand is יָנֵאוּ Eccles. 12, 5 as *imperfect Hiph'îl* (for יְנִיאוּ); if the form has been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָצַץ, and regarded as incorrectly written for יָנֵץ.

§ 74. *Verbs* ל״א, e. g. מָצָא *to find*. *Paradigm O.*

The א in these verbs, as in verbs פ״א, is treated in some cases as a consonant, i. e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.: *a*

1. In those forms which terminate with the א, the final syllable has always the regular long vowels, e. g. מֹצֵא, מָצָא, מָצוֹא, מָצִיא, הִמְצִיא, i. e. the א simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter being subject to any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *û* the א may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final א unites with a preceding *ă* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ă* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27. *g*, as standing in an open syllable; e. g. מָצָא, יִמְצָא, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on the analogy of verbs *tertiae gutturalis*; comp., however, § 76. *e*.— In the *imperfect Hithpa'ēl* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54. *k*) in the principal pause (Num. 31, 23), or immediately before it (Job 10, 16), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lev. 21, 1. 4. Num. 19, 13. 20), but even without the pause with *Mer^{e}kha*, Num. 6, 7, and even before *Maqqeph* in Num. 19, 12. *b*

2. When א stands at the end of a syllable before an affformative beginning with a consonant (ת, נ), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; e. g. in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ă* it regularly becomes *Qameṣ* (מָצָאתָ for מָצַאְתָּ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations it is preceded by *Ṣere* (נִמְצֵאתָ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S^{e}ghôl*, מְצָאנָה, תִּמְצֶאנָה. *c*

(*a*) The *S^{e}ghôl* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be considered throughout as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ă* (see § 8. *a*). In the same way the *ē* of the *perfect* forms in *Pi'ēl*, *Hithpa'ēl*, and *Hiph'îl* might be traced to an original *ĭ* (as in other cases the *ē* and *î* in the final syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect* of these conjugations), although this *ĭ* may have only been attenuated from an original *ă*. According to another, and perhaps a more correct explanation, both the *Ṣere* and the *S^{e}ghôl* are due to the analogy of verbs ל״ה (§ 75. *f*) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, comp. § 75. *nn*.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd *masc. sing.* הֻבָּאתָה Ezek. 40, 4, lengthened according to rule. *d*

(*b*) As before the suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e. g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the א retains its consonantal value, so also before ךָ and כֶם, e. g. אֶמְצָאֵךְ Cant. 8, 1; הִבָּרְאֵךְ Ezek. 28, 13 (comp. § 65. *h*), not אֶמְצָאךְ, &c., since these suffixes, by *e*

§ 58. *f*, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *Šᵉwâ mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice מַחֲאֲךָ Ezek. 25, 6; *participle* with suffix בֹּרְאֲךָ Is. 43, 1; as *infinitive Piʿēl* בְּטַמְּאֲכֶם.—Instead of the doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאוֹ Jer. 23, 6 (for יִקְרָאֶהוּ) probably יִקְרְאוּ is intended.

f **3.** When א begins a syllable (consequently before affixes which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e. g. מְצָאָה *māṣᵉā*, מְצָאוּ, &c. (in *pause* מָצָאתָ, מָצָאוּ).

REMARKS.

g 1. Verbs *middle E*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain the *Ṣere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e. g. מָלֵאתִי; יְרֵאתֶם Jos. 4, 24 and מָלְאוּ Est. 7, 5 are due to their transitive use. Instead of מְצָאָה the form קָרֵאת *she names*, on the analogy of the ל״ה-forms noticed in § 75. *m*, occurs in Is. 7, 14 (from קָרְאַת, comp. § 44. *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Deut. 31, 29. Jer. 44, 23, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְחָטָאת Ex. 5, 16, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is obviously corrupt should probably with the LXX be emended to וְחָטָאתָ לְעַמֶּךָ); in *Niphʿal* נִפְלָאת Ps. 118, 23; in *Hophʿal* הֻבָּאת Gen. 33, 11.

h 2. The *infin. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל״ה (גְּלוֹת, &c., see § 75. *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֹאת *to fill* (as distinguished from מְלֹא *fullness*), Lev. 8, 33. 12, 4. 6. 25, 30. Jer. 29, 10. Ezek. 5, 2, also written מְלֹאוֹת Jer. 25, 12. Job 20, 22, and elsewhere, and מְלוֹאת Est. 1, 5. Comp. further, קְרֹאת Jud. 8, 1; שְׁנֹאת Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes, Ezek. 33, 12, and likewise in *Niph.* Zech. 13, 4; also in *Piʿēl* לְמַלֹּאת Ex. 31, 5. 35, 33, or לְמַלֹּאוֹת Dan. 9, 2, and elsewhere *Kᵉthîbh*; with suffix 2 Sam. 21, 2.—On the (aramaïzing) *infinitives* מַשָּׂא and מַשָּׂאוֹת, see § 45. *e*; on לִקְרַאת *obviam*, § 19. *k*. בְּמֹצְאֲכֶם—*when ye find*, Gen. 32, 20, stands, according to § 93. *q*, for מְצָאֲכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רְפָאֶה Ps. 41, 5 as *Milᵉraʿ* (before נַפְשִׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; comp. the analogous cases in § 72. *s*. —The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ruth 1, 9 has, according to Qimḥi, the form מְצֶאנָה and in verse 20 קְרֶאנָה; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מְצֶאנָה, קְרֶאנָה.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מֹצֵאת (for מֹצְאֵאת) 2 Sam. 18, 22, comp. Est. 2, 15; so *Niphʿal* נִפְלֵאת Deut. 30, 11. Zech. 5, 7, and *Hophʿal*, Gen. 38, 25; less frequent forms are, מוֹצְאֵאת Cant. 8, 10; נִשְׂאֵאת 1 Ki. 10, 22 (comp. § 76. *b*, שְׂאֵת beside לְשֵׂאת as *infinitive construct* from נָשָׂא) and without א (see letter *k*) יוֹצֵת (from יָצָא) Deut. 28, 57. In the forms חֹטְאִים *sinning*, 1 Sam. 14, 33, comp. Ps. 99, 6; בֹּדְאֵם *feigning them*, Neh. 6, 8, the א is syncopated, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23. *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75. *oo*.

k 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23. *f*): (*a*) in the middle of the word, e. g. בָּנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8; מָצָתִי Num. 11, 11, comp. Job

1, 21; צָמַ֫תִּי Jud. 4, 19, comp. Job 32, 18. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶה Jer. 9, 17. Zech. 5, 9. Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand, the same form occurs with *Yôdh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל״ה Ezek. 23, 49, according to the common reading; comp. § 76. *b* and Jer. 50, 20); in *Pi'ēl* אֲחַטֶּנָּה Gen. 31, 39; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמֶ֫תֶם Lev. 11, 43; comp. Jos. 2, 16. (*b*) at the end of the word; וַיִּבְנוּ 1 Ki. 12, 12 *K^ethîbh*; *Hiph'îl* הֶחֱטִי 2 Ki. 13, 6, comp. Is. 53, 10 (הֶחֱלִיא for *perfect Hiph'îl* of חָלָה formed after the manner of verbs ל״א); in the *imperfect Hiph'îl* יַשִּׁי Ps. 55, 16 *K^ethîbh*; יָנִי Ps. 141, 5; אָבִי 1 Ki. 21, 19. Mic. 1, 15; in the *infinitive*, Jer. 32, 35; in the *participle*, 2 Sam. 5, 2. 1 Ki. 21, 21. Jer. 19, 15. 39, 16, all in *K^ethîbh* (מֻבִי, always before א, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative Hiph'îl* a number of cases occur with *î* in the final syllable; comp. יַשֵּׁא Is. 36, 14 (in the parallel passages 2 Ki. 18, 29. 2 Chron. 32, 15 יַשִּׁיא); וַיָּבִיא Neh. 8, 2 (before ע); וַיַּחֲטֵא 2 Ki. 21, 11 (comp. 1 Ki. 16, 2. 21, 22); וַתַּחְבֵּא 2 Ki. 6, 29; וַיּוֹצֵא Deut. 4, 20. 2 Ki. 11, 12. Ps. 78, 16. 105, 43; *imperative* הָבִיא Jer. 17, 18; הוֹצִיא Is. 43, 8 (in both cases before ע). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *î* is to be accounted for by the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after ו *consecutive* the *î* is always reduced to *ē*. In the examples before ע considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (comp. § 75. *hh*).—In Ezek. 40, 3, Baer reads with the Western school וַיְבִיא, while the Orientals read in the *K^ethîbh* ויבוא, and in the *Q^erê* וַיָּבֵא. *l*

On the transition of verbs ל״א to forms of ל״ה see § 75. *nn*.

§ 75. *Verbs* ל״ה, e.g. גָּלָה *to reveal. Paradigm P.*

These verbs, like the verbs פ״י (§§ 69, 70), comprise two different classes, viz. those originally ל״ו and those originally ל״י, which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה appears as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23. *k*); hence both classes are called ל״ה, e.g. גָּלָה for גָּלַי *he has revealed;* שָׁלָה for שָׁלַו *he has rested.* By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ל״י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ל״ו. *a*

שָׁלָה *to be at rest* may be recognized as originally ל״ו, in the forms in which the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, comp. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁלַוְתִּי Job 3, 26, the *participle* שָׁלֵו and the derivative שַׁלְוָה *rest;* on the other hand the *imperfect* is יִשְׁלָיוּ (with *Yôdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عنى) *to answer*, and עָנָה (Arab. عنو)[1] *to be afflicted, oppressed*, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, *b*

[1] On the Mêša' stone, line 5, ויענו *and he oppressed* occurs as 3rd *sing. imperfect Pi'ēl*, and in line 6, אענו *I will oppress* as 1st *sing.*

which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).—In Aramaic, the confusion of these forms is carried still farther, verbs ל״א also coinciding with verbs ל״ה, i. e. with verbs ל״ו and ל״י of the Arabic.

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappîq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiae gutturalis*. Comp. § 65 note on the heading.

c The grammatical structure of verbs ל״ה (see Paradigm *P*) is based on the following laws:

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (comp. § 24. *g*) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, even on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8. *k*, and *ā* in קָטַלְתָּ, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ל״ה, the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה֫ in all perfects, גָּלָה, נִגְלָה, גָּלָה, &c.

ה֣ in all imperfects and participles, יִגְלֶה, גֹּלֶה, &c.

ה֥ in all imperatives, גְּלֵה, גִּלֵּה, &c.

ה֗ in the infinitive absolute (גָּלֹה, &c.), except *Hiph'îl*, *Hoph'al*, and generally also *Pi'ēl*, see letters *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י reappearing at the end, גָּלוּי; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84*a*, letter *c*, *e*, and elsewhere).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending וֹת (with ת *feminine*); *Qal* גְּלוֹת, *Pi'ēl* גַּלּוֹת, &c., except הֱרָאוֹת Jud. 13, 21. 1 Sam. 3, 21.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* גָּלָה stands, according to the above, for גָּלָ(י), and, similarly, in *Nîph'al*, *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* may be based on the forms קִטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל (§ 52. *l*; and § 54. *k*), and *Hiph'îl* on the form הַקְטַל, on the analogy of the *ă* in the second syllable of the Arabic *'áqtălă* (§ 53. *a*). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה֣ of the *imperfect* is a matter of dispute. The least probable is the view that it is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (resolved into *i*) with a preceding *ă*; for the language elsewhere always has *ê* as the contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which can only be weakened to *î* (see letter *f*). According to Rödiger the *è* (ה֣) represents the more precise

characteristic vowels of the corresponding strong formations, which have been retained in Arabic and Ethiopic with greater purity in these verbs. Thus יִגְלֶה corresponds to the Arab. *yaġlû* (vulgar *yaġlî*), Eth. *yĕglû;* יִבְכֶּה Arab. *yabkî*, Eth. *yĕbkî;* יִחְיֶה Arab. *yaḥyà*, Eth. *yĕḥyaw;* יִרְעֶה Arab. *yarʿà*, Eth. *yĕrʿay*. So also in *Piʿēl* יְגַלֶּה, Arab. *yuṣallî;* *Hiphʿîl* יַרְאֶה, Arab. *yurî*, &c. Just as, according to these examples, the characteristic vowel has been retained throughout in Arabic and Ethiopic, so also in Hebrew it might be inferred that in the imperfects of the several conjugations of ל״ה verbs, various vowels were originally used, which only later, in an endeavour after a complete analogy, uniformly became *Seghôl*. In favour of this explanation is the uniformity of inflexion in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *participle*. It may, however, be questioned, whether it is further necessary to assume an *ă* as the original vowel of the final syllable throughout the *imperfects*, and, hence, to regard the tone-bearing *Seghôl* in all the forms, as a modification and partial lengthening of the *ă* (as in מֶ֫לֶךְ for *malk*) instead of the full lengthening to *ā*. According to Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx sqq., with § 136, Rem., and *ZDMG*. xliv. p. 695 sq. (against Philippi's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1890, p. 356 sq.), the termination ה֫ in the *imperfect* and *participle* of the active conjugations arose from an original *iy*, and in the passives from original *ay*, as יִגְלֶה from *yiglĭy*, יְגֻלֶּה from *yiggalĭy*, יְגֻלֶּה from *yŭgallĭy*, &c.[1], but יִגְבֶּה from *yᵉgullay*, יְגֻלֶּה from *yŭglay*. This theory has the advantage of tracing the active participles of *Qal* not to forms with *ă*, but, as would be expected, to forms with *i* in the second syllable. It still remains unexplained, however, why final *iy* should have become ה֫ in these forms, and not י֫ as in other cases. Nor does this view supply any satisfactory explanation of the ה֫ in the *construct state sing.* of the active participles.

2. When the original *Yôdh* stands at the end of the syllable before *f* an affformative beginning with a consonant (ת, נ) there arises (*a*) in the *perfects*, primarily the diphthong *ay* (ַי֫). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ê* (ֵי֫), but this *ê* is only found consistently in the passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qal*, and frequently in the other active and reflexive conjugations (especially in *Piʿēl*), it is weakened to *î* (comp. letters *x*, *z*, *ee*, and § 27. *n*).—(*b*) In the *imperfects* and *imperatives*, ִי֫ with the tone always appears before the affformative נָה. Here again the question recurs (see above) whether this ִי֫ is to be regarded as an equivalent for ֵי֫ (i.e. *ê* contracted from *ay*), or whether after the rejection of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3rd *sing.*) *ă* has been modified to *Seghôl*. In the latter case the *Yôdh*, which is almost always written after

[1] So also M. Lambert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1893, i. p. 285, but with the further modification that *ay* was always substituted for the original *iy* (with Yôdh radical).

S^{e}ghôl, must be regarded simply as an orthographic survival of the original form.

g **Summary.** Accordingly before afformatives beginning with a consonant the principal vowel is—

In the perfect *Qal î*, e. g. פָּלִיתָ;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes *é*, sometimes *î*, פִּלֵּיתָ and פִּלִּיתָ; נִפְלֵיתָ and נִפְלִיתָ;

In the perfect passive always *é*, e. g. פֻּלֵּיתָ;

In the imperfects and imperatives always יְ—, e. g. תְּפַלֶּינָה, תְּפַלֶּה.

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic; only as an exception and in the popular language is the diphthong contracted. In Aramaic the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syriac, for example, also has in *Qal* 2nd *pers. sing. g^{e}lait* (but 1st *pers. sing.* גְּלֵית), and so too the Western Aramaic גְּלֵיתָ, but also גְּלִיתָ.

h **3.** Before the vocalic afformatives (ָה, ִי—, ֶה—) the *Yôdh* is usually dropped altogether, e. g. גָּלוּ (ground-form *gălăyû*), תִּגְלִי, *participle fem.* גֹּלָה, *plur. masc.* גֹּלִים; yet the old full forms also not infrequently occur, especially in *pause*, see letter *u*. The elision of the *Yôdh* takes place regularly before *suffixes*, e. g. גָּלְךָ (letter *ll*).

i **4.** In the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect*, the feminine ending תַ— is appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Yôdh*, arose properly forms like גָּלָת, with *ā* in the final syllable with the tone. This form, however, has been but rarely preserved (see below, letter *m*). The analogy of the other forms has had so much influence, that the common ending ה— was added pleonastically to the ending תַ—. Before the ה— the vowel of the ending תַ—, which thus loses the tone, becomes *Š^{e}wâ*, and thus there arise such forms as גָּלְתָה, נִגְלְתָה, &c. (but in *pause* גָּלָתָה, &c.).

For similar cases see § 70. *d*; § 91. *m*.

k **5.** Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ל״ה is the rejection of the ending ה— in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening occurs in all the conjugations, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (comp. § 48. *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final ה— (see Rems. 12, 16).

l **6.** The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending ה— serves in verbs ל״ה to express the cohortative also (§ 48. *c*); comp. Gen. 1, 26.

2, 18, &c. With a final ־ָה there occur only: in *Qal*, אֶשְׁעָה Ps. 119, 117, אֶהֱמֶיָה (with the י retained, see below, letter *u*) Ps. 77, 4; and in *Hithpa'ēl*, וְנִשְׁתַּעֲשָׁה Is. 41, 23 (with *Tiphḥa*, therefore in lesser pause).

REMARKS.

I. *On Qal.*

m 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* גָּלְתָה, mentioned above, letter *i* (cf. § 74. *g*), also occurs in עָשְׂתָה (before א) Lev. 25, 21 (comp. 2 Ki. 9, 37 *K^ethîbh*)[1]; likewise in *Hiph'îl* הִרְצְתָה (before א) Lev. 26, 34; הֶלְאֲתָה Ezek. 24, 12; and in *Hoph'al* הָגְלְתָה (before י) Jer. 13, 19.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written ־ְתִי; thus in the Textus receptus וְהָיִתְ 2 Sam. 14, 2, and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; חָזִיתְ and גָּלִיתְ Is. 57, 8; עָשִׂיתְ Jer. 2, 23. Ezek. 16, 48, &c. (so וְהוֹצֵאתְ 1 Ki. 17, 13 from יָצָא). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלוּ, &c.), is retracted in Ps. 37, 20, כָּלוּ, both on account of the *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding כָּלוּ; also in Is. 16, 8 תָּעוּ (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נָבָעוּ); and in Job 24, 1 חָזוּ.— On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49. *k*.

n 2. The *infin. absol.* frequently has וֹ (probably a survival of the older orthography) for ־ֹה, e.g. הָיוֹ Gen. 18, 18; עָשׂוֹ Jer. 4, 18, &c. Ezek. 31, 11; קָנוֹ 2 Sam. 24, 24; רָאוֹ Gen. 26, 28. Is. 6, 9 (comp. 1 Sam. 6, 12), &c., beside רָאֹה. The form שָׁתוֹת Is. 22, 13 (beside שָׁתוֹ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׂחֹק; so in Is. 42, 20 *Q^erê* and Hos. 10, 4, אָלוֹת (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and כָּרוֹת; cf. also עָרוֹת Hab. 3, 13.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלוֹת such forms are occasionally found as גָּלֹה or גְּלוֹ, comp. רְאֹה Gen. 48, 11; קְנֹה Prov. 16, 16; עֲשֹׂה Gen. 50, 20. Ps. 101, 3, also עֲשׂוֹ Gen. 31, 28 (comp. Prov. 31, 4), and even with the *suffix* הוּ the very remarkable form עֲשֹׂהוּ Ex. 18, 18[2].—The feminine form רָאֲוָה (for רְאוֹת) Ezek. 28, 17, analogous to nouns like גַּאֲוָה (comp. § 45. *d*), is strange, but הֱיֵה as *infin.* Ezek. 21, 15 is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָנוֹ and הָרוֹ Is. 59, 13 are to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51. *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53. *u*), not of *Pô'ēl*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* וְחֵיֵה occurs in the principal pause in Prov. 4, 4 and 7, 2; but probably these forms are simply to be attributed to a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *è* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *è;* comp. the analogous examples in § 52. *n*, and especially § 75. *hh*, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl. Aram.* § 17. 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרֵאֵינָה Cant. 3, 11 (for וְרֶאֶינָה, on the analogy of the reading מְצֵאנָה, &c., § 74. *h*), see Baer's note on the passage.

[1] In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2. *d*), line 3, היתה may be read הָיָתָה quite as well as [ה]יתה.

[2] All these infinitives construct in *ô*, in the Pentateuch, belong to what is called document E; comp. § 69. *m*, second note.

o 3. The *shortening* of the *imperfect* (see above, letter *k* and the note on letter *hh*) occasions in *Qal* the following changes:

(*a*) As a rule the first radical receives a helping *Seghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathaḥ* (according to § 28. *e*). Thus וַיִּגֶל for וַיִּגְלִ; וַיִּבֶז *and he despised*, Gen. 25, 34; וַיִּבֶן *and he built*; יִשַּׁע *he looks*; וַיִּמַח *and he destroyed*, Gen. 7, 23.

p (*b*) The *ĭ* of the preformative under these circumstances is sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יֵרֶא *he sees*. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ת, whilst after י the homogeneous *ĭ* remains, e.g. וַתִּכֶל (but יִכְלְ), וַתִּפֶן (but יִפֶן); with middle guttural תִּשַּׁע, וַתִּבַּהּ Job 17, 7 (from כָּהָה). The unusual position of the tone in תִּרָא (Baer and Ginsburg תִּרָא) Zech. 9, 5, וְתִרָא (Baer and Ginsburg וְתִרָא) Mic. 7, 10, and יֵרָא (with *ē*) Gen. 41, 33, can only partially be explained on rhythmical, or orthophonic grounds. Comp. below, letter *hh*.

q (*c*) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28. *d*; וַיִּשְׁבְּ Num. 21, 1. Jer. 41, 10, comp. וַיִּפְתְּ Job 31, 27; on the other hand, with *ĭ* lengthened into *ē* (see letter *p*) יִשְׁטְ, וַיֵּרֶד, וַיֵּבֶךְ, וַיִּשְׁתְּ. The form יֵרֶא *he sees*, occurs parallel with וַיַּרְא *and he saw* (but 3rd *fem.* always וַתַּרְא), the latter with the original *Pathaḥ* on account of the following ר, and identical with the 3rd *sing. masc.* of the *imperfect consecutive* Hiph'îl, 2 Ki. 11, 4.

r (*d*) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל״ה, are וַיַּעַשׂ, in *pause* וַיָּעַשׂ *and he made*, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעַן *and he answered*, from עָנָה, the shortened imperfect in such verbs being always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'îl*. On some similar forms of פ״א see § 76. *d*.— In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּחַר *and he was wroth*, וַיִּחַן *and he encamped* (3rd plur. וַיִּחֲנוּ), יָחֵד (with *Dageš lene* and *Šewâ*) *let it rejoice*, Job 3, 6; cf. Ex. 18, 9.—On וַיֵּט, וַיֵּז, וַיִּז (ל״ה) as well as (פ״ן), &c., see § 76. *b*, *c*, *f*.

s (*e*) The verbs הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, of which the shortened imperfects ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to יְהִי and יְחִי, the second *Yôdh* being resolved into *î* at the end of the word; but in *pause* (§ 29. *n*) יְהִי, יְחִי, with the original *ă* modified to *Seghôl* with the tone, (comp. also *nouns* like בֶּכִי for *bakhy*, in *pause* בֶּכִי; עֶנִי for *'ony*, &c., § 84 *a*, letter *c*, and § 93. *x*). For תֶּשִׁי, however, in Deut. 32, 18, since no verb שָׁיָה exists, we must read either תֵּשׁ, or better תִּשֶּׁה (Samaritan תשא) as *imperfect Qal* of נָשָׁה *to forget*.—Analogous to יְהִי from הָיָה, there occurs once, from הָוָה *to be*, the form יְהוּא for יְהוּ *he will be*, Eccles. 11, 3 (on the א see § 23. *i*).

t Moreover, the full forms (without apocope of the ה__, comp. § 49. *c*) frequently occur after *wāw consecutive*, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later Books, e.g. וְאֶרְאֶה *and I saw*, twenty times, and Jos. 7, 21 in *Kethîbh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וָאֶרְא fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); וַיַּעֲשֶׂה *and he made*, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); comp. also 1 Ki. 10, 29 (וַתַּעֲלֶה); Deut. 1, 16 (וְאֶצְוֶה), and Gen. 24, 48. So also frequently for the *jussive*, comp.

Gen. 1, 9. 6, 14. 41, 34. Jer. 28, 6.—For the well attested, but meaningless תִּירְאוּ Job 6, 21 (doubtless caused by the following וַתִּירְאוּ) read תִּרְאוּ *ye see*.

u 4. The original י sometimes appears before the afformatives beginning with a vowel (comp. above, letters *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ון__, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* חָסָיָה Ps. 57, 2, חָסָיוּ Deut. 32, 37, comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Qerê*; *imperative* בְּעָיוּ Is. 21, 12. *Imperfect* יֵאָתְיוּ Job 16, 22. 30, 14 (without the *pause*, Ps. 68, 32); יִשְׁלָיוּ Ps. 122, 6. Job 12, 6, comp. Ps. 77, 4; יִרְבְּיֻן Deut. 18, 13; Ps. 36, 9: more frequently like יְשָׁתְיוּן Ps. 78, 44; Is. 17, 12. 21, 12. 26, 11. 31, 3. 33, 7. 41, 5. Ps. 36, 8. 39, 7. 83, 3; before a suffix, Job 3, 25. Also in Prov. 26, 7 דָּלְיוּ, as *perf. Qal* from דָּלָה, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly דָּלְיוּ, since these full forms, though they may stand out of pause, do not begin sentences; דַּלְיוּ probably points to דָּלַל as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, letters *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg*.

v 5. The *participle active*, besides forms like עֹלָה Jud. 20, 31, &c., רֹאֶה Prov. 20, 12, has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical י, viz. בְּוֹכְיָה (=בֹּכָה) *weeping*, Lam. 1, 16; הְוֹמְיָה *tumultuous*, Is. 22, 2 (*plur.* Prov. 1, 21); צוֹפְיָה *spying*, Prov. 31, 27, פְּרִיָה *fruitful*, Ps. 128, 3, *plur.* אְתְיוֹת *the things that are to come*, Is. 41, 23. With the ordinary strong inflexion י appears in עֹטְיָה Cant. 1, 7, but perhaps there also עֹטְיָה was intended. For רֹאֲנִי Is. 47, 10, רֹאֲנִי is to be read.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as ו (§ 24. *b*), comp. עָשׂוּי *made*, Job 41, 25, צָפוּי Job 15, 22, contracted from עָשׂוּוּ, צָפוּוּ; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, העשוום (read הָעֲשׂוּמִים) 2 Ki. 23, 4; עשוות (read *'aśûwôth*) 1 Sam. 25, 18 *K'thîbh*, נטוות (read *n'ṭûwôth*) Is. 3, 16 *K'thîbh*. The shortening of the *û* in רְאִיוֹת Est. 2, 9 is irregular.

w 6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהָיִתָ 2 Sam. 15, 33 (comp. § 49. *l*); בָּנִתִי 1 Ki. 8, 44, comp. 1 Ki. 9, 3; וַתִּדְלֶנָה Ex. 2, 16 (comp. Jer. 18, 21. 48, 6. 1 Chron. 7, 15. Job 17, 5 and elsewhere), and the pronunciation תִּרְאֶינָּה Mic. 7, 10, comp. תַּעְנֶנָּה Jud. 5, 29 (according to others *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases must probably be explained according to § 20. *i*.

II. *On Niph'al.*

x 7. Here the forms with י__ in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* are those commonly in use (with י__ only in נִגַּשְׁתִּי Gen. 24, 8); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always י__, as נִגְלֵינוּ 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With י retained in *pause* נִפְּיוּ Num. 24, 6; once with an initial guttural נֶחֱרוּ Cant. 1, 6 for נֶחֱרוּ, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *niḥru*, but the harshness of ח immediately followed by ר is avoided by pronouncing the ח with *Ḥateph-Pathaḥ*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נְשִׁתְוָה Prov. 27, 15 (in *pause* for נְשִׁתָּוָה) ו and ת may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נְשִׁוָּתָה.

y 8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection of the ה__, e. g. יִגַּל from יִגְלֶה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form

occurs with the *Qameṣ* shortened to *Pathaḥ*, viz. יְמַח (for יְמָח) Ps. 109, 13, as in verbs ע״ע; but in *pause* תִּמָּח in the same Psalm, verse 14. Comp. letter *bb*. —The *infinitive absolute* נִגְלוֹת emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 Sam. 6, 20, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הגלות.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with syncope of the ה see § 51. *l*.— The irregular תֵּעָלוּ Ezek. 36, 3 has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תֵּעָלוּ (*Qal*) and הֵעָלוּ (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נְמַבְזָה 1 Sam. 15, 9 might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* (נִבְזָה) with the *Hoph'al* (מֻבְזָה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נמס and to read, in fact, נִבְזָה וְנִמְאָסָת.

III. *On Pi'ēl, Pô'ēl, Pu'al, and Hithpa'ēl.*

z 9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'ēl* the diphthong ◌ֵי in the second syllable is in most of the instances weakened to ◌ִי, as קִוִּיתִי, דִּבַּיְתָּ; always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e. g. כִּפַּיְנוּ Gen. 37, 26, דִּבְּיתָנוּ Ps. 44, 20. The form with ◌ִי is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e. g. Joel 4, 21; Is. 8, 17 along with the form with ◌ֵי).—*Hithpa'ēl* has (besides ◌ִי Jer. 17, 16) as a rule ◌ֵי (Prov. 24, 10. 1 Ki. 2, 26. Jer. 50, 24). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has ◌ִי, e. g. עֻשֵּׂיתִי Ps. 139, 15.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pô'ēl* שׁוֹסֵיתִי (=שׁוֹסֵיתִי) occurs in Is. 10, 13.

aa 10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'ēl* takes the form כַּוֵּה, קַוֵּה (like קַטֵּל, the more frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52. *o*); with *ô* only in Ps. 40, 2 קַוֹּה; with *ôth*, Hab. 3, 13 עָרוֹת (comp. above, letter *n*). On הֹגוֹ and הֹרוֹ, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pô'ēl*, see above, letter *n*.—As *infinitive construct* חַבֵּי occurs in *Pi'ēl*, Hos. 6, 9 (only orthographically different from חַבֵּה, if the text is correct); in *Pu'al* עֲנוֹת Ps. 132, 1.

bb 11. The apocopated *imperfect* must (according to § 20. *l*) lose the *Dageš forte* of the second radical, hence וַיְצַו *and he commanded*, תְּעַר (for תְּעָרֶה = *t°arrè*) Ps. 141, 8; comp. Gen. 24, 20; *Hithpa'ēl* וַיִּתְגַּל *and he uncovered himself*, Gen. 9, 21; תִּתְרַע Prov. 22, 24; comp. Ps. 37, 1. 7. 8. With the lengthening of *Pathaḥ* to *Qameṣ*, וַיָּתָו *and he made marks*, occurs in 1 Sam. 21, 14 (read, however, with Thenius וַיִּתֹּךְ, and instead of the meaningless וַיְשַׁנּוֹ in the same verse, וַיְשַׁן). In *Hithpa'ēl* אַל־תִּתְגֹּר, in close connexion, Deut. 2, 9. 19; תִּשְׁתַּע Is. 41, 10; according to Qimḥi also יִתְאָו, תִּתְאָו Ps. 45, 12. Prov. 23, 3. 6. 24, 1. 1 Chron. 11, 17, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities יִתְאַו, תִּתְאַו (comp., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 597)[1]. — On אֲחַוְךָ Job 15, 17 (for אֲחַוֶּךָּ) comp. § 20. *m*; on אֲכַלְכֶּךָּ Ex. 33, 3, see § 27. *q*; on יְרַד Jud. 5, 13, see § 69. *g*. Finally, on דַּלְיוּ, which is referred to *Pi'ēl* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, letter *u*.

cc 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'ēl* and *Hithpa'ēl* are: צַו, also צַוֵּה *command thou*, גַּל *open thou*, Ps. 119, 18. 22; כַּן *prepare thou*, Ps. 61, 8;

[1] In Num. 34, 7 sq., according to verse 10, תִּתְאַוּ (=תִּתְאַוִּי) is intended to be read for תִּתְאָו (*imperfect Pi'ēl* from תָּאָה).

נַסֵּה for נַסֵּה *prove thou*, Dan. 1, 12; הִתְחַל *feign thyself sick*, 2 Sam. 13, 5; comp. Deut. 2, 24.—On רַבֵּה Jud. 9, 28, comp. § 48. *l*.—In Ps. 137, 7 עָרֹה *raze it*, is found twice instead of עָרֵה (for עַרֵה) for rhythmical reasons (comp., however, וַיְעָרֵהוּ in the *imperfect*, 2 Chron. 24, 11).

13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* תְּדַמְיוּן *dd* Is. 40, 18, comp. verse 25 and 46, 5; יְכַסְיֻמוּ *they cover them*, Ex. 15, 5; *participle Pu'al* מְמֻחְיִם Is. 25, 6; for אֲרַגָּוְךָ Is. 16, 9 (from רָוָה) read with Stade, &c., אֲרַוֶּךָּ.

IV. *On Hiph'îl and Hoph'al.*

14. In the *perfect Hiph'îl* 3rd *sing. Seghôl* is found in the first syllable *ee* as well as *ṣ* (§ 53. *p*), especially in הֶגְלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִגְלָה 2 Ki. 24, 14), הֶלְאָה, הֶרְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הֶגְלָם 1 Chron. 8, 7, הַלְאֵנִי Job 16, 7, וְהַפְגֵּהוּ Ex. 21, 8. The *Seghôl* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הַלְאֵתִיךָ Mic. 6, 3. On וְהַרְאֵיתִי Nah. 3, 5, cf. § 53. *p*. The forms with *ê* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִכֵּתִי Jer. 21, 6) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Prov. 5, 13), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *ê*. Before *suffixes* the forms with *ê* (Gen. 18, 4, and elsewhere) predominate throughout as being somewhat shorter; comp., however, *ê* in Ex. 4, 12. Mic. 6, 3. Prov. 4, 11. In *Hoph'al* only יָ֫ occurs.

15. In the *infinitive Hiph'îl* of רָבָה *to be abundant*, besides the *infinitive ff construct* הַרְבּוֹת we find the *absolute* הַרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הַרְבֵּה, which came to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ezek. 21, 20) as an adverb. in the sense of *much;* in 2 Sam. 14, 11 the *Qerê* requires הַרְבֵּת for the *Kethîbh* הַרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הַרְבּוֹת. Comp. Gen. 41, 49. 22, 17. Deut. 28, 63; the pointing הַרְבֵּה Jer. 42, 2 perhaps arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הַמְרוֹת Job 17, 2 (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20. *h*.—In 2 Ki. 3, 24 הַכּוֹת (before א) is probably *infinitive absolute*, used in order to avoid the hiatus, comp. § 113. *x*, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, letter *n*.—On the *infinitive* with syncope of the ה, comp. § 53. *q*.

16. The *shortened imperfect Hiph'îl* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפְתְּ *gg* *let him enlarge*, Gen. 9, 27; יַרְדְּ *he shall subdue*, Is. 41, 2; וַיַּשְׁקְ *and he watered*, Gen. 29, 10, and elsewhere; וַיַּרְא *and he showed*, 2 Ki. 11, 4 (see § 28. *d*): or else has a helping vowel, as יָגֶל (for יַגֶל, see § 27. *r*), e. g. וַיָּגֶל 2 Ki. 18, 11; וַיָּפֶר Ps. 105, 24; וַתָּמֶר Ezek. 5, 6; וַיָּתַע 2 Chron. 33, 9; וארב i. e. probably וְאָרֵב Jos. 24, 3 *Kethîbh* (וְאָרְבָה *Qerê*).—Examples of verbs *Pê* guttural: וַיַּעַל Num. 23, 2, וָאַעַל &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'îl* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The *apocopated imperative Hiph'îl* always (except in verbs פ״י, e. g. הַדְּ, הַט, § 76. *c*) has a helping vowel, *Seghôl* or *Pathaḥ*, e. g. הָרֶב *increase thou* (for הַרְבֵּב, הַרְבֵּה) Ps. 51, 4 *Qerê*, also Jud. 20, 38, where, however, it cannot be explained with the context; הָרֶף *let alone* (for הַרְפֵּה, הַרְפֵּ) Deut. 9, 14, and elsewhere; הַעַל (for הַעֲלֵה) Ex. 8, 1. 33, 12; but

for הָשַׁע Ps. 39, 14, which could only be *imperative Hiph'îl* of שָׁעַע (=*smear over*, as in Is. 6, 10), read with Baethgen שְׁעֵה *look away*.—The *imperfect Hiph'îl* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in תְּוֹנְיוּן Job 19, 2, from יָנָה. Comp. letter *u*.

V. *In General.*

hh 17. In Aramaic, where, as before remarked, verbs ל״ה and ל״א form *one* class, the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate in א‍ָ or י‍ִ. The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in ה‍ָ, less frequently א‍ָ or י‍ִ, may be due to imitation of the Aramaic form. On the *infinitive construct Pi'ēl* חַכִּי, see above, letter *aa*; *imperative Qal* חֲוֵא Job 37, 6 (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect* יֵרֵא *let him look out*, Gen. 41, 33 (see, however, above, letter *p*); יַעֲשֵׂה *he will do*, Is. 64, 3; אַל־תְּהִיֵה Jer. 17, 17; אַל־תֹּבֵא *consent thou not*, Prov. 1, 10; אַל־תַּעֲשֵׂה *do thou not*, 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same form in Gen. 26, 29. Jos. 7, 9. Jer. 40, 16 *Qᵉrê*); אֶהְיֵה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) *I will be*, Jer. 31, 1; וַנַּעֲשֵׂה Jos. 9, 24; תִּרְאֵה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph'al* יִמְּצֵה Lev. 5, 9; תִּבָּנֵה (according to Qimḥi) Num. 21, 17; in *Pi'ēl* תְּנַלֵּה Lev. 18, 7. 8. 12–17. 20, 19, in each case לֹא תְנַלֶּה, beside תְּנַלֶּה with a minor distinctive; יְנַקֵּה (Baer, however, יְנַקֶּה) Nah. 1, 3; אֲזַרֵּה Ezek. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*; Baer אֲזָרֶה). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos. 7, 9), suggests the view that the long vowel may be used in order to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *voluntative* and the ordinary *imperfect*[1]. Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29. Lev. 5, 9. Jer. 40, 16. Dan. 1, 13; according to Baer also Mic. 7, 10. Zech. 9, 5) the pronunciation with *ê* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following א or ע; comp. the analogous cases above, § 74. *l*.

ii The ending י‍ִ appears to stand for ה‍ָ in the *imperfect Qal* in וַתְּזֹנִי־שָׁם *and there hath she played the harlot*, Jer. 3, 6; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ezek. 16, 15, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect Hiph'îl* אַל־תֶּחֱמִי Jer. 18, 23; but the *Milᵉ'el*-tone probably points to תֶּחֱמַּ as the correct reading (comp. Neh. 13, 14). The י‍ִ stands for ה‍ָ in the *perfect Hiph'îl* הֶחֱלִי *he*

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[1] Possibly these examples (like the cases of *Sᵉghôl* in *pause*, letter *n*) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.—According to Praetorius (in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 25) traces of the (original) *jussive* of verbs ל״ה appear in the forms ending in ה‍ֶ, and were already rightly recognized as such by Ewald, while on the other hand the apocopated mood of verbs ל״ה is quite a late (?) phenomenon, and simply the final result of actual biliteral forms, such as יִגְלֹ. According to this view, therefore, we cannot point to this mood in confirmation of the supposed tendency of the jussive to retract the tone, since in its origin it is altogether different from the jussive, although the language uses it in the sense of the jussive, which was becoming obsolete. Cf. also § 48. *g*, note.

made sick, Is. 53, 10, which is probably for החליא from חלא, a secondary form of חלה; see letter *rr*. The *plur.* הִמְסִיו (Baer הִמְסִיוּ) *they made to melt*, Jos. 14, 8, is a purely Aramaic form.

kk 18. In three verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'lēl* or its reflexive (§ 55. *d*) occurs: נְאַוֶּה[1] (in Ps. 93, 5 the Masora requires נָאוָה), contracted to נָאוָה *to be beautiful*, from נָאֶה; מְטַחֲוֵי Gen. 21, 16 *archers* (from טָחָה); but most frequently in שָׁחָה *to bend*, *Pa'lēl* שִׁחֲוָה not in use, whence reflexive הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה *to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself*, 2nd *pers.* in תְּ֫יִת and 1st *pers.* in ־תִּי, *imperfect* יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, *consecutive* 3rd *sing. masc.* וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ for *wayyištaḥw* (analogous to the noun-forms, like שָׁחוּ for *saḥw*); 3rd *plur.* יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ.—Instead of the Aramaic *infinitive* with *suffix* בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוֵיתִי 2 Ki. 5, 18 read with König בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתִי; מְשִׁתַּחֲוִיתָם Ezek. 8, 16 is still more certainly a scribal error for מְשִׁתַּחֲוִים.

ll 19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in ה, a connecting vowel is employed instead of the ה and the vowel which precedes it (§ 58. *f*), e. g. נָחֲנִי Gen. 24, 27; in *pause* עָנֵנִי 1 Ki. 2, 30, &c., even with lesser disjunctives, Ps. 118, 5. Prov. 8, 22; or with a conjunctive accent, 1 Sam. 28, 15 (but Baer עַנֵּנִי), Job 30, 19; comp. § 59. *h*; עָנְךָ, in *pause* עָנֶךָ, Is. 30, 19 (and even when not in *pause* Jer. 23, 37) or like סָבְךָ Deut. 32, 6; וְרִבֶּךָּ Gen. 28, 3; comp. also עָנֵהוּ, עָנֶם, *imperfect* הִכֶּהוּ, יְעַנֶּךָּ, יְעַנֶּהוּ, *Hiph'il* הֶעֱלֶךָּ, הִכֵּנִי.

mm Only very seldom does ־י take the place of the final ־ֶה or ־ָה, e. g. אַפֵּאיהֶם Deut. 32, 26; יְכַפֵּימוֹ Ps. 140, 10 *Q^erê*; הַכֵּינִי *smite me*, 1 Ki. 20, 35. 37; comp. Hab. 3, 2. Is. 38. 16. In these examples, again, a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd *sing. perf. fem.* the older form גָּלַת (see letter *i*) is always used before a *suffix*, e. g. כִּלַּתּוּ (for כִּלָּתְהוּ) Zech. 5, 4; in *pause* עָשַׂתְנִי Job 33, 4; רָאַתְךָ 42, 5.

VI. *The Relation between Verbs* ל״ה *and* ל״א.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל״א and ל״ה, which in Aramaic has resulted in a complete similarity, is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

oo 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל״א—(*a*) which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל״ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* כָּלֵאתִי *I have refrained*, Ps. 119, 101; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חֹטֵא) *sinning*, Eccles. 2, 26. 8, 12. 9, 2. 18; comp. Is. 65, 20; מוֹצֵא Eccles. 7, 26; נוֹשֵׁא *lending*, 1 Sam. 22, 2; *Pi'ēl perfect* מִלֵּא *he has filled*, Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 Ki. 9, 11. Amos 4, 2 (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), Ps. 89, 11. 143, 3; רִפֵּאתִי *I heal*, 2 Ki. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *imperfect* יַנֵּא Job 39, 24; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלֵאתָה (like נִגְלֵתָה) *it was wonderful*, 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלֵא Deut. 28, 59; הֶחְבֵּאתָה (in the *Textus*

[1] According to Buxtorf and others (comp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185) נאוה is rather *Niph'al* from אוה.

receptus incorrectly אָתָה—, comp. above, 2 Sam. 1, 26) *she hid*, Jos. 6, 17. On the other hand, forms like חִטָאִים 1 Sam. 14, 33, קִרָאִים Ps. 99, 6, נִרְפָּאוּ Ezek. 47, 8, תִּדְכָּאוּנַּנִי, according to the correct reading, Job 19, 2 (comp. Gen. 31, 39 אֶחַטֶּנָּה), and יִרָאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרֵא, Jos. 24, 14. 1 Sam. 12, 24. Ps. 34, 10, are due to the syncope of the א, see § 74. *i*. On יִנָּשׂוּא Jer. 10, 5 and נָשׂוּא Ps. 139, 20, see § 23. *i*.

pp (*b*) Forms in ה, but with ל״א pointing, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֶרְפָּא Jer. 3, 22; *imperative* רְפָה *heal thou*, Ps. 60, 4; *Niph'al* נֶחְבָּה Jer. 49, 10 (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נֶחְבֹּה as in verse 23), and הֶחָבֵה *to hide oneself*, 1 Ki. 22, 25, comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi'ēl imperfect* יְמַלֶּה *he will fill*, Job 8, 21.

qq (*c*) Forms entirely of a ל״ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וְצָמְתְּ *and when thou art athirst*, Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 3, 8; כָּלוּ *they shut up*, 1 Sam. 6, 10; comp. 25, 33; מָלוּ *they are full*, Ezek. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *infinitive* חָטוֹ (see above, letter *n*) *to sin*, Gen. 20, 6 (on מְלֹאת see above, § 74, letter *h*); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is. 26, 20; *imperfect* יִכְלֶה (for יִכְלָא) *he will keep back*, Gen. 23, 6; תִּרְפֶּינָה *they heal*, Job 5, 18; *participle* בּוֹטֶה Prov. 12, 18; *fem.* יֹצֵא Eccles. 10, 5; *plur.* צֹבֶיהָ Is. 29, 7; *participle passive* נָשׂוּי Ps. 32, 1; *Niph'al* נִרְפָּתָה Jer. 51, 9; נִבֵּיתָ *thou hast prophesied*, Jer. 26, 9 (comp. Ps. 139, 14. Job 18, 3); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפּוּ 2 Ki. 2, 22 (*infinitive* Jer. 19, 11); *Pi'ēl imperfect* וַיְרַפּוּ Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hiph'il participle* מַקְנֶה Ezek. 8, 3; *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְנַבֵּיתָ 1 Sam. 10, 6; *infinitive* הִתְנַבּוֹת 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *K'thîbh* להשות 2 Ki. 19, 25, Jablonski and others require as *Q'rê* the form לְהַשְׁוֹת (so Is. 37, 26); the *K'thîbh* would have to be read לַהֲשׁוֹת, with syncope of the א and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל״ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל״א, e. g. in their consonants אָתָא *he comes*, Is 21, 12; בָּרָא 2 Sam. 12, 17 (*Textus receptus* בָּרָה); וְרָצִאתִי Ezek. 43, 27; יִשָּׂגֵא Job 8, 11; יִשְׁנָא Lam. 4, 1; וַיִּחְלָא 2 Chron. 16, 12; תִּקְרָאנָה Ex. 1, 10. Lev 10, 19; תִּלְאִים Deut. 28, 66 (comp. Hos. 11, 7); נִקְרָא (*infin. absol. Niph'a* beside נִקְרִיתִי) 2 Sam. 1, 6; שָׂנְאָ 2 Ki. 25, 29; מְרַפֵּא Jer. 38, 4; יִשֵּׂנָא Eccles 8, 1: in their vowels, אָתָנוּ Jer. 3, 22; יִקְרָה Dan. 10, 14; תִּכְלָה 1 Ki. 17, 14 in both, יִקְרָא Gen. 49, 1; comp. 42, 4. Is. 51, 19; תִּלָּאוּם 2 Sam. 21, 12 *Q'rê* לִירוֹא 2 Chron. 26, 15 (comp. ויראו המוראים 2 Sam. 11, 24 *K'thîbh*); רָאֹה (*participle fem. Qal*) Zeph. 3, 1; יַפְרִיא Hos. 13, 15; מְסַלְּאִים Lam. 4, 2.— For פְּרָאוֹת (so Baer, Ezek. 17, 6, comp. 31, 8), which can only be intended fo פְּרֹאוֹת as *participle fem. plur.* from פָּרָא = פָּרָה, read, according to Ezek. 31, 5 &c., פֹּארוֹת *branches*.

§ 76. *Verbs Doubly Weak.*

a **1.** In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are wea letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of th anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies migl

occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect in the verb.

Thus e.g. from נָדַד *to flee*, the *imperfect* is יָדוֹד in Nah. 3, 7 and יָדַד in Gen. 31, 40 (on the analogy of verbs פ״ן); *Hiph'il* הֵנֵד (like a verb ע״ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יָדַד (as פ״ן).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived from doubly weak verbs: *b*

(*a*) Verbs פ״ן and ל״א (comp. § 66 and § 74), e. g. נָשָׂא *to bear*, imperative שָׂא (Ps. 10, 12 נְשָׂא, of which נָסָא Ps. 4, 7 is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שְׂאֵת (for שַׂאֵת; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93. *t*), also נְשֹׂא Is. 1, 14. 18, 3; Gen. 4, 13 נְשׂוֹא; Ps. 89, 10 שׂוֹא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לָשֵׂאת (the contracted form only occurs in מְשֵׂתּוֹ Job 41, 17, with rejection of the א); *imperfect* תִּשֶּׂנָה for תִּשֶּׂאנָה Ruth 1, 14; wholly irregular are תְּשָׂאֵינָה Ezek. 23, 49 (so Baer after Qimḥi; *Textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשֶּׂאינָה) and נַשֵּׂאת 2 Sam. 19, 43 as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal?*); most probably נְשֹׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(*b*) Verbs פ״ן and ל״ה (comp. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה *to bow, to incline*, נָכָה *to smite*. Hence *imperfect Qal* יִטֶּה, *apocopated* וַיֵּט (Gen. 26, 25 וַיֵּט־) *and he bowed;* וַיִּז (so, probably, also Is. 63, 3 for וַיִּזַּ) 2 Ki. 9, 33 *and there was sprinkled* (from נָזָה); *perfect Hiph'il* הִכָּה *he smote*, imperfect יַכֶּה, *apocopated* יְךְ, וַיַּךְ (even with *Athnaḥ* 2 Ki. 15, 16; but also ten times וַיַּכֶּה), וַנַּךְ Deut. 2, 33; so also וַיִּז Lev. 8, 11. 30; אַל־תַּט Ps. 141, 4 (comp. Job 23, 11); *imperative* הַכֵּה, *apocopated* הַךְ *smite thou* (like הַט *incline*, with הַטֵּה), *infinitive* הַכּוֹת, *participle* מַכֶּה; *Hoph'al* הָכֶּה, *participle* מֻכֶּה. *c*

(*c*) Verbs פ״א and ל״ה (comp. § 68 and § 75), as אָבָה *to be willing*, אָפָה *to bake*, אָתָה *to come*. E. g. *imperfect Qal* יֹאבֶה, יֹאפֶה, *plur.* יֹאפוּ; וַיֵּתֵא (comp. § 68. *h*) Deut. 33, 21 for וַיֵּאָתֵה (=וַיֵּיְתֵה); *imperfect apocopated* וַיֵּאת Is. 41, 25 for וַיֵּאתְ; *imperative* אֲתֵה Is. 21, 12. 56, 9. 12 (comp. אֲפוּ *bake ye*, Ex. 16, 23) for אֱתִי, אֲתִי (§ 23. *h*; § 75. *u*); *Hiph'il perfect* הֵתֵה for הֵאֱתֵה (הֵיְתֵה) Is. 21, 14; *imperfect apocopated* וַאֵל *and he adjured*, 1 Sam. 14, 24, properly וַיַּאֲלָה (יַאֲלָה) from אָלָה, whence יֵאָלָה, and, with the obscuring to *ô*, יֹאלָה; instead of the simple *apocope* (וַיֹּאל) the א which had already become quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *Seghôl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of יאל). *d*

(*d*) Verbs פ״י and ל״א (comp. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as יָצָא *to go forth*, *imperative* צֵא *go forth*, with ה_ *paragogic* צֵאָה Jud. 9, 29 in principal pause for צְאָה; 2nd *fem. plur.* צֶאֱנָה Cant. 3, 11; *infinitive* צֵאת; *Hiph'il* הוֹצִיא *to bring forth*.—יָרֵא *to fear*, *imperfect* יִירָא and וַיִּרָא (or וַיִּרְאָ), *imperative* יְרָא; *imperfect Niph'al* יִוָּרֵא Ps. 130, 4, *participle* נוֹרָא. *e*

(*e*) Verbs פ״י and ל״ה (comp. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e. g. יָדָה *to throw*, *f*

Hiph'îl *to confess, to praise*, and יָדָה *to throw* (both properly verbs פ״י), and יָפָה *to be beautiful. Infinitive* יָרֹה, יְרוֹת; *imperative* יְרֵה; *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּיְךְ Ezek. 31, 7 (comp. also וַתִּיפִי 16, 13); with *suffixes* וַנִּירֵם *we have shot at them* (from יָרָה) Num. 21, 30; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וְנִינָם *and their race* (also in Ps. 74, 8 נִינָם is probably a *substantive*, and not the *imperfect Qal* with *suffix* from יָנָה); *Pi'ēl* וַיִּדּוּ for וַיְיַדּוּ (§ 69. *u*). *Hiph'îl* הוֹדָה, הוֹרָה; *infinitive* הוֹדֹת (as *infinitive absolute* 2 Chron. 7, 3), הוֹרֹת, *imperfect* יוֹרֶה, comp. אַל־תּוֹנוּ Jer. 22, 3; *apocopated* וַיּוֹר 2 Ki. 13, 17.

g (*f*) Verbs ע״ו and ל״א, particularly בּוֹא *to come*. *Perfect* בָּא, בָּאתָ, or בָּאתְ (Gen. 16, 8. 2 Sam. 14, 3. Mic. 4, 10; comp. § 75. *m*), once בָּנוּ for בָּאנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8; for בֹּאוּ Jer. 27, 18, which is apparently the *perfect*, read יָבֹאוּ. In the *imperfect Qal* the separating vowel occurs (תְּבֹאֶינָה instead of the more common תָּבֹאנָה, comp. also תָּבֹאן Gen. 30, 38) only in Jer. 9, 16. Ps. 45, 16 and 1 Sam. 10, 7 *K^ethîbh*.

h For וַתָּבֹאת 1 Sam. 25, 34 *Q^erê* (the *K^ethîbh* ותבאתי evidently combines the two readings וּבָאתְ and וַתָּבֹאִי; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* 14, p. 319), read וַתָּבֹאִי; on the impossible forms Deut. 33, 16 and Job 22, 21 comp. § 48. *d*. In the *perfect Hiph'îl* הֲבִיאַתָ, הֲבִיא and (only before a suffix) הֲבִיאֹתָ; the latter form is also certainly intended in Num. 14, 31, where the Masora requires וְהֲבִיאֹתִי, comp. 2 Ki. 9, 2. 19, 25. Is. 43, 23. Jer. 25, 13. Cant. 3, 4. Before suffixes the *ē* of the first syllable in the 3rd *sing.* always becomes *Ḥaṭeph-S^eghôl*, e.g. הֲבִיאֲנִי, הֲבִיאֲךָ; elsewhere invariably *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ*, e.g. הֲבִיאָתָנוּ or הֲבִיאֹתָנוּ. On the other hand, *ē* is retained in the secondary tone in the *perfect consecutive* when without suffixes, e.g. וַהֲבִיאֹתָ. Cf., moreover, וַהֲקִאתוֹ in Opitius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Prov. 25, 16, from קִיא; but קִיוּ *spue ye*, Jer. 25, 27 (perhaps only a mistake for קִיאוּ), is not to be referred to קִיא but to a secondary stem קָיָה. In the *imperfect* וַתָּקִא is found once, Lev. 18, 25, besides וַתָּקִיא (analogous to וַתָּבֵא).—On אָבִי (for אֲבִיא), מָבִי, יָבִי, see § 74. *k*.

i (*g*) The verb חָיָה *to live*, in the *perfect Qal*, besides the ordinary development to חָיְתָה (*fem.* חָיְתָה), is also treated as a verb ע״ע, and then has the form חַי in the 3rd *pers. perfect*, in *pause* חָי, and with *wāw consecutive* וָחַי Gen. 3, 22, and frequently. In Lev. 25, 36 even the contraction to וָחִי occurs in the *perfect consecutive*. The form וָחָיָה stands in Ex. 1, 16 in *pause* for וָחַיָּה (3rd *fem.*) with *Dageš* omitted on account of the pausal lengthening of *ă* to *ā*.

§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

a The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak verbs (e.g. between פ״ו and פ״י, ל״א and ל״ה, ע״ע and ע״ו) appears not only from their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30. *g*) recurs in

various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root דכ there occur with the same meaning דָּכָא, דּוּךְ, דָּכַךְ *to strike, to crush;* and from the root נד—נוּד, נָדַד, נָדָה *to flee.*

b In this manner the following classes are related in form and meaning:

1. Verbs ע״ו and ע״ע in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e. g. מוּךְ and מָכַךְ *to become poor;* מוּשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ *to feel;* נוּד and נָדַד *to flee.*

c 2. Verbs פ״י and פ״נ; e. g. יָצַב and נָצַב *to place,* נָקַשׁ and יָקֹשׁ (*yāqōš*) *to lay snares.* Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1. (especially ע״ו) are frequently related also to verbs פ״י and פ״נ, e. g. גּוּר and יָגֹר *to fear;* טוֹב and יָטַב *to be good;* נָפַח and פּוּחַ *to blow;* נָפַץ and פּוּץ *to dash to pieces.* Verbs פ״א are less frequently connected with these classes, e. g. שָׁמַם, אָשֵׁם and יָשַׁם *to be destroyed,* אָדַשׁ and דּוּשׁ *to thresh,* &c.

d 3. Verbs ל״א and ל״ה (in which the first two consonants form the real body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּכָא and דָּכָה *to crush,* קָרָא and קָרָה *to meet* (comp. § 75, letter *nn*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצָה and מָצַץ *to suck,* דָּחָה and דּוּחַ *to thrust,* &c.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

a It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with the same meaning that both are *defective,* i. e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre,* &c., but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

b The most common verbs of this kind are—

בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed.* *Hiph'îl* הֵבִישׁ (inferred from הֲבִישׁוֹתָ), but also הוֹבִישׁ, הוֹבִישׁ, as if from יבשׁ, on the analogy of verbs פ״ו; also in Is. 30, 5 the *Qᵉrê* requires הֹבִישׁ, where the *Kᵉthîbh* has הָבִאישׁ from בָּאַשׁ.

טוֹב *to be good.* *Perfect* טוֹב; but *imperfect* יִיטַב and *Hiph'îl* הֵיטִיב from יָטַב comp., however, הֶטֵבְתָּ 2 Ki. 10, 30).

יָגֹר *to be afraid.* *Imperfect* יָגוּר (from גּוּר).

יָקַץ *to awake*, only in the *imperf.* יִיקַץ; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'îl* הֵקִיץ is used (from קוּץ).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces*. *Imperfect* יָפוּץ (from פּוּץ). *Imperative* פּוּץ. *Niph'al* נָפוּץ. *Pi'ēl* נִפֵּץ (from נָפַץ). *Pi'lēl* פּוֹצֵץ (from פּוּץ). *Reflexive* הִתְפּוֹצֵץ. *Hiph'îl* הֵפִיץ. Also פִּצְפֵּץ Job 16, 12.

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) *to place*, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'îl* הִצִּיב (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'ēl* הִתְיַצֵּב.

שָׁתָה *to drink*, used in *Qal;* but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁקָה *to give to drink*, from a *Qal* שָׁקָה which is not used in Hebrew.

On הָלַךְ (יָלַךְ) *to go*, see above, § 69. *x*.

c Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the *tenses* or *moods* not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

יָסַף *to add*. The *infinitive* (comp., however, § 69. *h*, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'îl* הוֹסִיף, יוֹסִיף (on יוֹסֵף as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109. *d*, and cf. also § 109. *i*).

כָּשַׁל *to stumble*. *Perfect* from *Qal*, *imperfect* from *Niph'al*.

נגשׁ *to approach*, unused in *perf. Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* נִגַּשׁ is used; but *imperfect* יִגַּשׁ, *imperative* גַּשׁ, and *infinitive* גֶּשֶׁת from *Qal* only are in use.

נָחָה *to lead*. *Perfect* usually נָחָה in *Qal*, so *imperative* נְחֵה, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'îl*.

נתך *to be poured out*. *Perfect Niph'al* נִתַּךְ with *imperfect Qal* יִתֹּךְ, while the *perfect Qal* and *imperfect Niph'al* are not in use.

d 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms in which are united the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an erroneous, though often intentional, combination of two different readings.

CHAPTER III.

THE NOUN.

§ 79. *General View.*

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *the simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude, &c.*, ii. 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3. *f*.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xliv. p. 535 sqq. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, ibid., p. 679 sqq.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv. p. 340 sqq.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1890, p. 344 sqq. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xliv. p. 692 sqq.), and *ZDMG.* xlvi. p. 149 sqq. (answered again by Barth, ibid. xlviii. p. 10 sqq.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, ii. 1892, p. 359 sqq. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung in ihrem Verhältnisse zu einander,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 187 sqq.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv. p. 221 sqq.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83. *d*.

a **1.** Since, according to § 30. *a*, most word-stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the Lexicon) to trace back the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd *pers. sing. perfect Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly classified with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 sqq.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83. *c*.

b **2.** Strictly speaking, the inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does not exist in Hebrew; in fact, hardly more than a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct state*, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 sqq.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*[1].

§ 80. *The Indication of Gender in Nouns.*

a **1.** The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects or things, and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122. *q*).

b **2.** The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication. The feminine had originally the ending תַ, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44. *a*). This תַ, however, is regularly retained only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89. *e* and § 91. *o*), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple ת (see below, letter *d*). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89. *a*) is—

c (*a*) Most commonly a tone-bearing הָ, e. g. סוּס *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in יִ, like עִבְרִי, the feminine (by § 24. *b*) is עִבְרִיָּה, cf. § 86. *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (קָטְלָה, &c.), this הָ has arisen by the rejection of the final ת, and the lengthening of the *ă* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה was added as an orthographic

[1] To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

indication of the final long vowel: comp. the exactly similar origin of such forms as גָּלָה for גָּלַי, § 75. *c*.

(*b*) Simple ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e. g. יְהוּדִי *Jew*, יְהוּדִית *Jewess*. The same ending ת is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *Seghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathaḥ*, e. g. קֹטֵל, *fem.* קֹטֶלֶת, *killing;* before suffixes, e. g. קֹטַלְתִּי, according to the rule given in § 69. *c*, comp. also § 84 *a*, letter *s;* מוֹדָע *an acquaintance*, *fem.* מוֹדַעַת. The forms which arise in this way follow in every respect the analogy of the *segholate* forms (§ 94. *f*). The forms which have been developed by means of a helping vowel are used even for the connective form (*construct state*); except יוֹלַדְתּ (for יוֹלֶדֶת, which is used elsewhere) Gen. 16, 11. Jud. 13, 5. 7; comp. Jer. 22, 23 and 51, 13 *Qerê*, also מְשָׁרַת[1] 1 Ki. 1, 15, *participle fem. Pi'ēl*, contracted from *mᵉšāratt* = מְשָׁרֶתֶת; also מְבַעֲטָהּ (*participle fem. Pi'ēl* with suffix) arises from the form מְבַעֶטֶת contracted from מְבַעֶטֶת. *d*

Rem. 1. The fem. form in ת_ֶ_ is in general less frequent, and occurs almost exclusively when the form in ה_ is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e. g. קֹטֶלֶת more common than קֹטְלָה, לֶדֶת than לֶדָה. *e*

2. *Rarer* feminine endings are—(*a*) ת_ with the tone, viz. בָּרֶקֶת *emerald*, Ezek. 28, 13 (also בָּרָקֶת Ex. 28, 17); שִׁפְעַת *a company*, 2 Ki. 9, 17, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language ת_ was the usual fem. ending, § 2. *d*) and other neighbouring tribes[2], e. g. צָרְפַּת *Sarepta*, גִּבְעַת *Gib'ath*, קִרְיַת *Qiryath*, אֵילַת Greek *Ailana* in Idumea; אֲחֻזַּת Gen. 26, 26: on the reading גִּלַּת cf. letter *g*. Comp. moreover, מַחֲלַת Ps. 53, 1. 88, 1; נְגִינַת Ps. 61, 1 (prob. originally נְגִינֹת); חַיַּת (LXX חֵיוֹת) 74, 19 *a;* פּוּגַת Lam. 2, 18; [רַבַּת *much*, in Ps. 65, 10. 120, 6. 123, 4. 129, 1. 2, is a form borrowed from the Aramaic (Syriac *rabbath*) in which the original *t* of the *fem.* is often retained to form *adverbs*, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 135.] *f*

(*b*) ת_, which likewise occurs in some names of places, e. g. בַּעֲלַת, חֶלְקַת, as well as in the *masc.* proper name גִּלַּי 1 Sam. 17, 4, &c. (in 17, 23, and 21, 10, ed. Mant. has גִּלַּי), and in the *fem.* proper name שִׁמְעַת; otherwise, almost *g*

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[1] מְשָׁחַת Mal. 1, 14 (so e. g. the Mantua ed.), might stand for מְשִׁחָתַת as *participle fem. Hoph'al;* but מְשָׁחַת (so Baer and Ginsburg) is also supported by good authority.

[2] Comp. the Mêša' stone, line 3, הבמת זאת *this high place;* line 26, המסלת *the highway;* [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, *note*.]

only in poetry, viz. זִמְרָת Ex. 15, 2. Is. 12, 2. Ps. 118, 14 (for זִמְרָתִי *my song;* the absorption of the *î*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner,' as suggested by Duhm on Is. 12, 2, nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of יָהּ;' so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 sq.); נַחֲלַת *heritage*, Ps. 16, 6 (either again for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage*, or for נַחֲלָתָהּ, comp. § 90. *g*, as probably also עֻזַּת *help*, Ps. 60, 13. 108, 13). Comp. also פֹּרַת *fecunda* (*a fruitful tree*) Gen. 49, 22; יִתְרַת *abundance*, Jer. 48, 36 (before ע; but in Is. 15, 7 יִתְרָה); שְׁנַת *sleep* (for שְׁנָה) Ps. 132, 4; and in prose קָאַת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is. 34, 11, to the form קָאָה), also מִחַרַת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמָּחֳרַת.[1]—תְּהִלַּת Jer. 49, 25 *Qᵉrê* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהִלָּתִי, parallel to מְשׁוֹשִׁי; comp. above, on זִמְרָת &c.

h (*c*) א֫ the Aramaic orthography for ה֫, chiefly in the later writers; זְרָא *loathing*, Num. 11, 20; חֲגָא *a terror*, Is. 19, 17; שְׁנָא *sleep*, Ps. 127, 2; לְבִיָא *a lioness*, Ezek. 19, 2 (unless לָבִיא is intended); סַמָּרָא *a mark*, Lam. 3, 12; cf. also דְּשָׁא *threshing* (*participle Qal* from דוּשׁ) Jer. 50, 11; מָרָא *bitter*, Ruth 1, 20. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרְחָה *baldness* is to be read in Ezek. 27, 31; see Baer on the passage.

i (*d*) ה֫, an obtuse form of ה֫ (§ 27. *u*), only in זוּזָה for זוּזָה Is. 59, 5; comp. לֵנָה for לָנָה Zech. 5, 4; אֵנָה 1 Ki. 2, 36. 42 (§ 90. *i*, and § 48. *d*).

k (*e*) ה֫ without the tone, e. g. רַחֲמָה Deut. 14, 17 [Lev. 11, 18 רָחָם]; תַּנּוּר בִּעֲרָה *an oven heated*, Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ex. 28, 19. Ezek. 7, 25. 40, 19. 2 Ki. 15, 29. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing ה֫ is probably intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90. *c*) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 Ki. 16, 18. Is. 24, 19. Ezek. 21, 31 (note in each case the following ה), as also in Job 42, 13, the text is probably in error.]

l (*f*) י֫, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*aî*), in Arabic and (contracted to *ê*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרַי, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. p. 183; also עֶשְׂרֵה *ten* (*fem.*) probably arises from an original *'esray;* so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the *vowel*-ending ה֫[2] as the original termination of the feminine, and the *consonantal* ending ת֫ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ת throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in ת, which is pronounced

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[1] In 1 Sam. 20, 27 also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos. 5, 11) for some unknown reason requires מִמָּחֳרַת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opitius, and Ginsburg, מִמָּחֳרַת.

[2] In this ending the ה *h* can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ת was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ת was dropped before *h*, just as the old Persian *mithra* became in modern Persian *mihr;*' so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Bedwân an *h* is still heard as a fem. ending. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

at in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in א (see Gesenii, *Monumm. Phoen.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 169 sqq.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse vowel ending scarcely anywhere but in *pause;* in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

§ 81. *Derivation of Nouns.*

a Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be connected with any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אָב *father*, אֵם *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אָב, אֵם, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83–85) in the sense indicated above in § 30. *a* and § 79. *a*, e. g. רָם *high*, רָמָה *high place*, מָרוֹם *height*, from רוּם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מַרְגְּלוֹת *the place at the feet*, from רֶגֶל *foot*.

b Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem and, therefore, *all* nouns as verbals, dividing them into (*a*) *Formae nudae*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) radicals, and (*b*) *Formae auctae*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מַלְכוּת, מַמְלָכָה. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה א מ נ ת י ו (הֶאֱמַנְתִּיו)[1], and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

c According to the view of *roots* and *stems* presented in § 30. *d*, nouns (other than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Comp. § 79. *a*.

d 2. *Compound* nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בְּלִיַּעַל *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גַּבְרִיאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹיָקִים (*Yahwe raises up*), יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ (*Yahwe strengthens*), &c.[2]

§ 82. *Primitive Nouns.*

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since those nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the

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[1] From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica.*

[2] G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only צְפַרְדֵּעַ (comp. below, § 85. *w*) and צַלְמָוֶת (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 sqq.]). In p. 8 sqq. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds,' i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לֹא, בְּלִי, מִבְּלִי.

verbal idea, e.g. names of animals and natural objects, as שָׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׂעַר), שְׂעֹרָה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שָׂעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from צָהַב = זָהַב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e.g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), e.g. קֶרֶן *horn*, עַיִן *eye*.

§ 83. *Verbal Nouns in General.*

a **1.** In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e.g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, דַּעַת *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e.g. the participial form קָטֵל, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form מִקְטַל (as a *noun* also מִקְטָל), further קִטְלָה, קִטֹּלֶת, קָטְלָה, קָטוֹלָה (§ 45. *d*), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.

b **2.** As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract;* while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.

c Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted;* the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew מוֹדַע *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*.

d The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. The sentence which consists of only *one* word, is called a verb, and

anything which serves as a complement to it, is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qutul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatûl*, *qatîl*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qatl*, *qutl*, *qitl*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattâl*; *qittil*, *qittâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect and infinitive-forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem.' Thus, e. g. קָטוֹל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קְטֹל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, שְׁכַב infinitive of יִשְׁכַּב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm,' i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qutl* for *qitl*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yaqtŭlŭ* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yaqtălŭ* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qutl*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it subjects the development of the language to a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a perversion of the original sense. But though many of the details (e. g. the alleged unessential

character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a regular, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on *one* characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

§ 84*a*. *Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.*

a *Preliminary remark.*—From the statement made above, § 83. *d*, it follows that an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.

I. *Nouns with One Vowel originally Short.*

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical, ground-form *qăṭl*, *qĭṭl*, *qŭṭl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms was rendered necessary by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are various reasons for believing that originally a toneless *ă* was heard after the second radical. The corresponding *qăṭl*-forms in Assyrian (v. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.* p. 157 sq.), with the case-ending, are *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu* (= כֶּלֶב, שֶׁמֶשׁ, אֶבֶן), but without the case-ending, *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban*. In Delitzsch's opinion the vowel is only sounded after the second radical in order to avoid the double consonant at the end. The *plurals* of the Hebrew segholates however (see § 92. *e* and § 93. *d*) and the forms mentioned below, letter *e*, point rather to the ground-forms *málak*, *sĭphar*, *qúdaš*; cf. Philippi, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleich. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, ii. 372 sqq.—The explanation, formerly adopted also in this Grammar, of *qăṭl*-forms as originally *qăṭĭl*-forms (cf. De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 72 sqq.) is supported by the Arabic *málĭk* (rarely *malk*), and still more by נֶגֶד, יֶרֶךְ, כֶּבֶד, כֶּתֶף, the connective forms of נֵגֶד, &c., from ground-forms *gădĭr*, *yărĭkh*, *kăbĭd*, *kătĭp*. Even so the *a* of the plural מְלָכִים remains as before, unexplained. The same objection applies equally to deriving at least *some* of the segholates from original monosyllabic forms, corresponding to the Arabic infinitives *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, unless it be assumed that their plurals have been affected by the analogy of the (more numerous) forms with *ă* in the second syllable.

(*a*) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to כֶּטֶל[1], קֶטֶל, קֹטֶל (comp. § 27. *r* and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, *a–c*); without a helping vowel (§ 28. *d*) קֹשְׁט *truth*. If the second or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathaḥ* takes the place of the helping *Seghôl*,

[1] It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e. g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for גֶּדֶר, אֶבֶן, אֶדֶר, חֶרֶב, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for קֶדֶם, שֶׂכֶל, דֶּבֶר, &c.

according to § 22. *d*, e. g. זֶרַע *seed*, נֵצַח *eternity*, פֹּעַל *work*; but, with middle ה or ח, also לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רַחַם) *womb*, אֹהֶל *tent*, בֹּהֶן *thumb*; so with final א, פֶּרֶא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ă* to *è* does not occur, e. g. נַהַר, נַעַר, לַחַץ (exceptions, again, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם). On the inflexion, comp. § 93, Paradigm I, *a–f*, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

b Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malk*, *king*), סִתְרָה *a covering* (also סֵתֶר), אָכְלָה *food* (also אֹכֶל); with a middle guttural נַעֲרָה *girl*, טָהֳרָה *purity* (also טֹהַר). Comp. § 94. Paradigm I.

c (*b*) From weak stems: (*a*) from stems ע״ן, e. g. אַף *nose* (from *'ănp*, hence with formative additions, e. g. אַפִּי for *'anpî*, *my nose*); עֵז *a she-goat* (ground-form *'ĭnz*), fem. חִטָּה *wheat*; (*β*) from stems ע״ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, *l–n*); פַּת *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עָם; with article הָעָם, לָעָם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רָב *great*, *numerous* (also in close connexion רַב); רָע *evil*, with the article in close connexion הָרַע, unconnected הָרָע (on the various vocalization of עם, רב, רע, see further in Stade, *Grammatik*, § 193. *b*); with the *ă* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ă* to *ĭ*, מְדָה *measure*; from the ground-form *qĭṭl*, אֵם *mother*, fem. גְּזָה *a shearing*; from the ground-form *qŭṭl*, חֹק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (*γ*) from stems ע״ו (Paradigm I, *g* and *i*); כְּוֵת *death* (from *má-ut*, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in תָּוֵךְ *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׁוֹר *a bull*; fem. עַוְלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form *qŭṭl*, צוּר *a rock*, fem. סוּפָה *a storm*. (*δ*) from stems ע״י (Paradigm I, *h*); זַיִת *an olive-tree* (with a helping *Ḥireq* instead of a helping *Seghôl*) from *zá-it*, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 Ki. 18, 17 (elsewhere חַיִל) *host*; fem. שֵׂיבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form *qĭṭl*, דִּין *judgement*, fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (*ε*) from stems ל״ה (Paradigm I, *k*); partly forms such as בֶּכֶה *weeping*, הֶגֶה *murmuring*, נֶגֶד *a present*, קֵצֶה *the end*, partly such as בְּכִי, אֲרִי *a lion* (ground-form *bĕky*, *'ĕry*); comp. also the forms from stems originally ל״ו, שָׂחוּ *swimming* (ground-form *sāḥw*); fem. שַׁלְוָה *rest*, גַּאֲוָה *exaltation*; from stems ל״י, אַלְיָה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* שִׁבְיָה *captivity*, also שִׁבִית, formed directly from the masc. שֶׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form *qĭṭl*, חֵצִי (from *ḥĭṣy*); fem. חֶדְוָה *joy*, עֶרְיָה and עֶרְוָה *nakedness*; from the ground-form *qŭṭl*, בֻּהוּ (from *bŏhw*); דְּלִי, for דַּלְיִ, *bucket*; fem. אֳנִיָּה *a ship* (directly from אֳנִי *a fleet*).

d The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have either an *abstract* or a *concrete* meaning. In the form קֹטֶל the *passive* or at any rate the *abstract* meaning is by far the more common (e. g. נַעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נַעַר; אֹכֶל *food*, &c.).

e 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *qᵉṭăl*, *qᵉṭĭl*, *qᵉṭŭl*), e. g. דְּבַשׁ *honey*, דְּוַי *sickness*, חֲתַת *terror*; and so always with middle א, בְּאֵר *a well*, זְאֵב *a wolf*, בְּאֹשׁ *stench*. In reality these

forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, letter *a*), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original dissyllabic forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibáš* (originally *díbaš*) as ground-form of דְּבַשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דִּבְשִׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בְּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בְּאֹשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'úš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qŭṭŭl* underlies the infinitives of the form קְטֹל[1].

II. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.*

f 3. The ground-form *qăṭăl*, fem. *qăṭălăt*, develops in Hebrew to קָטָל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *a*, *b*) and קָטָלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, *a*, *b*), mostly adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבָע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צְדָקָה[2] *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אַדָמָה *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs ע״ע are בָּדָד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*: passive חָלָל *pierced*.—In verbs ל״ה the final *Yôdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ă* of the second syllable lengthened to *â*. Thus שָׂדַי *field*, after rejection of the י and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂדֶה (comp. § 93, Paradigm II, *f*); fem., e.g. יָפָה (masc. יָפֶה *beautiful*); comp. § 95, Paradigm II, *c*. From a verb ל״ו the strong form עָנָו, *afflicted*, occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qăṭĭl*, fem. *qăṭĭlăt*, developed to קָטֵל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *c–e*) and קָטֵלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50. *b*), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; comp. זָקֵן *old, an old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אֲפֵלָה and חֲשֵׁכָה *darkness*, probably also אֵימָה *terror* if it be contracted from אֲיֵמָה.—From verbs פ״י: חֵמָה *heat*, שֵׁנָה *sleep*. Irregular, דָּלִיּוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer. 11, 16, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דָּלִיָּה (stem דלה), and הֲרִיּוֹתָיו Hos. 14, 1 *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הֲרַת, *plur. st. absol.* and *constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל״ו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלֵו *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שַׁלֵּיו Job 21, 23.

h 5. The ground-form *qăṭŭl*, developed to קָטֹל (also written קָטוֹל), generally forms adjectives, e.g. אָיֹם *terrible*, בָּרֹד *piebald*, מָתוֹק *sweet*, נָקֹד *speckled*, עָבֹת *interwoven*, עָגֹל *round*, עָמֹק *deep*, עָקֹב *hilly*, צָהֹב *golden*; קָטֹן *small*, only in

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[1] On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199. *b*; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 sq.; A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xlv. p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 208.

[2] In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *ṣadaca* (צְדָקָה), *ṣaaca* (צְעָקָה), *nabala* (נְבָלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e.g. even קְצָפָה *a splintering*, צְוָחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qăṭâl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטָן of the class treated under letter *f*, fem. קְטַנָּה, plur. קְטַנִּים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from the ground-form *qăṭâl*.—Fem. אֲיֻמָּה, כְּבוּדָּה (*glorious*), עֲבֻתָּה, עֲנֻגָּה (*delicate*), עַמֻּקָה, עַגֻּלָה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ŭ* short, and, similarly, in the plurals בְּרֻדִּים, נְקֻדִּים, עֲגֻלִּים, אֲסֻפִּים *stores*, &c.

i 6. The ground-form *qĭṭăl* develops to קֶטָל (comp. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), e. g. לֶבָב *heart*, עֶנָב *a bunch of grapes*, שֶׁבָר *temētum*; from a verb ל״ה, probably of this class is רֵעֶה, generally contracted to רֵעַ, *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*, for רֵעֶיהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

k 7. The ground-form *qăṭâl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטוֹל, the *â* becoming an obscure *ô*. The fact that this form is also written קָטֹל, must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qăṭŭl*[1]. Comp. גָּדוֹל *great*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*, חָמוֹץ *oppressing*; also the *infinitives absolute* of the form קָטוֹל (§ 45. *a*) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כָּבוֹד *honour*, שָׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sălâm*); also in an active sense, as אָמוֹן *an architect*, בָּחוֹן *assayer* (of metals), עָשׁוֹק *an oppressor*; fem. גְּדוֹלָה (with the change of the short vowel to vocal *Šᵉwâ*, while in גָּדוֹל, &c., *before the tone* it is lengthened to *ā*; בָּגוֹדָה *treacherous* (fem.) Jer. 3, 7. 10, with irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end.

l 8. The ground-form *qăṭîl* develops to קָטִיל (comp. § 93, Paradigm IV, *a* and *b*), e. g. אָסִיר *a prisoner*, מָשִׁיחַ *an anointed one*; besides the passive it has also the intransitive sense (probably as a simple strengthening of the *qăṭŭl*-form), e. g. צָעִיר *small*, and even the active, e. g. נָבִיא *a speaker* (prophet), פָּקִיד *an overseer*.—From verbs ל״י: נָקִי *pure*, עָנִי *poor*, see § 93. *vv*. Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are אָסִיף *the ingathering*, בָּצִיר *vintage*, חָרִישׁ *ploughing time*, קָצִיר *harvest*. On *qăṭṭŭl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84 *b*, letter *f*.

m 9. The ground-form *qăṭûl* develops to קָטוּל. Of this class are all the passive participles of *Qal*, and (probably as a strengthening of the *qăṭŭl*-form) some stative adjectives (§ 50. *f*), like אָנוּשׁ *incurable*, עָצוּם *strong*, עָרוּם *subtil*; as substantives, e. g. יָקוּשׁ *a fowler*. Fem., e. g. בְּתוּלָה *virgo* (prop. *the secluded*). Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84 *b*, letter *g*, belong to this class; see above, the remark on letter *l*.

n 10. The ground-form *qĭṭâl* or *qŭṭâl* in Hebrew changes the *ĭ* to vocal *Šᵉwâ*, and develops to קֶטָל (comp. § 93, Paradigm IV, *c*) or קְטוֹל, with *â* obscured to *ô* (as above, letter *k*). Comp. שְׁאָר *remnant*, יְקָר *honour*, כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kĭtâb*), קְרָב *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the

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[1] In Nah. 1, 3 only the *Qᵉrê* requires גְּדַל- (in the constr. state) for the *Kᵉthîbh* גְּדוֹל.

other form, חֲלוֹם *a dream*, חֲמוֹר *an ass* (Arab. *ḥimâr*), אֱלוֹהַּ *God* (Arab. *'ilâh*); with א *prosthetic* (§ 19. *m*), אֱזְרוֹעַ *arm* (twice: usually זְרוֹעַ); fem. בְּשׂוֹרָה *good news* (Arab. *bîšârât*); עֲבוֹדָה *service*, כְּתֹבֶת (Arab. *kitâbât*) *tattooing*.

o 11. The ground-form *qîṭîl* seems to occur, e.g. in Hebrew אֱוִיל *foolish*, אֱוִיל *vanity*, בְּדִיל *lead*, כְּסִיל *a fool*, חֲזִיר *a swine* (the prop. name חֲזִיר points to the ground-form *qîṭîl*, comp. Arab. *ḥinzîr*).

p 12. The ground-form *qîṭûl* or *qŭṭûl*, Hebr. קְטוּל, e.g. גְּבוּל *a boundary*, לְבוּשׁ *a garment;* fem. גְּבוּרָה *strength*, אֱמוּנָה *faithfulness*.

q Rem. When the forms *qᵉṭûl* and *qᵉṭôl* begin with א, they almost invariably take in the singular, instead of the ordinary *Ḥaṭeph-Sᵉghôl*, a *Ṣere* under the א; comp. אֵבוּס *a crib*, אֵטוּן *thread*, אֱמוּן *faithful*, אֵזוֹב *hyssop*, אֵזוֹר *a waist-band*, אֵסוּר *a bond*, אֵפוֹד *an 'ephod';* comp. § 23. *h*, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥaṭeph-Sᵉghôl* in verbal forms § 52. *n*, § 63. *p*, § 76. *d*.

IV. *Nouns with a Long Vowel in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

r 13. The ground-form *qâṭăl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *â* into an obscure *ô* קוֹטָל (קֹטֶל), e.g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, *a*), Arab. *'ălăm, eternity;* חוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥâtăm*) *a seal* (according to Barth rather of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתָמֶת (from *ḥôtămt*); תּוֹלָע *worm* (unless from a stem ולע, like תּוֹשָׁב from ושב; see the analogous cases in § 85. *b*). On the participles *Qal* of verbs ל״ה (comp. § 93, Paradigm III, *c*), formerly referred to this class, cf. § 75. *e;* on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with ת of the fem., see below, letter *s*.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauṭal*) are such forms as אוֹפַן (or אוֹפָן Ezek. 10, 9 in the same verse) *a wheel;* גּוֹזָל *a young bird*, דּוֹנַג *wax*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qâṭîl* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטֵל (קֹטֵל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קֹטֶלֶת, if their ground-form *qôṭalt* (§ 69. *c*) goes back to an original *qâṭilt*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן *priest* (Arab. *kâhin*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ē* (lengthened from *ĭ*) retained before the tone, e.g. יֹלֶדֶת *a woman in travail* (comp. also בֹּגֶדֶת *the treacherous woman*, Jer. 3, 8; הַצֹּלַעַת *her that halteth*, Mic. 4, 6 sq., Zeph. 3, 19; כֹּחֶרֶת *a buckler*, Ps. 91, 4); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלֵדָה, &c., the original *ĭ* having become *Šᵉwâ;* however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is. 29, 6. 8. 34, 9. Ps. 68, 26. 118, 16 (all in principal *pause;* in subordinate *pause* 2 Sam. 13, 20. Is. 33, 14; with a conjunctive accent, Cant. 1, 6).

t 15. The ground-form *qûṭăl*, Hebrew קוּטַל (as יוּבַל *river*, Jer. 17, 8) or קוּטָל, e.g. עוּגָב *a pipe*, commonly עֻגָב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in Ps. 150, 4, not עֲגָב.

V. *Nouns with Long Vowels in both Syllables.*

u 16. קִיטוֹל, e.g. קִיטוֹר *smoke*. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qîṭâl* (*qîṭîl?*), i.e. the original *â* has become an obscure *ô*.

§ 84 *b*. *Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem.*

This includes all forms which have arisen, either through the doubling of the middle radical, or the repetition of one or of two consonants of the simple stem. *a*

VI. *Nouns with the Middle Consonant sharpened.*

As in the corresponding verbal stems (comp. § 52. *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or condition. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under letters *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd. p. xi.

17. The ground-form *qăṭṭăl*, in Hebrew (except in *infinitives Pi'ēl*, like שַׁלַּח, &c.), is mostly lengthened to קָטָל; comp. אַיִל *a stag*, fem. אַיָּלָה, *constr. st.* אַיֶּלֶת (from *'ayyălt*); comp. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לֶהָבָה *a flame* (according to § 27. *q* for *lăhhābhā*), חָרְבָה *dry land* (for *ḥarrābhā*), דַּלֶּקֶת and קַדַּחַת *a burning fever*, יַבֶּשֶׁת and יַבָּשֶׁת *dry land*, טַבַּעַת *a seal-ring*, שַׁחֶפֶת *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb,' Barth, ibid., § 33) are נָגָח *wont to gore*, קַנָּא *jealous*, כָּחָשׁ (for *kaḥḥâš*, by § 22. *c*) *lying*. *Nomina opificum* also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the *constr. state* of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qăttâl* points to an original (unchangeable) *â* in the second syllable; comp. גַּנָּב *a thief*, דַּיָּן *a judge* (*constr. st.* דַּיַּן Ps. 68, 6), טַבָּח *a cook*, חָרָשׁ (for *ḥarrâš*) *faber* (*constr. st.* חָרַשׁ, but in the plur. (חָרָשֵׁי); פָּרָשׁ *horseman* (for *parrâš*), *constr. st.* פָּרַשׁ Ezek. 26, 10. *b*

18. The ground-form *qĭṭṭăl* appears in צָחֶה *dry*, גָּאֶה *haughty* (the *ĕ* being lengthened to *ē* according to § 22. *c*), if these forms go back to original *ṣĕḥḥăy*, *gĕ''ăy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see letter *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qĭṭṭĭl*; moreover, *iwwalt*, ground-form of the fem. אִוֶּלֶת *foolishness*, goes back to an original *iwwilt*, see § 69. *c*. *c*

19. The ground-form *qăṭṭăl*; comp. the fem. כֻּסֶּמֶת *spelt*.

20. The ground-form *qăṭṭĭl*; as אַחֵר *alius*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'ēl* of the form קַטֵּל. *d*

21. The ground-form *qĭṭṭĭl*, in Hebrew lengthened to קִטֵּל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Comp. אִטֵּר *disabled*, אִלֵּם *dumb*, גִּבֵּן *hump-backed*, עִוֵּר *blind*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf* (for *ḥirrēš*), פִּסֵּחַ *lame*, קֵרֵחַ *bald*, עִקֵּשׁ *perverse*; פִּקֵּחַ *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qăṭṭăl*, comp. the remarks in letter *b* above, on the *Nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'ēl* of the Aramaic form בַּקָּרָה *a searching out*; בַּקָּשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22. *c*) נָאָצָה *contumely*, but cf. also נָאֲצוֹתֶיךָ Ezek. 35, 12, with full lengthening of the original *ă* before א; נֶחָמָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ă* of this form to *ĕ*, arises undoubtedly: *e*

23. The ground-form *qăṭṭâl*, e. g. אִכָּר *husbandman* (Arab. *'ăkkâr*).

24. The ground-form *qîṭṭôl*, most probably only a variety of the form *qăṭṭâl* with the *ă* attenuated to *ĭ* (as in No. 23), and the *â* obscured to *ô* (as in letters *n* and *r*); comp. גִּבּוֹר *hero* (Arab. *găbbâr*), יְסוֹר *caviller*, צִפּוֹר (*piper* or *chirper*) *a bird*, שִׁכּוֹר *drunkard*. On the other hand יְלוֹד *born* probably arises from *yullôd*, an old *participle passive* of *Qal*, the *ŭ* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ô*: so Barth, ibid., p. 41 sq.

f 25. The ground-form *qăṭṭîl*, קַטִּיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e. g. אַבִּיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, בָּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barrî^{a}ḥ*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *'ărrîṣ*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qăṭṭîl*-class (see above, remark on letter *a*), appears from the *constr. st.* פְּרִיץ *ravenous*, Is. 35, 9 (but פְּרִיצֵי, פְּרִיצִים always), and according to Barth (ibid. 35. *a*) also from the *constr. st.* אֲבִיר (but cf. also אַבִּיר 1 Sam. 21, 8) of אַבִּיר. However, the form אֲבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אַבִּיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אַסִּיר *prisoner*, סָרִיס *eunuch* (*constr. st.* always סְרִיס, plur. סְרִיסִים, *constr. st.* סְרִיסֵי Gen. 40, 7, but in the book of Esther always סָרִיסֵי, with *suffix* always סָרִיסָיו, &c.), and עָתִיק *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qăṭṭîl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84 *a*, letter *l*.

g 26. The ground-form *qăṭṭûl*, קַטּוּל, e. g. חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *full of compassion* (with virtual doubling of the ח), חָרוּץ *diligent* (for *ḥarrûṣ*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qăṭṭûl*-class, § 84 *a*, letter *m*. The same applies to substantives like אַשּׁוּר *a step* (in אַשֻּׁרַי, as well as אֲשֻׁרָו, &c.), עַמּוּד *pillar*; fem. חַבּוּרָה *a stripe* (also חֲבֻרָתוֹ), בַּטֻּחוֹת *security*: cf. Barth, ibid., § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qăṭṭôl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pi'ēl* of the form קַטֵּל, also קַנּוֹא *jealous* (as well as קַנָּא, consequently an obscure form of *qăṭṭâl*, letter *e*).

i 28. The ground-form *qăṭṭûl*, קְטוּל, e. g. צְפוּי *a coating of metal*, שְׁלוּם *requital*, שִׁקּוּי *drink*, שִׁקּוּץ *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning לְמוּד *a disciple*, עָזּוּז *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים *reproach*, מְלֵאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נֶחָמִים *consolations, compassion*, שַׁכְלִים *a childless state*, שִׁלּוּחִים *dismissal*, שִׁמּוּרִים *observance*.

VII. *Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.*

k 29. The ground-form *qăṭlăl*, e. g. שַׁאֲנָן *quiet*, fem. שַׁאֲנָנָה (with sharpening of the second *Nûn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רַעֲנָן *green*, plur. רַעֲנַנִּים.

l 30. The ground-form *qăṭlĭl*, in Hebrew קַטְלֵל; of this form are e. g. the infinitives *Pi'lēl* (prop. *Pa^{i}lēl*) of verbs ע״ע, as רוֹמֵם, comp. § 72. *m*.

m 31. The ground-form *qăṭlŭl*; so the plur. גַּבְנֻנִּים *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nûn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qîṭlăl*, in פִּרְחָח *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qăṭlăl*, in אֻמְלָל *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qăṭlîl*, e.g. עַבְטִיט *plunder*, סַנְוִיר *heavy rain*, שַׁפְרִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer. 43, 10 *Qᵉrê;* with attenuation of the *ă* to *i* כְּמֹרִירִים *all that maketh black*, Job 3, 5.

35. The ground-form *qăṭlûl*, e.g. שַׁפְרוּר Jer. 43, 10 *Kᵉth.;* נַאֲפוּפִים *adulteries.*

VIII. *Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.*

36–39. *Qᵉṭălṭăl, qᵉṭălṭĭl, qᵉṭălṭŭl, qᵉṭăltûl, qᵉṭăltôl* (in *fem.* and *plur.* often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in letter *a* above); comp. חֲמַכְמַךְ *flexuosus,* חֲלַקְלַקּוֹת *slippery places,* עֲקַלְקַלּוֹת *crooked (ways);* פִּתַלְתֹּל *perversus;* also words denoting colours, אַדְמָדָם (Lev. 13, 42. 49 in pause) *reddish,* fem. אַדַמְדֶּמֶת, plur. אַדַמְדַּמּוֹת; יַרְקְרַק *greenish,* plur. fem. יַרְקְרַקּוֹת; *qᵉṭalṭĭl,* יְפֵיפִיָּה *very fair* (to be read in Jer. 46, 20 for יפהפיה); *qᵉṭalṭăl,* שְׁחַרְחֹרֶת (fem.) *blackish;* אֲסַפְסַף *a rabble* (augmented from אסוף *collected*). From a verb פ״י with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צְאָצָאִים *offspring.* Moreover, of the same form, probably, are חֲצוֹצְרָה *a trumpet* (for חַצְרְצְרָה, comp. § 55. *e*) and פְּקַחְקוֹחַ *an opening,* Is. 61, 1. Also in Is. 2, 20 לַחֲפַר פְּרֹוֹת is to be read instead of לַחְפֹּר פְּרוֹת (from the *sing.* חֲפַרְפָּרָה a *digging* or *burrowing* animal, perhaps the *mole*). *n*

IX. *Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.*

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע״ו and ע״ע[1]. Thus:— *o*

40. גַּלְגַּל *a wheel,* and, with attenuation of the first *ă* to *ĭ,* גִּלְגָּל (from גלל); fem. חַלְחָלָה *anguish* (from חוּל or חִיל); כִּכָּר (for *kirkar*) *a talent;* comp. also כּוֹכָב *a star* (from *kăwkăb,* Arabic *kaukăb,* for כַּבְכַּב).

41. בַּלְבֵּל infin. *Pilpēl* (prop. *Palpĭl*) from בּוּל; fem. טַלְטֵלָה *a hurling* (from טוּל). *p*

42. כַּדְכֹּד perhaps a *ruby* (for *kădkŭd*), from כדד.

43. גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *the crown of the head* (for *gŭlgŭlt*), from קדקד; fem. גֻּלְגֶּלֶת *a skull* (for *gŭlgŭlt*), from גלל.

44. זַרְזִיר *girded,* from זרר; בַּקְבּוּק *a bottle,* from בקק.

§ 85. *Nouns with Preformatives and Affformatives.*

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms having preformatives (*Hiphʿîl, Hophʿal, Hithpaʿēl, Niphʿal, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת), and finally those which are formed with affformatives. The quadriliterals and quinqueliterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the triliteral stem. *a*

[1] On פִּיפִיּוֹת see § 96 under פֶּה.

X. *Nouns with Preformatives.*

b 45. Nouns with א prefixed. Comp. the substantives with א *prosthetic* (§ 19. *m*), such as אֶזְרוֹעַ *arm* (Jer. 32, 21. Job 31, 22; elsewhere always זְרוֹעַ); אֶצְבַּע *a finger*, אַרְבֶּה *a locust*, אֶגְרוֹף *fist*. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, ibid., § 150. *b*); in other cases it is 'essential': cf. especially the adjectives, אַכְזָב *deceitful*, אַכְזָר *cruel*, אֵיתָן *perennis* (for *'aitan*) [= the Arab. 'elative,' used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אַזְכָּרָה *fragrant part* (of the meal-offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'îl*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem (*'Aph'ēl*).

c 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'îl* הַקְטֵל and הַקְטִיל, of *Niph'al* הִקָּטֵל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הִתְ, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'îl* (cf. § 72. *z*), viz. הַכָּרָה *appearance* (from נָכַר), Is. 3, 9; הֲנָפָה *a swinging* (from נוּף), Is. 30, 28; הֲנָחָה *a rest-giving*, Est. 2, 18; הַצָּלָה *deliverance* (from נָצַל), Est. 4, 14 (an Aram. form: cf. הֲוָדָה Dan. 5, 20); perhaps also הֵיכָל *palace*, from *haikăl*, unless it be a foreign word from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יְצְהָר *oil*, יַלְקוּט *wallet*, יַנְשׁוּף *owl* (?); from verbs ע״י, e. g. יְקוּם *a living thing*, יְתוּר *a range*; from a verb ע״י, יָרִיב *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יִצְחָק, &c.

e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mêm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי *who*, and מָה *what* (see § 37 and § 52. *c*), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ *subjective*, when preformative of the participles *Pi'ēl*, *Hiph'îl*, *Hithpa'ēl*, and other active conjugations. (2) מ *objective*, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) מ *instrumental*, as in מַפְתֵּחַ *a key*, &c. (4) מ *local*, as in מִדְבָּר *a drive for cattle*, &c.

f As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative מ was originally in most cases followed by a short *ă*. This *ă*, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to *ĭ*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *ĭ*, attenuated from *ă*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in מָגֵן *shield* (with suff. מָגִנִּי) it even becomes unchangeable *â*. But in an open syllable which does *not* stand before the tone, the *a* necessarily becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*.

g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (*a*) ground-form *măqṭăl*, in Hebrew מַקְטָל[1], e. g. מַאֲכָל *food*, fem. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מַאֲכֶלֶת *a knife*, מְלָאכָה (for מַלְאָכָה by § 23. *c*) *business*; from a verb פ״ן, מַתָּן *a gift*; from verbs פ״י, מוֹצָא *a going forth*, מוֹשָׁב *a seat*; from verbs פ״י, מֵיטָב *the best* (from *maiṭăb*); with י (or ו) assimilated, מַצָּע *a bed*; from verbs ע״ע, מָסָךְ *a screen*, and with the shortening of the *ă* under the preformative, מָמֵר *bitterness* (from מָמַר developed to a segholate), fem. מְשַׁמָּה *desolation*; from a verb ע״ו,

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[1] In מַמְהַקִּים Cant. 5, 16. Neh. 8, 10, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ă* of the second syllable comp. § 93. *ee*.

probably of this class is מָקוֹם *place*, the *ă* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ô* (Arabic *măqâm*); from verbs ל״ה, מַרְאֶה *appearance*, מַעַן (for מַעֲנֶה) prop. *intention*, only in לְמַעַן *on account of, in order that*.

h (*b*) Ground-form *miqṭăl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקְטָל, e. g. מִדְבָּר[1] *a cattle-drive*, fem. מִלְחָמָה *war*, מֶרְכָּבָה *a chariot* (with *Segôl* instead of *ĭ*, but in *constr. st.* מִרְכֶּבֶת Gen. 41, 43; comp. מֶרְחָק *distance*), מִשְׁמֶרֶת *a watch*; from verbs ע״ע, e. g. מֶסַב *a round* (from *mĭ-săb*; *ĭ* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but comp. also מַשַּׁק Is. 33, 4 as *constr. state* from שִׁקּוּץ with sharpening of the first radical; comp. § 67. *g*); from verbs ל״ה, מִקְנָה *a possession*, fem. מִקְנָה.

i (*c*) Ground-form *măqṭĭl*, Hebr. מַקְטֵל, e. g. מַשְׁעֵן *a support* (fem. מַשְׁעֲנָה), מַסְגֵּר *a smith*, fem. מַכְשֵׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פ״ן, מַגֵּפָה *an overthrow*; from verbs ע״ע, מָגֵן *a shield* (from *măgĭn*), fem. מְגִלָּה *a roll* (from גָּלַל), מְאֵרָה *a curse* (for *mᵉ'irrā* from אָרַר); from a verb פ״ו, מוֹקֵשׁ *a snare* (from *măwqĭš*).

k (*d*) Ground-form *mĭqṭĭl*, Hebr. מִקְטָל, e. g. מִסְפֵּד *mourning*, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* (*place of sacrifice*); from a verb ע״ע, e. g. מֵסֵב *consessus*; (*e*) ground-form *măqṭŭl*, Hebr. מַקְטֹל, as fem. מַאֲכֹלֶת *food*; from a verb ע״ע, fem. מְסֵכָה *a covering* (from סָכַךְ), and also according to the Masora מָעוֹז *a refuge*, with suffixes מָעֻזִּי and מָעוּזִּי, plur. מְעֻזִּים. Very probably, however, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem עוז *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מָעוֹזִי, &c. The form מָעוֹז, if derived from the stem עוז, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מוֹרַךְ *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מָרוֹךְ, for *mărōkh* from רָכַךְ, as מָתֹם *soundness* of body, from תָּמַם.

l With a long vowel in the second syllable: (*f*) ground-form *maqṭâl*, in Hebr. always obscured to *ô*, e. g. מַחְסוֹר *want*, מַלְקוֹחַ *booty*; from verbs ע״ו, e. g. מָגוֹר *fear*, fem. מְגוֹרָה and מְנוּרָה (with the *ô* depressed to *û* in a toneless syllable; comp. § 27. *n*), מְהוּמָה, &c., Is. 22, 5.

(*g*) Ground-form *miqṭâl*, in Hebr. again מִקְטוֹל, e. g. מִסְתּוֹר *a covert*, מִכְשׁוֹל *a stumbling-block* (comp. above, letter *i*, *măkhšēlā*); fem. מִכְמֹרֶת *a fishing-net*; (*h*) the ground-forms *maqṭîl* and *miqṭîl* (comp. מֵקִים) are found only from participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מַבְלִינִית, *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (*i*) ground-form *măqṭûl*, as מַלְבּוּשׁ *a garment*.

m Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *Qal* and *Niph'al*, comp. § 52. *c*. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מְזַמֶּרֶת *snuffers*, מַשְׁחִית *destroyer, destruction*.

n 49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *năqṭăl*, still retained e. g. in נוֹלָד for *năwlād*, but commonly attenuated to *nĭqṭăl*, Hebr. נִקְטָל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִקְטֹל, the prefix נ is found in נַפְתּוּלִים *wrestlings*, Gen. 30, 8, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*.

o 50. With שׁ prefixed, e. g. שַׁלְהֶבֶת *a flame*. On this *Šaph'ēl* formation, cf. § 55. *i*.

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[1] In Jer. 2, 31 also, where Baer requires הַמִּדְבָּר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הַמִּדְבָּר.

p 51. Nouns with ת prefixed. Examples of this formation are numerous, especially from weak stems, for the purpose of strengthening them phonetically (see Barth, ibid., p. 283), and notably from verbs פ״י and ע״ו. They may be classified as follows:—(*a*) the ground-form *tăqṭăl* in תַּחְמָס *ostrich* (?); from verbs פ״י, תּוֹשָׁב *a settler*, fem. תּוֹחֶלֶת *expectation*, תּוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'îl* הוֹכִיחַ) *correction*; from a verb פ״י, תֵּימָן *the south*; from verbs פ״י and ל״ה, תּוֹדָה *thanksgiving*, and תּוֹרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'îl*; from a verb פ״י and ל״א, תּוֹצָאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs ע״ע, תֹּהוּ *confusion*, and תֹּמֶס *a melting away* (developed from תָּבַל and תָּמַס, from בָּלַל and מָסַס).

q (*b*) *Tĭqṭăl*, e. g. fem. תִּפְאֶרֶת and תִּפְאָרָה *glory*; from a verb ל״ה, e. g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; (*c*) *tăqṭĭl*, e. g. תַּשְׁבֵּיץ *chequer work*, fem. תַּרְדֵּמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* נִרְדָּם); from a verb פ״י, תּוֹכֵחָה *correction* (from the *Hiph'îl*-stem, like the *constr. st. plur.* תּוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs ע״ע, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (from the *Pi'ēl* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

r With a long vowel in the second syllable: (*d*) *tĭqṭâl*, as תְּהוֹם *the ocean, the deep* (for *tĭhâm*; in Assyrian the fem. *tiâmtu*, constr. st. *tiâmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (*e*) *tăqtîl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pi'ēl*), e. g. from a verb ל״ה, fem. תַּכְלִית *completeness*; תַּרְבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מַרְבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד *a disciple*; (*f*) תַּפּוּחַ, e. g. תַּפּוּחַ *an apple* (for *tănpû*^{a}*ḥ*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e. g. תַּגְמוּל *a benefit* (also גְּמוּל), תַּהְפּוּכָה *perverseness*; from verbs ע״ו, תְּבוּסָה *a treading down*, תְּנוּפָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'îl* stem), &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e. g. תַּחְבֻּלוֹת *guidance*, תַּמְרוּרִים *bitterness*, תַּנְחוּמִים and תַּנְחוּמוֹת *consolation*; from a verb ע״ו, תְּאֻנִים *toil*.

XI. *Nouns with Affformatives.*

s 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חַשְׁמַל *amber* (?), and certainly בַּרְזֶל *iron*, כַּרְמֶל *a fruitful field* (*S*^{e}*ghôl* in both cases is probably an intensification of the original *ă* in the tone-syllable), גִּבְעֹל *bloom*, comp. § 30. *q*.

t 53. Nouns with מ affixed. With an original *ăm* as affformative, אוּלָם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֻלָמִים; כִּנָּם *a swarm of gnats* (if from כָּנַן), סֻלָּם *a ladder* (if from סלל); with original affformative *ŭm*, עֵירֹם (also עָרֹם) *naked* (from עור), plur. עֵירֻמִּים Gen. 3, 7, parallel form עָרוֹם, plur. עֲרוּמִּים Gen. 2, 25.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100. *g*, and many proper names, as גֵּרְשֹׁם, also גֵּרְשׁוּם, and גֵּרְשֹׁן, *patronymic* גֵּרְשֻׁנִּי, עַמְרָם, מִלְכֹּם, &c.; on the other hand, the form פִּדְיוֹם *ransom*, Num. 3, 49, from a verb ל״ה, probably stands merely for the ordinary פִּדְיוֹן, on account of the following מ.

u 54. Nouns with ן affixed. The ן is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעַן *Canaan*, and צִפֹּרֶן *a finger nail*; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ă*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S*^{e}*ghôl* (as גַּרְזֶן *axe*)

or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אַחֲרַנִּית and קְדֹרַנִּית); e.g. קִנְיָן *a possession*, שֻׁלְחָן *a table*, קָרְבָּן *an offering*. From an original *â* being changed into an obscure *ô* there probably arise such forms as דְּאָבוֹן *a pining away*; דִּרְבוֹן (also הַדְרְבָן) *a goad*; רְעָבוֹן *hunger*; from verbs ל״ה, גָּאוֹן *pride*, הָמוֹן *noise*, חָזוֹן *a vision*; שִׁרְיוֹן *a coat of mail*; from a verb פ״ן, מַשְׁאוֹן *guile* (the only instance with both מ preformative and *ôn* afformative)[1]; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. זִכָּרוֹן *memorial*, כִּלָּיוֹן *destruction* (*constr. st.* זִכְרוֹן and כִּלְיוֹן), &c.; comp. also הֵרָיוֹן *pregnancy* (for הֵרְיוֹן) and § 93. *uu*. Proper names occur with the termination *ûn*, as יְשֻׁרוּן, § 86. *g*.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה__ or ו__ used to *v* be classed as nouns originally formed with the suffix וֹן__. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְגִדּוֹ, once used (Zech. 12, 11) for מְגִדּוֹן (and conversely in Prov. 27, 20 *K^ethîbh* אֲבַדֹּה, *Q^erê* אֲבַדּוֹן for אֲבַדּוֹן *destruction*), also by the fact that for שְׁלֻמֹה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in the patronymics and tribal names (§ 86. *h*) a *Nûn* appears before the termination *î*, as גִּילֹנִי *Gilonite* from גִּלֹה and שִׁילֹנִי from שִׁילֹה (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְגִדּוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination *ô* (יְרִיחוֹ, רִמּוֹנוֹ, עַבּוֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224. *b*) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ôn* than in proper names; גִּילֹנִי and שִׁילֹנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gîlô-î*, *šîlô-î*, &c.; cf. also שַׁלְּנִי from שַׁלָּה.

On the afformatives ־ִי__, ־ִי__, ־וֹת, ־ִית__, see below, § 86. *h–l*.

XII. *Quadriliterals and Quinqueliterals.*

55. גַּלְמוּד *sterilis*, חַלָּמִישׁ *a flint*, and the fem. זַלְעָפָה *a glow*, &c., have prob- *w* ably arisen from the insertion of a ל; חַרְגֹּל *a locust*, קַרְדֹּם *an axe*, סַרְעַפָּה *a branch*, Ezek. 31, 5 (verses 6. 8 סַעֲפָה), from insertion of a ר. Comp., moreover, חֶרְמֵשׁ *a sickle*, סְמָדַר *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עֲטַלֵּף *a bat*, עַכְבִּישׁ *a spider*, עַכְבָּר *a mouse*, עַקְרָב *a scorpion*[2], &c. Quinqueliteral, צְפַרְדֵּעַ *a frog*.

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[1] The plurals נְצָנִים *flowers*, Cant. 2, 12, and קְמֹשִׁנִים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נֵץ (comp. נְצָה) and קְמוֹשׁ with the insertion of *ān* (which becomes obscured to *ōn*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissensch.*, xxxvi), עִוְּבוֹנִים *wares*, Ezek. 27, 14. 16, from עֵוֶב = עֶצֶב.

[2] Derenbourg (*Revue des études juives*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *'usfûr*, *sparrow* (from *ṣafara*, *to chirp*), that ע was especially employed to form quadriliteral names of animals.

§ 86. *Denominative Nouns.*

a **1.** Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e. g. קַדְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קֶדֶם *the east* (verbal stem קָדַם *to be in front*).

b **2.** Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed מ (§ 85. *e* to *m*) express the place &c. of an action, so the denominatives with מ *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see letter *e*).

c The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the *participle Qal* (§ 84 *a*, letter *s*), e. g. שֹׁעֵר *a porter*, from שַׁעַר *a gate*; בֹּקֵר *a herdsman*, from בָּקָר *a herd*; כֹּרֵם *a vinedresser*, from כֶּרֶם *a vineyard*.

d 2. Those like the form *qāṭṭāl* (§ 84 *b*, letter *b*), e. g. קַשָּׁת *an archer*, from קֶשֶׁת *a bow*. Both these forms (letters *c* and *d*) indicate customary occupations, inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της*, *τεύς*, e. g. *πολίτης*, *γραμματεύς*.

e 3. Nouns with מ prefixed, denoting the place where a thing is (comp. § 85. *e*), or its neighbourhood, e. g. מַעְיָן *a place of fountains*, from עַיִן; מַרְגְּלוֹת *the place about the feet*, מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *the place about the head*, from רֶגֶל, רֹאשׁ; מִקְשָׁה (for מִקְשָׁאָה) *a cucumber field*, from קִשֶּׁא *cucumber*. Comp. *ἀμπελών* from *ἄμπελος*.

f 4. Nouns with the termination ן— or וֹן to express adjectival ideas: קַדְמוֹן *eastern*, from קֶדֶם; אַחֲרוֹן *posterior*, from אַחַר; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חוּץ; probably also לִוְיָתָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal*, *serpent*, from לָוָה *a winding*; נְחֹשְׁתָּן *brazen*, from נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*. Also *abstracts*, e. g. עִוָּרוֹן *blindness*, from עִוֵּר. Comp. § 85. *u*.—With a double termination (*ôn* or *ân* with *î*) אַדְמֹנִי *reddish*, יְדַעֹנִי *a knowing* (spirit); צְפַעֹנִי *basilisk*; רַחֲמָנִיוֹת *merciful* [fem. plur.].

g וֹן appears to be used as a diminutive ending (comp. the Syriac ܘܢ) in אִישׁוֹן *little man* (in the eye), *apple of the eye*, from אִישׁ[1]; on the other hand שְׁפִיפֹן

[[1] Cf. Barth, § 212; König, ii. 1, 413. Diminutives in Semitic languages are, however, most commonly formed by inserting a *y* after the second radical, e. g. Aram. עוּלֵיְמָא, Syr. ܓܘܠܝܡܐ, Arab. غُلَيِّمٌ *a very young man*, *kulaib*, *a little dog*, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180), זְעִיר *a little* (Is. 28, 10. 13. Job 36, 2) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added שְׁבִיכִים Is. 3, 18 (as though a foreign dialectical form for *shumais*, *little sun*), and אֲמִינֹן 2 Sam. 13, 20, as a contemptuous diminutive form of אַמְנוֹן; cf. Ewald, § 167, W. Wright, *Arab. Gramm.*[2] i. § 269, De Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 85–87, König, ii. 1, p. 143 sq. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192. *d*.]

adder, which was formerly regarded as a diminutive, is properly an adjectival form from שָׁפַף *to rub* (hence, as it were, a *rubbing* creature); in the same way יְשֻׁרוּן is a *denominative* from יָשׁוּר (=יָשָׁר), and not a *diminutive* (*pious little people*, and the like), but properly *upright* (*righteous people*); finally, שַׁהֲרוֹן is not *lunula*, but *an artificial moon* (used as an ornament), and צַוְּארוֹנִים not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צַוָּאר *neck*). Comp. Delitzsch on Cant. 4, 9.

h 5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination יִ_, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals*, *patronymics*, and *tribal names*; e. g. רַגְלִי *footman*, plur. רַגְלִים, from רֶגֶל *foot*; אַכְזָרִי *cruel*, נָכְרִי *strange*, from נֵכָר *strangeness*, תַּחְתִּי *lower*, from תַּחַת *below*, fem. תַּחְתִּית and תַּחְתִּיָּה, plur. תַּחְתִּיִּים, תַּחְתִּיּוֹת; שִׁשִּׁי *the sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאָבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב, plur. מוֹאָבִים, fem. מוֹאֲבִיָּה and מוֹאָבִית, plur. מוֹאֲבִיּוֹת; עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרִים and עִבְרִיִּים, fem. עִבְרִיָּה, plur. עִבְרִיּוֹת; יִשְׂרְאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the original substantive is a *compound*, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjamite*, from בִּנְיָמִין (comp. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127. *d*).

i Instead of יִ_ we find in a few cases (*a*) the ending י_ (as in Aram.), e. g. כִּילַי (*crafty*, or, according to others, *churlish*) if it stands for נְכִילַי and is not rather from a stem כלא or כלה; חוֹרִי *white cloth*, Is. 19, 9 in pause; perhaps also גּוֹבִי *a swarm of locusts*, Am. 7, 1. Nah. 3, 17; hardly נְגִינוֹתַי Is. 38, 20. Hab. 3, 19; but certainly in proper names as בַּרְזִלַּי (*ferreus*) *Barzillai*[1]; and (*b*) ה_, arising from *ây*, in אִשֶּׁה *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ), i. e. *a sacrifice offered by fire*; לְבֹנָה (prop. *milky*) *the storax-shrub*, Arabic *lubnay*.

k 6. *Abstract* nouns formed from *concretes* by the addition of וּת, ת[יִ_] (§ 95. *t*), comp. our terminations *-dom*, *-hood*, *-ness*, e. g. יַלְדוּת *youth*, מַלְכוּת *kingdom* (the loosely closed syllable seems to show that the *Šᵉwâ* is weakened from a full vowel); אַלְמָנוּת *widowhood*, from אַלְמָן *widower*, אַלְמָנָה *widow*. In Aram. this fem. ending וּת (or וּ with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (comp., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הַשְׁמָעוּת *the announcing*, Ezek. 24, 26, and הִתְחַבְּרוּת *the making of a league*, Dan. 11, 23); in Hebr. וּת as a termination to express abstract ideas (as well as those which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as סִכְלוּת *folly*, רְפָאוּת *a healing*[2]) becomes more common only in the later Books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *î* (see above, letter *h*) in אַכְזָרִיּוּת *cruelty*, and קוֹמְמִיּוּת *upright position* (Lev. 26, 13, used adverbially).

l The ending יִת_ is found earlier, e. g. in שְׁאֵרִית *remainder*, רֵאשִׁית *principium*, from רֵאשׁ = רֹאשׁ *princeps*. The termination *ôth* seems to occur in חָכְמוֹת *wisdom* (in Prov. 1, 20. 9, 1, joined to a *singular*; so also חַכְמוֹת Prov. 14, 1, where, probably, חָכְמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלֵלוֹת Eccles. 1, 17, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלֲלוֹת Eccles. 10, 13.

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[1] On יִ_ as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80. *l*.

[2] See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 1, p. 205 sq.

§ 87. *Of the Plural*[1].

a **1.** The regular *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is ־ִים, e. g. סוּס *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses;* but also very often written defectively ־ִם, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e. g. Gen. 1, 21 תַּנִּינִם. Nouns in ־ִי make their plural in ־ְיִם, e. g. עִבְרִי *a Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרִיִּם (Ex. 3, 18); but usually contraction takes place, e. g. עִבְרִים; שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי.

b Nouns in ־ֶה lose this termination when they take the plural ending, e. g. חֹזֶה *seer*, plur. חֹזִים (comp. § 75. *h*).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the ־ִם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 88. *d* and § 96.

c The termination ־ִים is sometimes assumed also by feminines (comp. נָשִׁים *women*, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years*, from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים *ewes*, from רָחֵל), and is employed besides to represent intensive ideas (§ 124. *e*), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily combined with it (comp. also below, letters *m–p*).

d This ending *îm* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צדנם *Sidonii;* Aramaic has *în;* Arabic *ûna* (nominative) and *îna* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *în* is also used for the nominative); in Ethiopic *ân*. Comp. also the verbal ending ־וּן[2].

e Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(*a*) ־ִין, as in Aramaic[3], found almost exclusively in the later Books of the Old Testament (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מְלָכִין *kings*, Prov. 31, 3, צְדֹנִין 1 Ki. 11, 33, רָצִין *the guard*, 2 Ki. 11, 13, חִטִּין *wheat*, Ezek. 4, 9; defectively אִיִּן *islands*, Ezek. 26, 18; יָמִין *days*, Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מְהִדִין *carpets*, Jud. 5, 10 (in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which has also other linguistic peculiarities); עִיִּן *heaps*, Mic. 3, 12 (? caused by the following ת); מְלִין *words* (from the Aram. מְלָה), Job 4, 2, and twelve other places in Job (beside מִלִּים, ten times in Job); further, חַיִין Job 24, 22, אַחֲרִין 31, 10, and שׁוֹמְמִין Lam. 1, 4, תַּנִּין 4, 3.—The following form is doubtful:

f (*b*) ־ֵי (with the ם rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָדֵי for יָדַיִם Ezek. 13, 18, comp. § 88. *c*), e. g. מְנֵי *stringed instruments*, Ps. 45, 9 for מְנִּים

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[1] Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' in the *Revue des études juives*, xxiv. p. 99 sqq.

[2] On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 sqq.; Halévy, *Revue des études juives*, 1887, p. 138 sqq.; [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, *Obs.* 2.]

[3] So also always on the Mêša' stone, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty;* line 4 מלכן *kings;* line 5 ימן רבן *many days*, &c.

(unless it is to be so written)[1]; עַמִּי *peoples*, Ps. 144, 2, and, probably, also Lam. 3, 14 (in 2 Sam. 22, 44 it may be understood as עַמִּי *my people*; comp. in the parallel passage Ps. 18, 44 עָם; also in Cant. 8, 2 the *î* of רַכְּנִי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 Sam. 23, 8 as compared with 1 Chron. 11, 11; 1 Sam. 20, 38 *Kᵉth.*, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 sqq. More doubtful still is— *g*

(*c*) יִ_ (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרֵי *princes*, Jud. 5, 15 (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read with LXX שָׂרִים); for חַלּוֹנָי וּם׳ Jer. 22, 14 (according to others *dual*, see § 88. *c*) read חַלּוֹנָיו סָפוּן. On גּוֹבַי and חוֹרַי, which were formerly so explained, see above, § 86. *i*.— חֲשׁוּפֵי (for which the right reading is certainly חֲשׁוּפִי) Is. 20, 4 can only be intended by the Masora as a singular with the formative syllable יִ_ = *bareness*; in אֲדֹנָי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲדֹנִים *lord*), the *ay* was originally a suffix, § 135. *q*.

(*d*) ם_ a supposed *plural* ending in כִּנִּים = כִּנָּם *gnats* (or *lice*), which, however, is probably rather a collective sing. (from the stem כָּנַן) with the formative syllable ם_; so סֻלָּם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*) appears to be similarly formed from סָלַל; comp. on both, § 85. *t*. *h*

2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively ת׳_, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלּוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew סֵפֶר תְּהִלּוֹת, as in the titles of the printed editions, as well as תְּהִלִּים *the Book of Psalms*); אִגֶּרֶת *a letter*, plur. אִגְּרוֹת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in ית_ form their plural in יוֹת_, e. g. מִצְרִית *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיּוֹת; and those in וּת either make יוֹת_, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכִיּוֹת, Dan. 8, 22 (cf. חֲנִיּוֹת *cells*, Jer. 37, 16), or are inflected like עֵדוֹת *testimonies* (pronounced *ʿēdhᵉwôth* for *ʿēdhûwôth*). *i*

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings וֹת_ and ית_ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of ים_ or וֹת_, e. g. חֲנִית *spear*, plur. חֲנִיתִים and חֲנִיתוֹת; זְנוּת *whoredom*, plur. זְנוּתִים (by the side of זְנוּנִים); אַלְמְנוּתִים *widowhood*; שְׁחִיתוֹת *pits*, &c. *k*

The termination *-ôth* stands primarily for *-âth* (which is the form it has in Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian, Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.*, p. 187; on the change of *â* into an obscure *ô*, see § 9. *q*). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *âth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *ăth* (comp. § 80. *b*). *l*

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[1] According to some this *î* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5. *m*), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending. Hence Cheyne (after Lowth) emends Is. 5, 1 into שִׁירַת דּוֹדִים *a love-song*.

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become vocal *Šᵉwâ* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92–95.

m **3.** Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and feminine (§ 122. *d*), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e. g. עָב *cloud*, plur. עָבִים and עָבוֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e. g. דּוֹר masc. *a generation*, plur. דּוֹרִים and דּוֹרוֹת; שָׁנָה fem. *a year*, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of the plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e. g. אַרְיֵה masc. *a lion*, plur. אֲרָיוֹת masc., Zeph. 3, 3, דּוֹרוֹת masc., Job 42, 16.

n Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days*, שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the *constr. st.* Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

o A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in וֹת expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122. *u*), e. g. יָדַיִם *hands*, יָדוֹת *artificial hands*, also e. g. the *arms* of a throne; כַּפַּיִם *hands*, כַּפּוֹת *handles* (Lat. *manubria*); פַּעַם *foot*, פְּעָמוֹת *artificial feet* (of the ark), קַרְנַיִם *horns*, קְרָנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינַיִם *eyes*, עֲיָנוֹת *fountains*.

p **4.** A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וֹת, while many feminines have a plural in ־ִים. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains the same in the plural, e. g. אָב *father*, plur. אָבוֹת; פֶּרַע *princes*, from פָּרַע; מָאוֹר *a light*, plur. מְאוֹרִים and מְאֹרֹת, comp. Gen. 1, 16; שֵׁם *name*, plur. שֵׁמוֹת; פִּילֶגֶשׁ *concubine*, plur. פִּילַגְשִׁים.

q Feminines ending in ־ָה which take in the plural the termination ־ִים are אֵלָה *terebinth*, אֵימָה *terror*, דְּבֵלָה *a cake* of figs, חִטָּה *wheat*, לְבֵנָה *a brick*, מִלָּה (only in poetry) *a word*, סָאָה *a dry measure*, שְׂעֹרָה *barley*, and the following names of animals דְּבוֹרָה *a bee* and יוֹנָה *a dove*; also, for בֵּיצִים fem. *eggs*, a singular בֵּיצָה is to be assumed. אֲלֻמָּה *sheaf* and שָׁנָה *year* (see above, letter *n*) take both ־ִים and וֹת; comp. finally שִׁבֹּלֶת *an ear of corn*, plur. שִׁבֳּלִים.

r **5.** A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonae*, קְטָלִים masc., קְטָלוֹת fem. So also in substantives of the

same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as בָּנִים *filii*, בָּנוֹת *filiae*; מְלָכִים *reges*, מְלָכוֹת *reginae*.

Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending וֹת a second masculine plural termination (in the form of the *constr. st.* י—, comp. § 89. *c*), or a dual ending ַיִם—, e. g. בָּמָה *a high place*, plur. בָּמוֹת, *constr. st.* בָּמוֹתֵי (also בָּמֳתֵי *bām°thê*, Is. 14, 14, Job 9, 8, &c., sometimes as *Q°rê* to the K°thîbh במותי; see § 95. *o*); מֵרֹאשֹׁתַי שָׁאוּל *from Saul's head*, 1 Sam. 26, 12; חוֹמָה *wall*, plur. חוֹמוֹת *moenia*, whence dual חוֹמֹתַיִם *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending וֹת (§ 91. *m*). *s*

2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e. g. אָדָם *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e. g. מְתִים *men* (the old *sing.* מָתוּ is only preserved in proper names, see § 90. *o*; in Eth. the *sing.* is *mĕt*, man); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124. *a*), as פָּנִים *face*. In such cases, however, these forms can also express plurality, e. g. פָּנִים means also *faces*, Gen. 40, 7. Ezek. 1, 6; comp. אֱלֹהִים *God*, and also *gods* (the *sing.* אֱלֹהַּ, except in Job and Daniel, occurs only ten times. [In Job it occurs forty-one and in Daniel four times]). *t*

§ 88. *Of the Dual.*

Comp. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21.

1. The *dual* is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see letter *e*). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination ַיִם— (no doubt connected with the plural ending ִים—) appended to the ground-form[1], e. g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, יוֹמַיִם *two days*. Instead of the feminine ending ה—, the dual form is always added to the old ending *ath*, but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus תַיִם—, e. g. שְׂפָתַיִם *lip*, שְׂפָתַיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending ת—, e. g. נְחֹשֶׁת (from *n°ḥušt*) the dual is formed like נְחֹשְׁתַּיִם *double fetters*. *a*

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the *b*

[1] On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87. *s* and § 95. *o* at the beginning.

shifting of the tone, e. g. כָּנָף *wing* (ground-form *kănăph*), dual כְּנָפַיִם, the first *ă* becoming *Šᵉwâ*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ă* being lengthened before the new tone syllable. In 1 Ki. 16, 24. 2 Ki. 5, 23 the form כִּכְּרַיִם evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כִּכְּרֵי, which would be expected before פֶּסֶף; cf. כִּכָּרִים in 2 Ki. 5, 23, and on the syntax see § 131. *d*. In the segholate forms (§ 84 *a*, letter *a*) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e. g. רֶגֶל *foot* (ground-form *răgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; comp., however, קַרְנַיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קְרָנַיִם from קֶרֶן *horn*, and לְחָיַיִם from לֶחִי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לְחָיִים).

c Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. p. 437) as—(*a*) those in ◌ַיִן and ◌ָן, e. g. דֹּתָיִן Gen. 37, 17, and דֹּתָן 2 Ki. 6, 13; קַרְתָּן Jos. 21, 32, identical with קִרְיָתַיִם in 1 Chron. 6, 61 (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mêša' inscription, line 10 קריתן = Hebrew קִרְיָתַיִם; line 30 בת דבלתן = בֵּית דִּבְלָתַיִם Jer. 48, 22; lines 31, 32 חורנן = חֹרֹנַיִם Is. 15, 5, &c.); (*b*) in ◌ָם, so הָעֵינָם Jos. 15, 34 (= עֵינַיִם Gen. 38, 21). The view that ◌ָן and ◌ָם arise from a contraction of the dual terminations ◌ַיִן (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and ◌ַיִם seemed to be supported by the Mêša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מאתן *two hundred* = מָאתַיִן, Hebrew מָאתַיִם. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that ◌ַיִן and ◌ַיִם in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations ◌ָן and ◌ָם: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philippi, *ZDMG.* xxxii. 65 sq.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 139. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Qᵉrê perpetuum* (§ 17. *c*) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for יְרוּשָׁלֵם; (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרוּשְׁלֵם): similarly in the Aramaic שֹׁמְרַיִן = שֹׁמְרֹן for the Hebrew שֹׁמְרוֹן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list this list נַהֲרַיִם, אֶפְרַיִם (*the river country*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מצרם; also the words denoting time, צָהֳרַיִם *midday* (Mêša' inscription, line 15 צהרם), and perhaps עַרְבַּיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּין־הָעַרְבַּיִם Ex. 12, 6. 16, 12, &c., is only due to mistaking עַרְבַּיִם for a dual: LXX *πρὸς ἑσπέραν*, *τὸ δειλινόν*, *ὀψέ*, and only in Lev. 23, 5 *ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν*.

Instead of the supposed dual יָדַי Ezek. 13, 18 read יָדַיִם. On חַלּוֹנַי (generally taken to be *a double window*) Jer. 22, 14, see above, § 87. *g*.

d 2. Only apparently dual-forms are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, the termination *îm* having abnormally lost the tone, which it otherwise always takes (§ 87. *a*), and become shortened. Only of מַיִם is the sing. מַי preserved in the

proper name אֲחוּמַי; cf., however, Arab. *ma'un* and *sămā'un*, Eth. *mây* and *samây*[1], Assyr. *mû* (plur. *mê* and *mâmê*) and *šamû* (plur. *šamê* and *šamâmê*).

e **2.** The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, comp. זְרֹעִים and זְרוֹעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e. g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנַיִם *both ears*, שִׁנַּיִם *teeth* (of both rows); also נַעֲלַיִם *a pair of sandals*, מֹאזְנַיִם *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c., or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e. g. יוֹמַיִם *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*; שְׁבוּעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמָּתַיִם *two cubits*[2].

f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e. g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלַיִם *four feet*, Lev. 11, 23; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i. e. three pairs), Is. 6, 2. Ezek. 1, 6; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes*, Zech. 3, 9, כָּל־בִּרְכַּיִם *all knees*, Ezek. 7, 17; כָּל־יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ezek. 21, 7; מְצִלְתַּיִם *cymbals*, Ezr. 3, 10; שְׁפַתַּיִם *double-hooks*, Ezek. 40, 43.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Jud. 16, 28. Amos 3, 12.—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87. *o* and *s*.

g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development in the language. The Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo, ambo, octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e. g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

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[1] According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 341, the Hebrew *măy*, *šămăy* also are only shortened from original *mây* and *šamây*, while the plurals שָׁמַיִם, מַיִם are, in his opinion, formed on a false analogy, due to the fact that the forms with suffixes (שָׁמֶיךָ, שָׁמֵינוּ) appeared to represent plurals.

[2] But for דְּרָכַיִם Prov. 28, 6. 18 (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכִים is to be read.

§ 89. *The Genitive and the Construct State.*

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 sqq.: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Göttingische Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.

a **1.** The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*[1], but indicates the *relations of case* externally, either not at all (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* relation is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) between the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun, causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter[2], and the consequently weakened tone of the former word, then usually involves further changes within it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to vocal *Šᵉwâ* (comp. § 9. *a*, *c*, *k*; § 27. *e–m*); e. g. דָּבָר *word*, דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word of God* (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word*, in German *Gotteswort, housetop, landlord*); יָד *hand*, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ *the hand of the king;* דְּבָרִים *words*, דִּבְרֵי הָעָם *the words of the people*. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before a genitive* suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a genitive after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

b Very frequently such interdependent words are also united by *Maqqeph* (§ 16. *a*); this, however, is not necessary, but depends on the accentuation in the particular case. On the wider uses of the *constr. st.* see the Syntax, § 130.

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[1] On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

[2] The same phenomenon of the tone may also be easily seen in other languages, when two words are closely connected in a similar way. Observe, for example, in German the natural stress on the last word in '*der Thron des Königs;*' though here the other order of the words (inadmissible in Hebrew) '*des Königs Thron*' exhibits the same peculiarity.

2. The *vowel* changes which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92–95. Moreover, the *terminations* of the noun in the construct state sometimes assume a special form. Thus: (*a*) In the *construct state*, plural and dual, the termination is יְ—, e. g. סוּסִים *horses*, סוּסֵי פַרְעֹה *the horses of Pharaoh*; עֵינַיִם *eyes*, עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *the eyes of the king*. *c*

Rem. The יְ— of the dual has evidently arisen from יַ— (cf. יָדַיִם), but the origin of the termination יְ— in the *constr. st.* plur. is disputed. The Syriac *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסַי, סוּסַיִךְ, &c., § 91. *h*) would point to a contraction of an original יַ—, as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen), or is to be regarded as the *abstract*, *collective* termination, as in אִשָּׁה (letter *f*) and חוֹרַי (so Philippi, *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1890, col. 419), must be left undecided. *d*

(*b*) The original תַ— is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute* state end in ה—, e. g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, מַלְכַּת שְׁבָא *the queen of Sheba*. But the feminine endings תֶ—, תֵ—, and also the plural ending וֹת—, remain unchanged in the *construct state*. *e*

(*c*) Nouns in ה— (cf. § 75. *e*) from verbs ל״ה (§ 93, Paradigm III, *c*) form their *constr. st.* in ה—, e. g. רֹאֵה *seer*, constr. רֹאֵה; probably this ה— is due to contraction of the original יְ—, with ה added as a vowel letter. The same contraction occurs in דַּי, constr. דֵּי *sufficiency*; חַי, constr. חֵי *life*; גַּיְא (גַּי), constr. גֵּיא (גֵּי) *valley*. *f*

On the terminations וֹ and יְ— in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

§ 90. *Probable Remains of Early Case-endings,* ה— *local,* יְ— *and* וֹ *in the Construct State.*

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882.

1. As the Assyrian and old Arabic distinguish three cases by special endings, so also in the Hebrew noun there are three endings which, in the main, correspond to those of the Arabic. In Hebrew, however, they have for the most part lost their original signification, and hence can only be regarded now as decayed fragments of a fuller and more vigorous organic period, since the language, in the condition in which we find it in the Old Testament, no longer distinguishes the cases by terminations. *a*

b In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative, 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending *-a* represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Bedâwi, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG.* v. p. 9, xii. p. 874; Wetzstein, ibid. xxii. p. 113 sq., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgär-dialekts von Ägypten*, Leipz. 1880, p. 147 sqq.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 sq.). Ethiopic has preserved only the *-a* (in proper names *-hâ*), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

c **2.** The *accusative* relation is preserved in Hebrew most clearly in the (usually toneless) ending ה_ָ, which is appended to the substantive:

(*a*) Most commonly to express *direction towards* an object, or *motion to a place*[1], e.g. יָמָּה *sea-ward, westward,* קֵדְמָה *eastward,* צָפוֹנָה *northward,* אַשּׁוּרָה *to Assyria,* בָּבֶלָה *to Babylon,* הָרָה (from הַר) *to the mountain,* Gen. 14, 10, אַרְצָה *to the earth,* בַּיְתָה *to the house,* תִּרְצָתָה *to Tirṣah* (תִּרְצָה) 1 Ki. 14, 17 and elsewhere, עַזָּתָה *to Gaza* (עַזָּה) Jud. 16, 1; with the article הָהָרָה *to the mountain,* הַבַּיְתָה *into the house,* הַחַדְרָה *into the chamber,* 1 Ki. 1, 15; הָאֹהֱלָה[2] *into the tent,* Gen. 18, 6 and elsewhere; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house,* Gen. 43, 17. 24; אַרְצָה הַנֶּגֶב *toward the land of the south,* Gen. 20, 1; אַרְצָה מִצְרַיִם *to the land of Egypt,* Ex. 4, 20; מִדְבַּרָה דַּמֶּשֶׂק *to the wilderness of Damascus,* 1 Ki. 19, 15; מִזְרָחָה שֶׁמֶשׁ *toward the sunrising,* Deut. 4, 41; and even with the plural כַּשְׂדִּימָה *to the Chaldeans,* Ezek. 11, 24; הַשָּׁמַיְמָה *towards the heavens.*

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[1] On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118. *d*, and cf. the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire.* This view of the locative as an old accusative is, however, not undisputed. Olshausen (*Lehrbuch*, § 130. *a*) considers the termination ה_ָ although 'of great antiquity, a new invention' in Hebrew; in the opinion of Praetorius (*ZAW.* iii. 215 sqq.) it was originally compatible only with certain forms of the *constr. st.* (such as מִזְרָחָה שֶׁמֶשׁ, &c.) and was then secondarily transferred to the more common uses of the *constr. state* and to the *absolute state.*

[2] הָאֹהֱלָה in Baer's text, Gen. 18, 6, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like לְמָה, הֲרָה, בַּיְתָה show that the locative form *of itself* possessed a defining power.

(*b*) In a somewhat weakened sense, merely indicating the place *d* *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118. *d*), e. g. מַחֲנַיְמָה *in Mahanaim*, 1 Ki. 4, 14; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*), Jer. 18, 2, comp. 2 Ki. 23, 8, and the expression *to turn a sacrifice into sweet smoke* הַפְוִגְּחָה, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, בָּבֶלָה Jer. 29, 15, and וְבֶלָה Hab. 3, 11, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation;* also expressions like פְּאַת צָפוֹנָה *the quarter towards the north*, Jos. 15, 5 (at the beginning of the verse, גְּבוּל קֵדְמָה *the border toward the east*), comp. 18, 15. 20. Ex. 26, 18. Jer. 23, 8.

(*c*) The original force of the ending ה_ֵ is also disregarded when *e* it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed, and this not only after לְ, אֶל־ or עַד־ (which are easily explained), e. g. לְמַעְלָה *upwards*, לְמַטָּה *downwards*, לִשְׁאוֹלָה *to Sheol*, Ps. 9, 18; עַד־אֲפֵקָה *unto Aphēq*, Jos. 13, 4, אֶל־הַצָּפוֹנָה *toward the north*, Ezek. 8, 14, comp. Jud. 20, 16; but also after בְּ, and even after מִן, e. g. בַּנֶּגְבָּה *in the south*, Jos. 15, 21, comp. Jud. 14, 2. 1 Sam. 23, 15. 19. 31, 13. 2 Sam. 20, 15. Jer. 52, 10; מִבָּבֶלָה *from Babylon*, Jer. 27, 16; comp. 1, 13. Jos. 10, 36. 15, 10. Jud. 21, 19. Is. 45, 6.

Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, *f* still to be found in

(*a*) לַיְלָה, in *pause* לָיְלָה, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this old accusative appeared to be preserved in the form לַיִל, only used in poetry, Is. 16, 3, *constr. st.* לֵיל (even used for the *absol. st.* in pause Is. 21, 11). Most probably, however, לַיְלָה is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form לילי; cf. especially the western Aramaic לֵילְיָא, Syr. *lilya*, &c. If the final vowel belongs to the ground-form, the Masoretic marking of the tone on the penultima is inexplicable. —Another instance is מְאוּמָה *something*, probably from מוּם, מָאוּם *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly אַרְצָה Is. 8, 23 and (in pause) Job 34, 13, סוּפָתָה Hos. 8, 7, and the place-name יַהְצָה Jos. 21, 36, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless ה_ֵ can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus אֶרֶצָה (in *pause*) Job 37, 12; הַמָּוְתָה *death*, Ps. 116, 15; נַחֲלָה *stream*, Ps. 124, 4; הַחַשְׁמַלָה *amber*, Ezek. 8, 2 [in 1, 4 הַחַשְׁמַל, cf. § 80. *k*]. In Jos. 15, 12 הַיַּמָּה is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Jud. 14, 18 instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word הַחַרְסָה (towards the sun??) read according to 15, 1 הַחַדְרָה *to the bride-chamber*.

g (*b*) In the termination תָה־ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. אֵימָתָה *terror* (=אֵימָה), Ex. 15, 16; עֶזְרָתָה *help* (=עֶזְרָה), Ps. 44, 27. 63, 8. 94, 17; יְשׁוּעָתָה *salvation* (=יְשׁוּעָה), Ps. 3, 3. 80, 3. Jon. 2, 10; עַוְלָתָה *unrighteousness*, Ezek. 28, 15. Hos. 10, 13. Ps. 125, 3; עָלָתָה Ps. 92, 16 *K^eth.* Job 5, 16; צָרָתָה Ps. 120, 1; עֵיפָתָה *darkness*, Job 10, 22; הַמְזֹפָתָה Jer. 11, 15 is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like עֶזְרָתָה *for help* (Ps. 44, 27) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis[1].

h This termination ה־ usually has reference to *place* (hence called ה־ *locale*); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה *from year to year;* probably also (in spite of the tone on the ultima) in עַתָּה *now, at this moment* (from עֵת). Its use in חָלִילָה, properly *ad profanum! = absit!* is peculiar.

i As the termination ה־ is properly toneless (comp., however, עַתָּה above, מְזֻרָחָה *constr. st.* Deut. 4, 41; גִּתָּה and עִתָּה Jos. 19, 13, &c.) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.* מִדְבַּרָה Jos. 18, 12. 1 Ki. 19, 15, and in the proper names גַּתָּה 1 Ki. 2, 40, דַּנָּה 2 Sam. 24, 6, צְפַתָּה 2 Chron. 14, 9, צָרְפַתָּה 1 Ki. 17, 9, צָרְתַנָּה 1 Ki. 4, 12, the *ă* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (comp., however, הָרָה Gen. 14, 10, פַּדָּנָה Gen. 28, 2 from פַּדָּן, with half lengthening of the *a* to *è;* also בַּרְמָלָה 1 Sam. 25, 5 from בַּרְמֶל). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the ה־ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before ה־ naturally becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, e. g. בַּיְתָה, הָאֹהֱלָה Gen. 18, 6, and elsewhere; הַיַּעְרָה Jos. 17, 15, הַשַּׁעֲרָה[2] Jud. 20, 16, &c., but also נַחְלָה Num. 34, 5 (*constr. st.;* likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ezek. 47, 19. 48, 28) and שְׁעָרָה Is. 28, 6 (with *Silluq*); comp. גָּנְבָה Ezek. 47, 19 and גֹּרְנָה (Baer, incorrectly, גֹּרָנָה) Mic. 4, 12 (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in ה־ the ה־ *local* is added to the original feminine ending ת־ (§ 80. *b*), the *ă* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e. g. תִּרְצָתָה.—Moreover the termination ה־ is even weakened to ה־ in נֹבָה *to Nob*, 1 Sam. 21, 2. 22, 9; אָנָּה *whither*, 1 Ki. 2, 36. 42 and דְּדָנָּה *to Dedan*, Ezek. 25, 13.

[1 The form clings also to a few place-names, as גִּדְגָּדָה Deut. 10, 7; שָׁלְשָׁה 1 Sam. 9, 4. 2 Ki. 4, 42; קְהֵלָתָה Num. 33, 22 sq.; יָטְבָּתָה verse 33 sq.; תִּמְנָתָה Jos. 19, 43, &c.; אֶפְרָתָה Mic. 5, 1, &c.]

[2 So Qimḥi, and the Mant. ed. (Text. recept. שַׁעֲרָה), i. e. locative from שַׁעַר (Is. 7, 20).

3. Less frequent, and almost exclusively retained in poetic style, *k* is the use of two other endings, which, along with the accusative in ה־, at one time probably corresponded to the Arabic case-endings, viz. the so-called *literae compaginis* י־, the original genitive ending, and ו, in proper names also וּ, corresponding to the Arabic nominative ending. The language is, however, *entirely unconscious* of any sense of *case* in these endings, and they remain merely as *archaic* forms, which occasionally come to be used in poetry or in exalted style, and have also been unconsciously handed down from early times in several compound proper names. In such names, as also elsewhere, these endings now occur almost exclusively in the closest connexion of one noun with another, i. e. in the *construct state*[1].

(*a*) The ending י־, as has been just remarked, is especially fre- *l* quent in the *constr. st.*, and almost always has the tone, viz. בְּנִי אֲתֹנוֹ *his ass's colt*, Gen. 49, 11; ver. 12 חַכְלִילִי עֵינַיִם *dark red of eyes*; עֹזְבִי הַצֹּאן *that leaveth the flock*, Zech. 11, 17 (comp. the preceding שֹׁכְנִי סְנֶה *the dweller in the bush*, Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine גְּנֻבְתִּי יוֹם וּגְנֻבְתִּי לָיְלָה *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gen. 31, 39 (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); מְלֵאָתִי מִשְׁפָּט *plena iustitiae*, Is. 1, 21; רַבָּתִי עָם *full of people*, Lam. 1, 1; עַל־דִּבְרָתִי *after the manner of Melchizedek*, Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct* and *absolute state* (comp. § 130. *a*), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e. g. רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם *she that was great among the nations*, Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of tone from the י־ is here due apparently to the preceding רַבָּתִי עָם, where the retraction of the tone was required by the following tone-syllable; but comp. also ibid. שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת and אֹהַבְתִּי לָדוּשׁ Hos. 10, 11); אֹסְרִי לַגֶּפֶן *binding unto the vine*, Gen. 49, 11; comp. Ex. 15, 6 (?). Jer. 10, 17 *K^eth.* 22, 23 *K^eth.* 49, 16 (bis). 51, 13 *K^eth.* Obad. 3. Ps. 113, 5–9 (some of these in less close connexion; in ver. 8 even with the *infinitive* [but read probably לְהוֹשִׁיבוֹ). Lam. 4, 21 *K^eth.*; perhaps also Lev. 26, 42 (ter); Jer. 33, 20 (bis); Ps. 116, 1].

[1] In other ancient combinations of words also, old endings are often retained which have elsewhere disappeared, or become rare, e. g. the feminine ending ת־ in the *constr. st.* (§ 89. *e*), and in the verb before suffixes (§ 59. *a*). In the same way various archaic forms have been preserved in proper names and in poetry.

m Otherwise than in the *construct state*, *Ḥireq compaginis* is also found in Is. 22, 16 (bis). Ezek. 27, 3 *K^e^th.* Mic. 7, 14. Ps. 101, 5. 114, 8. 123, 1. Moreover, with a few particles, which are properly nouns in the *construct state*, as זוּלָתִי (=זוּלַת) *besides*, מִנִּי (poet.=מִן) *from*, בִּלְתִּי *not*, אַפְסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי וְאַפְסִי עוֹד *I am, and there is none else beside me*) Is. 47, 8. 10. Zeph. 2, 15. [The above are all the cases in which this ־ִי is attached to independent words in the O. T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names, as מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק (*king of righteousness*), גַּבְרִיאֵל (*man of God*), חַנִּיאֵל (*favour of God*), and others (comp. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַנִּיבַּעַל *favour of Ba'al*).

n (*b*) The ending ו (always with the tone) is of much rarer occurrence, and is found in prose only once, and then in elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ *the beast of the earth* (=חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ ver. 25); in poetry, in the same word, Ps. 50, 10. 79, 2. 104, 11. 20. Is. 56, 9. Zeph. 2, 14; otherwise only in בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor*, Num. 23, 18; בְּנוֹ בְעוֹר *son of Beor*, Num. 24, 3. 15; and מַעְיְנוֹ מָיִם *a fountain of waters*, Ps. 114, 8.— On the ending וּ see the Rem.

o Rem. Although the terminations ־ִי and ו have now wholly lost their case-meaning, in all probability they at one time in the language had the force of case-endings, in the same way as ־ָה (letter *c*), especially as ancient Arabic exhibits exactly corresponding terminations as real flexional endings, and only at a later period confused or wholly rejected them (see above). The same phenomenon also recurs in other languages. In Latin, for instance, we still find a restricted use of the locative case (in names of towns, *ruri, domi*, &c.) with the same endings as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient case-terminations, which, however, no longer have any vital existence as such, not to mention the Romance and Germanic languages.—Even where the ancient Arabic incorporated the case-endings with the stem, and so pronounced them more strongly, as in *ăbū, ăbī, ăbā* (with *ăbī* comp. the Hebrew *constr. st.* אֲבִי from אָב *father*), the modern language, though still using all three forms, makes no strict distinction between the three cases. Hence also, probably, in the common Hebrew *constr. st.* אֲחִי, אֲבִי we have really a genitive ending; and in Western Aramaic אַבוּ, Hebr. מְתוּ (in proper names as מְתוּשָׁאֵל and מְתוּשֶׁלַח; comp. also בְּתוּאֵל), שְׁמוּ (שְׁמוּאֵל), פְּנוּ (פְּנוּאֵל) a nominative ending; and this is the more intelligible as we find פְּנִיאֵל (Gen. 32, 31) by the side of פְּנוּאֵל (verse 32), and אֲחוֹתַי together with אֲחוֹתָךְ.

§ 91. *The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.*

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr. in der alttestamentlichen Überlieferung*, Giessen, 1895.

With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, *a* which then stand in a genitive relation (§ 33. *c*), and are, therefore, necessarily appended to the *construct state* of the noun, we shall first consider, as in the verb (§ 57 sqq.), the forms of the suffixes themselves, and then the various changes in the form of the noun to which they are attached. The nouns are also tabulated in the Paradigms of the flexion of the noun in § 92 sqq. Comp. also Paradigm A in the Appendix. We are here primarily concerned with the different forms of the suffixes when added to the singular, plural and dual.

1. The Suffixes of the singular are— *b*

With nouns ending in a—

	Vowel.	*Consonant.*
Sing. 1. *c.*	ִי	ִי־ *my.*
2. *m.*	ךָ	ךָ־ (*pause* ךָ֑) *thy.*
2. *f.*	ךְ	ךְ־ *thy.*
3. *m.*	הוֹ, וֹ	וֹ (ה֫), הוֹ֫־ *his.*
3. *f.*	הָ	הָ֫־, הָ֫־ *her.*

	Vowel.	*Consonant.*
Plur. 1. *c.*	נוּ	נוּ֫־ *our.*
2. *m.*	כֶם	כֶם־ *your.*
2. *f.*	כֶן	כֶן־ *your.*
3. *m.*	הֶם (poetic ם־)	*eorum.*
	(poet. מוֹ)	(poet. מוֹ֫־) *eorum.*
3. *f.*	הֶן (הֵן)	ן־ *earum.*

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes; the particular forms are used as follows:—

(*a*) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these 'connecting *c* vowels' from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58. *f*) are joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the *constr. st.* of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיהוּ and אָבִיו, אָבִיהָ, אֲבִינוּ, אֲבִיכֶם, אֲבִיכֶן, אֲבִיהֶם, אֲבִיהֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *î* from ל״ה stems (see § 93. *x*, *y*), e. g. פְּרִיהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am. 9, 14 (also פִּרְיָם Is. 37, 30 and elsewhere), פְּרִיהֶן Jer. 29, 28 (also פִּרְיָן verse 5); comp., moreover, חֶלְבֵהֶן Lev. 8, 16. 25 and similar examples with הֶן (Is. 3, 17 הֵן)

Gen. 21, 28. Ezek. 13, 17. 16, 53[1] (in other cases, e. g. Gen. 1, 21. 4, 4. Ezek. 10, 12. Nah. 2, 8, the Masora by the punctuation הֶם־, הֶן־ avoids recognizing these suffixes as attached to singular nouns).

d (*b*) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58. *f*) are joined to nouns ending in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd *sing. fem.* ה־ (for *aha*) and 3rd *plur.* ם־, מוֹ־, ן־, also in the 3rd *sing. masc.* וֹ (ה), since the *ô* is contracted from *ahû*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd *masc.* ךָ־ (a half lengthening of an original ךְ־).

The forms with *e* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in ה־ (from stems ל״ה), *constr. st.* ה־ (cf. § 89. *f*), e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ (from *sadayhû*) *his field;* עָלֶהָ *its leaf,* Is. 1, 30; מַרְאֵהָ *the appearance thereof,* Lev. 13, 4 (from *mar'ay-hā = mar'ăhā*, with rejection of the *Yôdh* and half-lengthening of the *ă* to *Seghôl* in the open tone-syllable); but שָׂדָהּ *her field,* from *sāda[y]hā*. The orthographic retention of the י, e. g. מַעֲשָׂיו, מַעֲשֶׂיךָ, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see instances in § 93. *ss*.

Apart from these ל״ה forms the connecting vowel *e* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אוֹרֵהוּ *his light,* Job 25, 3; לְמִינֵהוּ *after its kind,* Gen. 1, 12. 21. 25 and elsewhere; Jud. 19, 24. Nah. 1, 13. On the other hand ךָ־ in the 2nd *sing. fem.* and נוּ־ in the 1st *plur.* are by far the most common forms, while ךְ־, נוּ־ are of rare occurrence; see letter *e*.—Instead of ךָ־ (כָה־ in Gen. 10, 19. Ex. 13, 16. Jer. 29, 25 and elsewhere, comp. לְכָה, בְּכָה § 103. *g*), כֶם־, כֶן־ (with *Šewâ mobile* or *medium*), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are ךְ־, כֶם־, כֶן־, e. g. רוּחֲךָ *thy spirit,* בֹּרַאֲךָ *thy creator,* Is. 43, 1, רֵיעֲכֶם *your friend,* Job 6, 27 (on such cases as בְּתוֹכְכֶם Hag. 2, 5, see § 10. *g*).

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

e *Sing.* 1st pers. נִי־ in בְּשׁוֹבֵנִי Ezek. 47, 7 (certainly only a scribal error, caused by וַיְשִׁבֵנִי in verse 6).

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָה־, e.g. כַּפֶּכָה (*thy hand*), Ps. 139, 5, comp. Prov. 24, 10; once חֹנֶךָ Ps. 53, 6 (comp. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75. *ll*); *fem.* יךְ־ Ezek. 5, 12 (in 16, 53 also for שְׁבִיתֵיךְ probably שְׁבִיתִיךְ is intended), כִי־ Jer. 11, 15. Ps. 103, 3. 116, 19. 135, 9 (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal בֶה־ Nah. 2, 14, comp. letter *l* below). Also ךָ־ Is. 22, 1, Ezek. 23, 28. 25, 4.

3rd pers. הּ־ (cf. § 7. *c*), e. g. אֲהָלָה Gen. 9, 21. 12, 8. 13, 3. 35, 21 (always with *Qerê* אָהֳלוֹ); נָוֶה Num. 10, 36; לֵוֶה Deut. 34, 7; בֶּלָה Jer. 20, 7. Nah. 2, 1 *Qerê;* קְצֵה 2 Ki. 19, 23 *Kethîbh*, for which קְצוֹ is read in Is. 37, 24; עִירָה and סוּתָה Gen. 49, 11, cf. Ex. 22, 26 (*Qerê* עִירוֹ, סוּתוֹ); סֻכָּה Ps. 10, 9. 27, 5 *Kethîbh;* תְּמוֹנָה Ezek. 31, 18 and elsewhere, *Kethîbh;* תְּבוּאָתָה Ezek. 48, 18 [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other Books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 Sam. 2, 9. 21, 1].

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[1] Also in Jer. 15, 10 read (according to § 61. *h*, end) בֶּלְהֶם קִלְלוּנִי; in Hos. 7, 6 probably אַפֵּהֶם for אֹפֵהֶם.

3rd *fem.* ה֫ for הָ֫ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, comp. § 23. *k*, and the analogous cases in § 58. *g*) occurs repeatedly before *B*e*ghadhk*e*phath* and other soft consonants, Ex. 9, 18 (before וְ, if the text is right), Lev. 13, 4 (before ל), Num. 15, 28. 31. 1 Sam. 1, 9. Ezek. 16, 44. 24, 6 (before ב), 1 Sam. 20, 20. 2 Ki. 8, 6. Prov. 12, 28 (before א), Nah. 3, 9 (before וּ), Ps. 48, 14 (before פ), Ezek. 47, 10. Job 31, 22 twice (before ת), Is. 21, 2. Jer. 20, 17 (before ה), Num. 32, 42. Amos 1, 11 (before נ), Lev. 6, 2 (before ע); even in *pause*, Lev. 12, 4 *a* and 5 *b*; Is. 23, 17. Prov. 21, 22, also with Zaqeph, Is. 45, 6. Jer. 6, 6 (probably), 44, 19; on הַשַּׁפָּה Lev. 26, 34 and elsewhere, see § 67. *y*. Cf. also א֫ Ezek. 36, 5. —Sometimes the Masora appears to regard the ה֫ with feminines as a shortening of תָה֫, e. g. נְצָה Gen. 40, 10 for נְצָתָה, פְּנֶה Prov. 7, 8 for פְּנָתָה; also ם֫ for תָם֫ in כְּתִבוּנֶם Hos. 13, 2, and עֶרְמֶם Job 5, 13. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e. g. in Is. 28, 4 the reading is simply to be emended to בְּכוּרָה, and in Zech. 4, 2 to גִּלָּה, Job 11, 9 to מִדָּה, Neh. 5, 14 to פֶּחָה.

Plur. 1st pers. נוּ֫, in *pause* קִימָּנוּ Job 22, 20 (where, however, קָמֵּנוּ is certainly to be read); comp. Ruth 3, 2. Is. 42, 10, and so always כָּלֵּנוּ *all of us*, Gen. 42, 11 and elsewhere. *f*

2nd pers. *fem.* כֶּנָּה Ezek. 23, 48. 49.

3rd pers. *masc.* מוֹ֫ Ps. 17, 10 (on מוֹ in פִּימוֹ in the same verse, and in Ps. 58, 7 see letter *l* below); הֶם֫ 2 Sam. 23, 6. *Fem.* הִנָה֫ 1 Ki. 7, 37. Ezek. 16, 53 (in *pause*); נָה֫ Gen. 41, 21; נָּה֫ Gen. 30, 41; נָה֫ Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gen. 21, 29. 42, 36. Jer. 8, 7. Prov. 31, 29. Job 39, 2); finally הֵן as suffix to a noun, only in Is. 3, 17.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see letter *l* below.

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* (יֵ֫, comp. § 89. *d*). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to י֫, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic suff. יהוּ֫) the *Yôdh*, which has really been dropped, is only orthographically retained. The preceding *ă* is then either fully lengthened by the tone to *ā* (as in the 3rd *masc. sing.*), or is modified to tone-bearing *S*e*ghôl* (as in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *pers. sing.* see below, letter *i*.—Thus there arise the following *g*

Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1. *c.* י֫, *pause* יָ֫ *my.*	1. *c.* ינוּ֫ *our.*
2. *m.* ךָ֫ / *f.* ךְ֫, *pause* ֫ךָ *thy.*	2. *m.* כֶם֫ / *f.* כֶן֫ *your.*
3. *m.* יו֫, poet. יהוּ֫ *his.* / *f.* הָ֫ *her.*	3. *m.* הֶם֫, poet. ימוֹ֫ / *f.* הֶן֫ *their.*

h

i Thus the original ־ָי is (*a*) contracted in the 3rd *sing. masc.* ־ֵיהוּ and throughout the *plural*, as סוּסֵי֫/הוּ, סוּסֵינוּ, &c.; (*b*) retained unchanged in the 1st *sing.* סוּסָי, the real suffix-ending י (see letter *b*) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending ־ָי; and in the 2nd *fem. sing.* סוּסַיִךְ, with a *helping-Ḥireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (*c*) the *Yôdh* of ־ָי is lost in pronunciation and (*a*) the *ă* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd *masc. sing.* סוּסָיו, i. e. *sûsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*); or (*β*) *ă* is modified to tone-bearing *Seghôl* in the 2nd *masc. sing.* סוּסֶיךָ from *sûsăkhā*, and in the 3rd *fem. sing.* סוּסֶיהָ from *sûsăhā*.

k Rem. 1. The fact that *ai* elsewhere is always contracted to *ê* is against deriving סוּסָיִךְ, &c., from *susai-ka*, &c.; cf. the analogous cases of the impf. of verbs ל״ה, § 75. *e* and *f*. Since the *Yôdh* in these suffixes (except in the 1st *sing.* and 2nd *fem. sing.*) is retained only orthographically, it is occasionally omitted[1], although this in unpointed writing easily caused confusion with the *sing.* noun, e. g. דְּרָכָךְ for דְּרָכָיִךְ *thy ways*, Ex. 33, 13. Jos. 1, 8. Ps. 119, 37; for other examples, see Jos. 21, 11 sqq. (מִגְרָשָׁהּ; but in 1 Chron. 6, 40 sqq. always ־ֶיהָ) Jud. 19, 9. 1 Ki. 8, 29. Is. 58, 13. Ps. 119, 41. 43. 98 (probably, however, in all these cases the *sing.* is intended); רֵעֵהוּ for רֵעָיהוּ *his friends*, 1 Sam. 30, 26. Prov. 29, 18; Job 42, 10 (it is, however, possible to explain it here as a *collective* singular); אֶסְרָהּ Num. 30, 8; מַכָּתָהּ Jer. 19, 8. 49, 17; מְבִיאָהּ Dan. 11, 6; עֲוֹנֵנוּ *our iniquities*, Is. 64, 5. 6. Jer. 14, 7; Ex. 10, 9. Neh. 10, 1; נִסְכֵּכֶם Num. 29, 33; רָעֹתֵכֶם Jer. 44, 9; יִרְבֶּם Ps. 134, 2; לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds*, Gen. 1, 21, comp. 4, 4 and Nah. 2, 8. The defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd *masc. sing.* ־ֹו, which in *Qerê* is almost always changed to ־ָיו, e. g. חָצָו *his arrows*, Ps. 58, 8, *Qerê* חֲצָיו, and so almost invariably יַחְדָּו (see the Lexicon), only three times יַחְדָּיו.

l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—

Sing. 2nd pers. *fem.* ־ִיךְ (after אַשְׁרֵי *happy!* Eccles. 10, 17, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; comp. Delitzsch on the passage); ־ֶיכִי (comp. Syr. ־ִכי) 2 Ki. 4, 3, and 7 in *Kethîbh*., Ps. 103, 3–5. 116, 7 (־ֶיכִי in *pause*).—In Ezek. 16, 31 ־ֶיךָ (so ־ֵיכֶם in 6, 8) occurs with an *infin.* ending in וֹת, the וֹת being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending וֹת (Num. 14, 33. Is. 54, 4. Jer. 3, 8. Ezek. 16, 15. 23, 7, as well as in 16, 20 *Qerê*, and Zeph. 3, 20), with the ending *îth* (Lev. 5, 24, reading חֲמִשִׁתּוֹ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath;* Is. 47, 13. Ezek. 35, 11. Ps. 9, 15. Ezra 9, 15.—Wholly abnormal is מַלְאָכַיִךְ *thy messengers*, Nah. 2, 14, evidently a case of dittography of the following ה: read מַלְאָכַיִךְ.

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[1] So in the Mêšaʿ inscription, l. 22 מגדלתה *its towers* (along with שעריה *its gates*). Can it have been the rule to omit י after the termination *âth?* Comp. below, letter *n*. In many of the above examples, however, the sing. was certainly intended.

3rd *masc.* יְהוֹ Hab. 3, 10. Job 24, 23; הוֹ 1 Sam. 30, 26. Ezek. 43, 17. Nah. 2, 4; וֹהִי (a purely Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12.—3rd *fem.* יְהָא Ezek. 41, 15.

Plur. 2nd pers. *masc.* תְּפוּצוֹתֵיכֶם (with *î*, so Qimḥi; comp. Norzi: the word is, however, really corrupt) Jer. 25, 34; *fem.* יכֶנָּה Ezek. 13, 20.

3rd *masc.* יהֶמָּה Ezek. 40, 16; *fem.* יהֶנָּה Ezek. 1, 11.

3. The termination מוֹ (also with the dual, e.g. Ps. 58, 7. 59, 13), like מוֹ and וֹמוֹ, occurs with the noun (as with the verb) almost exclusively in the later poets, and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. But even in later writings, as Diehl (see above, before letter *a*) has pointed out, it is confined to particular poets and groups: certain Psalms, Ex. 15, Deut. 32 and 33, 26–29, &c. The instances are not to be regarded as Aramaïsms, but are due to the artificial use of old forms, as is shown by the evidently intentional frequency of them, e.g. in Ex. 15. Ps. 2 and 140, and also by the fact that in Ex. 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Deut. 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

m **3.** It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix*-forms, which include the plural ending י, even to the feminine plural in וֹת (סוּסוֹתֵינוּ, סוּסוֹתֶיךָ, &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural[1].

n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (letter *b*), also occurs with the ending וֹת (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g. עֲדוֹתִי Ps. 132, 12 (unless it be *sing.* for עֲדוּתִי, as, according to Qimḥi in his Lexicon, תְּחִנּוֹתִי 2 Ki. 6, 8 is for תְּחִנּוּתִי); מַכַּתְךָ Deut. 28, 59 (treated on the analogy of an *infin.* לה״); מִצְוֹתֶיךָ Ps. 119, 98. Dan. 9, 5; אֲחָיוֹתֵךְ Ezek. 16, 52. In the 3rd *plur.* this is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l.c., p. 8), אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 Ki. 14, 15, and in Jer., Ezra, Neh., and Chron.); so always שְׁמוֹתָם, שְׁמוֹתָן *their names*, דּוֹרוֹתָם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 Sam. 22, 46 compared with Ps. 18, 46; Is. 2, 4 with Mic. 4, 3, it appears that in many cases the longer form in יהֶם can only subsequently have taken the place of ם.

o **4.** The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with an unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending ת in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ă* of this ending is only

[1] See an analogous case in § 87. *s*. Comp. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd *sing. perf.* of verbs לה״, § 75. *i*.

retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶם and כֶן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

p

Singular.

		Masculine.	*Feminine.*
		סוּס *a horse.*	סוּסָה *a mare.*
Sing. 1.	*com.*	סוּסִי *my horse.*	סוּסָתִי *my mare.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסְךָ *thy horse.*	סוּסָתְךָ *thy mare.*
	f.	סוּסֵךְ *thy horse.*	סוּסָתֵךְ *thy mare.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסוֹ *equus eius (suus).*	סוּסָתוֹ *equa eius (sua).*
	f.	סוּסָהּ *equus eius (suus).*	סוּסָתָהּ *equa eius (sua).*
Plur. 1.	*com.*	סוּסֵנוּ *our horse.*	סוּסָתֵנוּ *our mare.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסְכֶם *your horse.*	סוּסַתְכֶם *your mare.*
	f.	סוּסְכֶן *your horse.*	סוּסַתְכֶן *your mare.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסָם *equus eorum (suus).*	סוּסָתָם *equa eorum (sua).*
	f.	סוּסָן *equus earum (suus).*	סוּסָתָן *equa earum (sua).*

q

Plural.

		Masculine.	*Feminine.*
		סוּסִים *horses.*	סוּסוֹת *mares.*
Sing. 1.	*com.*	סוּסַי *my horses.*	סוּסוֹתַי *my mares.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסֶיךָ *thy horses.*	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ *thy mares.*
	f.	סוּסַיִךְ *thy horses.*	סוּסוֹתַיִךְ *thy mares.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסָיו *equi eius (sui).*	סוּסוֹתָיו *equae eius (suae).*
	f.	סוּסֶיהָ *equi eius (sui).*	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ *equae eius (suae).*
Plur. 1.	*com.*	סוּסֵינוּ *our horses.*	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ *our mares.*
2.	*m.*	סוּסֵיכֶם *your horses.*	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם *your mares.*
	f.	סוּסֵיכֶן *your horses.*	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן *your mares.*
3.	*m.*	סוּסֵיהֶם *equi eorum (sui).*	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם *equae eorum (suae).*
	f.	סוּסֵיהֶן *equi earum (sui).*	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן *equae earum (suae).*

§ 92. *Vowel Changes in the Noun.*

a **1.** Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive, (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:— *b*

(*a*) *When the tone is moved forward only one place*, as is the case when the plural and dual endings ־ִים, וֹת and ־ַיִם are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e. g. דָּבָר *word* (ground-form *dăbăr*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי, דִּבְּרֵנוּ; plur. דִּבָּרֶיךָ, &c.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual כְּנָפַיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פָּקִיד *overseer*, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the *suffix* of the sing. פְּקִידִי, פְּקִידֵנוּ, &c.; with the *suff.* of the plur. פְּקִידַי, פְּקִידֶיךָ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with *suff.* עוֹלָמַי, &c.[1]

But in participles of the form קוֹטֵל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ĭ*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šᵉwâ mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e. g. אוֵֹיב *enemy*, plur. אוְֹיבִים, with *suff.* אוְֹיבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קִטֵּל, קִטֵּל, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84 *b*, letters *d*, *l*, *p*; § 85. *i* and *k*), e. g. אִלֵּם *dumb*, plur. אִלְּמִים. *c*

(*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the *grave suffixes* to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, *is moved forward two places* within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e. g. דִּבְרֵי הָעָם *the words of the people*, דִּבְרֵיכֶם *your words*, דִּבְרֵיהֶם *their words* (in all which instances the *ĭ* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ă*). *d*

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[1] The participles *Niph'al* נִדְחָךְ Deut. 30, 4, נִדְחוֹ 2 Sam. 14, 13, and some plurals of the participle Niph. of verbs ל״א form an exception; comp. § 93. *oo*.

e In the segholate forms in the singular the suffix is always appended to the ground-form (מַלְכִּי *my king*, מַלְכֵּנוּ, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings ־ִים, וֹת (sometimes also before ־ֵים) a *Qameṣ* regularly occurs[1], before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ* (מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת). This *Qameṣ* (on which comp. § 84*a*, letter *a*) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלָכַי, מְלָכֶיךָ &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, regularly, according to letter *d*, has the form מַלְכֵי, with grave suffix מַלְכֵיכֶם &c., דַּלְתַי from דְּלָתַיִם *folding-doors*.

f (*c*) Before the *Šᵉwâ mobile* which precedes the suffix ךָ when following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e.g. דָּמְךָ, דָּבְרְךָ, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93. *qq*); but before the grave suffixes ־כֶם and ־כֶן in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבָרְכֶם (*dᵉbhărᵉkhèm*), &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st.* sing. also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e.g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֲצַר הַבַּיִת (from חָצֵר).

g Rem. The Masora (comp. *Diqduqe haṭᵉamim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words which retain *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *â* and, therefore, need not be considered. On the other hand, אוּלָם or אֻלָם 1 Ki. 7, 6. Ezek. 40, 48, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st.* plur. אֲלָמֵי); מִבְטָח Ps. 65, 6. Prov. 25, 19; מַצָּב 1 Sam. 13, 23 (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מַצַּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezra 8, 30 and מַתָּן Prov. 18, 16 are very peculiar.

h **3.** The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already been shortened to vocal *Šᵉwâ*.

i Besides the vowel changes discussed above in letters *a–g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25–28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84–86). Such are, e.g., the rejection of the ה of ל״ה stems before all formative additions (comp. § 91. *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of ע״ע stems in such cases as חֹק, חֻקִּי, &c.

k There is this striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and

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[1] For the rare exceptions see § 93. *l* and § 97. *f*, first note.

noun, namely, that in a verb when terminations are added, it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes vocal *Še·wâ* (קָטַל, קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ), but in a noun, the first (דָּבָר, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרִים), comp. § 27. 3.

§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns*[1].

Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given in the following table, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised: *a*

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122. *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. חֶרֶב *f. sword*, like מֶלֶךְ *m. king*, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination ־וֹת; thus חֲרָבוֹת, *constr.* חַרְבוֹת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

(*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending ־ִים. All suffixes, except כֶם, כֶן, הֶם, הֶן (יכֶם־, יכֶן־, יהֶם־, יהֶן־), are called *light*. Comp. § 92. *e*. *b*

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[1] A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, ii. 1 (see above, § 3. *f*).

Paradigms o

I.

	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*
Sing. absolute	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	עַל
	(*king*)	(*book*)	(*sanctuary*)	(*a youth*)	(*perpetuity*)	(*wo*
„ *construct*	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נַעַר	נֵצַח	עַל
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קָדְשִׁי	נַעֲרִי	נִצְחִי	עָלַי
	מַלְכְּךָ	סִפְרְךָ	קָדְשְׁךָ	נַעַרְךָ	נִצְחֲךָ	עָלֶיךָ
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכָּכֶם	סִפְרָכֶם	קָדְשָׁכֶם	נַעֲרָכֶם	נִצְחֲכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
Plur. absolute	מְלָכִים	סְפָרִים	קָדָשִׁים	נְעָרִים	נְצָחִים	עָלִים
„ *construct*	מַלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קָדְשֵׁי	נַעֲרֵי	נִצְחֵי	עָלֵי
„ *with light suff.*	מְלָכַי	סְפָרַי	קָדָשַׁי	נְעָרַי	נְצָחַי	עָלַי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קָדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעֲרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
Dual absolute	רַגְלַיִם	קִבְצַיִם	מָתְנַיִם	נַעֲלַיִם		
	(*feet*)	(*two heaps*)	(*loins*)	(*sandals*)		
	[proper name.]					
„ *construct*	רַגְלֵי		מָתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

II.

	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f*
Sing. absolute	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	כָּתֵף	חָצֵר	ה
	(*word*)	(*wise*)	(*an old man*)	(*shoulder*)	(*court*)	(*fu*
„ *construct*	דְּבַר	חֲכַם	זְקַן	כֶּתֶף	חֲצַר	ה
„ *with light suff.*	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זְקֵנִי	כְּתֵפִי	חֲצֵרִי	י
	דְּבָרְךָ	חָכְמְךָ				ך
„ *with grave suff.*	דְּבַרְכֶם	חַכְמְכֶם				
Plur. absolute	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זְקֵנִים		חֲצֵרִים	
„ *construct*	דִּבְרֵי	חַכְמֵי	זִקְנֵי		חַצְרֵי	
„ *with light suff.*	דְּבָרַי	חָכְמַי	זְקֵנַי		חֲצֵרַי	
„ *with grave suff.*	דִּבְרֵיכֶם	חַכְמֵיכֶם	זִקְנֵיכֶם		חַצְרֵיכֶם	
Dual absolute	כְּנָפַיִם	חֲלָצַיִם	יְרֵכַיִם			
	(*wings*)	(*loins*)	(*thighs*)			
„ *construct*	כַּנְפֵי					

Masculine Nouns.

I.

g.	*h.*	*i.*	*k.*	*l.*	*m.*	*n.*
מָוֶת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם	אֵם	חֹק
(*death*)	(*olive*)	(*whip*)	(*fruit*)	(*sea*)	(*mother*)	(*statute*)
מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יַם, יָם	אֵם	חָקֵ־
מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פְּרִיי	יַמִּי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
[מוֹתְךָ]	זֵיתְךָ	שׁוֹטְךָ	פֶּרְיְךָ	יַמְּךָ	אִמְּךָ	[חֻקְּךָ]
[מוֹתְכֶם]	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פֶּרְיְכֶם	יַמְּכֶם	אִמְּכֶם	[חֻקְּכֶם]
[מוֹתִים]	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	פְּרִיִים	יַמִּים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יַמֵּי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
	זֵיתַי	שׁוֹטַי	(*kids*)	יַמַּי	אִמּוֹתַי	חֻקַּי
	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יַמֵּיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
	עֵינַיִם	יוֹמַיִם	לְחָיַיִם	כַּפַּיִם	שִׁנַּיִם	
	(*eyes*)	(*two days, biduum*)	(*cheeks*)	(*hands*)	(*teeth*)	
	עֵינֵי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפֵּי	שִׁנֵּי	

III.

a.	*b.*	*c.*
עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה
(*eternity*)	(*enemy*)	(*seer*)
עוֹלַם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֵה
עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי
עוֹלָמְךָ	אֹיִבְךָ	חֹזְךָ
עוֹלָמְכָם	אֹיִבְכֶם	חֹזְכֶם
עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים
עוֹלְמֵי	אֹיְבֵי	חֹזֵי
עוֹלָמַי	אֹיְבַי	חֹזַי
עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם
מֶלְקָחַיִם	מֹאזְנַיִם	
(*pair of tongs*)	(*balance*)	
	מֹאזְנֵי	

IV.

a.	*b.*	*c.*
פָּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
(*overseer*)	(*poor*)	(*writing*)
פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
פְּקִידִי		כְּתָבִי
פְּקִידְךָ		כְּתָבְךָ
פְּקִידְכֶם		כְּתָבְכֶם
פְּקִידִים	עֲנִיִּים	[כְּתָבִים]
פְּקִידֵי	עֲנִיֵּי	[כְּתָבֵי]
פְּקִידַי		[כְּתָבַי]
פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עֲנִיֵּיכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
שָׁבֻעַיִם		
(*two weeks*)		

Explanations of the Paradigms (see pp. 274, 275).

c **1.** Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84 *a*, letters *a–e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms *mălk*, *sĭphr*, *qŭdš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghól* to מַלְכְּ (with *ă* modified to *è*), סֵפְר (*ĭ* lengthened to *ē*), קֹדֶשׁ (*ŭ* lengthened to *ō*). The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghól*, have a helping *Pathaḥ*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *construct state* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ŏ* takes the place of the original *ŭ*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ă* and *ŏ* in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph* (נַעֲרִי, פָּעֳלִי); before a following *Šewá* this *Ḥaṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ă*, *ŏ*), according to § 28. *c*; hence נַעֲרֵךְ, &c.

d In the plural an *a*-sound (which, according to § 84 *a*, letter *a*, is most probably original) appears before the tone-bearing affix ־ִים, in the form of a pretonic *Qameṣ*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Šewá*. This *Qameṣ* again in the *construct state* becomes vocal *Šewá*, so that the short vowel under the first radical then stands in a half-closed syllable (מַלְכֵי, not מַלְכֵי, &c.). On the other hand, the pretonic *Qameṣ* of the *absolute state* is retained before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *construct state*.—The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground-form (so in *a–d* and *h*, but comp. *k*). The *construct state* of the dual is generally the same as that of the plural, except, of course, in cases like *m*.

e Paradigms *g* and *h* exhibit forms with middle *u* and *i* (§ 84 *a*, letter *c*, γ and δ); the ground-forms *maut* and *zait* are always contracted to *môt*, *zêt*, except in the *absol. sing.*, where *u* and *i* are changed into the corresponding consonants ו and י.

Paradigm *i* exhibits one of the numerous forms in which the contraction of a middle *u* or *i* has already taken place in the *absol. sing.* (ground-form *šauṭ*).

Paradigm *k* is a formation from a stem ל״ה (§ 84 *a*, letter *c*, ε)

f Paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms from stems ע״ע, and hence (see § 67. *a*) originally biliteral, *yam*, *'im*, *ḥuq*, with the regular lengthening to

יָם, אֵם, חֹק. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs ע״ע, takes place in the second radical, e. g. אִמִּי, יַמִּים, &c. (see § 84 *a*, letter *c*, *β*).

REMARKS.

g 1. A. On I. *a* and *d* (ground-form *qaṭl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to *ā* generally takes place, thus כֶּרֶם *vineyard*, נָעַר, זָרַע *seed* (from זָרַע), and so always (except Ps. 48, 11), in אֶרֶץ *earth*, with the article, הָאָרֶץ according to § 35. *o* (comp. also in the LXX the forms Ἀβέλ, Ἰαφέθ for יֶפֶת, הֶבֶל). However, the form with *è* is also sometimes found in pause, along with that in *ā*, e. g. חֶסֶד together with חָסֶד; and very frequently only the form with *Seghôl*, e. g. מֶלֶךְ, דֶּשֶׁא *grass*, נֶצַח *perpetuity*, פֶּלֶא *a wonder*, צֶדֶק *righteousness*, קֶדֶם *the East*, יֶשַׁע *help*, &c.—With two *Seghôls*, although with a middle guttural, we find לֶחֶם *bread* (in *pause* לָחֶם) and רֶחֶם *womb* (in *pause* רָחֶם), besides רַחַם Jud. 5, 30 (in *pause* רָחַם). A helping *Seghôl* always stands before a final א, as בֶּטֶן, דֶּשֶׁא (with *suff.* בִּטְנְאֵךְ), פֶּלֶא, פֶּרֶא (also written פֶּרֶה), except in גֵּיא, see letter *v*.

h B. The *constr. st.* is almost always the same as the *absolute*. Sometimes, however, under the influence of a final guttural or ר, Pathaḥ appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, letter *s*), e. g. זָרַע (only in Num. 11, 7, before Maqqeph), חָדַר (Cant. 3, 4; elsewhere חֶדֶר), נָטַע, סָחַר as well as זֶרַע, &c.; comp., moreover, קָחַת 2 Ki. 12, 9 (for קַחַת, *infin. constr.* from לָקַח).

i C. The ה֫ *locale* is, according to § 90. *i*, regularly added to the already developed form, e. g. נֶגְבָּה Ps. 116, 14. 18: הַפֶּתְחָה Gen. 19, 6, *to the door;* but also with a firmly closed syllable נֶגְבָּה Ex. 40, 24; under the influence of a guttural or ר, חַדְרָה, אַרְצָה, in *pause* אֶרֶצָה (cf. גְּוָרָה 1 Chron. 14, 16, from גּוֹר).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* instead of the *Šewâ quiescens;* נַעֲרִי, &c. (but also לַחְמִי, זַעְמִי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qāṭl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, the *ă* of the first syllable is attenuated to *ĭ*, thus בִּטְנִי *my womb*, יִתְרוֹ; so in בֶּגֶד, בֶּצַע, שִׁמְשׁ, רֶשַׁע, קֶרֶב, צֶדֶק, פֶּתַח, פֶּשַׁע, טֶבַח, זֶבַח, גֶּזַע and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ă* there most probably existed another with original *ĭ* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יֶשַׁע beside יֶשַׁע, נֶצַח beside נֶצַח, &c. (According to the *Diqduqe ha-ṭeʿamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *è*, the *constr. ē;* comp. נֵדֶר Num. 30, 4 (*absol.*) and נֶדֶר 30, 10 (*constr.*); שֵׁבֶר Lev. 24, 20 (*absol.*) and שֶׁבֶר Amos 6, 6 (*constr.*). According to this theory[1] פֶּלֶא (so the best authorities) Is. 9, 5 would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A half-opening of the firmly closed syllable

[1] Probably only a theory of one particular school and not generally accepted, or at any rate not consistently carried out; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 22.

occurs in בִּגְדִי, &c. from בָּגֶד and יִקְבֶּךָּ Deut. 15, 14. 16, 13, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *Seghôl* for *ĭ*: חֶבְלִי, יֶשְׁעֶךָ, נִגְדִּי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is sometimes found along with the termination ־ִים, e. g. נְפָשׁוֹת, עֲצָמוֹת together with נְפָשִׁים (Ezek. 13, 20), &c., *constr. st.* נַפְשׁוֹת. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e. g. אַרְצוֹת, *constr.* אַרְצוֹת from אֶרֶץ. Without *Qameṣ* before the ending ־ִים we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., comp. the note on § 97. *f*. Moreover *a* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אַשְׁרֶיךָ, &c., properly *thy happiness!* (a word which is only used in the *constr. st.*, and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection), nor in יַחְדָּו *together*, according to § 135. *r* from יַחַד, nor with the preposition תַּחַת § 103. *o*.

m F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e. g. בַּסְפֵּי Gen. 42, 25. 35 (before suffixes); רִשְׁפֵּי Cant. 8, 6 (רִשְׁפֵי Ps. 76, 4); טַרְפֵּי Ezek. 17, 9; צִמְדֵּי Is. 5, 10, and so always in נִסְכֵּי before suffixes, Ps. 16, 4 and elsewhere (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חַסְדֵי Is. 55, 3 and elsewhere, though in Ps. 107, 43 Ginsburg reads חַסְדֵי); comp. § 46. *d*. Even with a middle guttural בַּעֲלֵיהֶן Est. 1, 17. 20.— The attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* also occurs very frequently in this form (see above), e. g. זִבְחֵי, &c., even יִלְדֵי Is. 57, 4 beside יַלְדֵי Hos. 1, 2 and elsewhere.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלַיִם *feet*, with suff. רַגְלָיִךְ, רַגְלָיו, &c., אַלְפַּיִם *two thousand*, נַעֲלַיִם *sandals*, בִּרְכַּיִם *knees* (*ă* attenuated to *ĭ*, *constr. st.* בִּרְכֵּי with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בִּרְכַּי, &c. (comp., however, בִּרְכֵיהֶם Jud. 7, 6); forms with pretonic *Qameṣ* are also found (in consequence of the tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 17), as קָרָנַיִם *horns*, with suff. קָרָנָיו (Dan. 8, 3 sqq.; elsewhere always קַרְנַיִם, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דַּלְתַיִם, *constr. st.* דַּלְתֵי *folding-doors*, דִּרְכַּיִם *double way*.

o 2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final א rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חֵטְא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *Seghôl* instead of the original *ĭ*, e. g. עֶוְרִי, חֶלְקִי, &c., so in the *constr. st.* plur. עֶגְלֵי, &c.; חֵטְא forms חֶטְאֵי 2 Ki. 10, 29 and elsewhere, retaining the *Qameṣ* of חֲטָאִים before the weak א.—On עִשְּׁבוֹת (*constr. st.* plur. of עֵשֶׂב) Prov. 27, 25 comp. § 20. *h*; שִׁקְמִים without *Qameṣ* before the termination ־ִים (see above, letter *l*) is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמָה found in the Mišna.

p 3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִשְׁטְ occurs in Prov. 22, 21 without a helping vowel; with a middle guttural פְּעַל, &c., but with ה also אֶהֱל, בֶּהֱן; with a final guttural רֶבַע, גֶּבַהּ, &c., but with א, גֶּמֶא; with a firmly closed syllable אֶסְפֵּי Mic. 7, 1.

q Before suffixes the original *ŭ* sometimes reappears in the sing., e. g. גְּדֻלּוֹ (Ps. 150, 2), beside גָּדְלוֹ, from גֹּדֶל *greatness*; סֻבְּלוֹ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ŭ* repeated in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*) Is. 9, 3 and elsewhere; גֻּשְׁמָהּ Ezek. 22, 24.—Corresponding to the form פְּעָלְכֶם *pŏʿŏlʿkhèm* we find קָטְבָךְ Hos. 13, 14, even without a middle guttural; similarly קָטְנִי (so Jablonski and Opitius)

1 Ki. 12, 10. 2 Chron. 10, 10, from קָטֹן *little finger;* but the better reading is, no doubt, קָטְנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the ק proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable;' König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קָטַן. The reading קָטְנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but ־ִ is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *ŏ*. In the forms בְּעָלוֹ Is. 1, 31 (for בִּעֲלוֹ) and תְּאָרוֹ Is. 52, 14 (for תִּאֲרוֹ 1 Sam. 28, 14), the lengthening of the original *ŭ* to *ō* has been retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63. *p* and § 74. *h* (בְּמֹצָאֲכֶם Gen. 32, 20).—In the same way *ō* remains before ה־ *locale*, e.g. הָאֹהֱלָה, גֹּרְנָה Gen. 18, 6. 24, 67 and elsewhere.

r In the *absol. plur.* the original *ŭ* generally becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ* before the *Qameṣ*, e.g. בְּקָרִים from בֹּקֶר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רְמָחִים *lances*, שְׁעָלִים *handfuls* (*constr. st.* שַׁעֲלֵי Ezek. 13, 19); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *u*-sound reappears as *Ḥaṭeph Qameṣ*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, עֲפָרִים *gazelles*, אֳרָחוֹת *ways;* and so even without an initial guttural, הַגָּרְנוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 Sam. 23, 1. Joel 2, 24; קָדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שָׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*gŏdhāšîm*, &c., with *ŏ* for ־ָ); also before light suffixes קָדָשַׁי &c., where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between ־ָ and ־ָ; with the article הַ־, בַּ־, לַ־, according to Baer and Ginsburg. Comp. further on these forms, especially § 9. *v*. From אֹהֶל *tent*, both בְּאָהָלִים and אֹהָלִים (in the Syriac form; comp. § 23. *h* and בְּעָלוֹ above) are found; with light suffixes אָהָלַי &c.; so from אֹרַח *way*, אָרְחֹתָיו (also אָרְחָתַי)—hence only with initial א, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the plural of אֹרְחָה *caravan*, and of אֹרַח *way;* however, אָרְחוֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Job 6, 19) and אֹרְחוֹת in the latter (e.g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); comp. also אוֹנִיּוֹת 2 Chron. 8, 18 *Kᵉth.* (אֳנִי *Qᵉrê*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בֹּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֹנוֹת Jud. 1, 6 sq., as if from a sing. בְּהֹן: of נֹגַהּ *brightness*, Is. 59, 9 נְגֹהוֹת (on these *qᵉṭōl*-forms, cf. letter *t*).—If אָפְנָיו Prov. 25, 11 is not dual but plural (see the Lexicon) it is then analogous to the examples, given in letters *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qameṣ;* cf. בָּטְנִים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בָּטְנָה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 345 sq. אָפְנָיו is a sing. (אָפְנַי, the ground-form of אָפְנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ŭ* is רִכְבֵי Ps. 31, 21; otherwise like אָהֳלֵי, קָדְשֵׁי &c.

s 4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84 *a*, letter *e*). Thus (*a*) of the form קִטַל (comp. § 84 *a*, letter *e*); דְּבַשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little;* in *pause*, דְּבָשׁ, מְעָט; גְּבַר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, letter *h*), Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere always גֶּבֶר), and *infinitives* like שְׁכַב (§ 45. *c;* on קָחַת, see above, letter *h*); שִׁכְמָם *shoulder*, *ă* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שִׁכְמָם); locative שִׁכְמָה, also שִׁכְמָה Hos. 6, 9. With suffixes in the usual manner שִׁכְמִי, שִׁכְבָהּ Gen. 19, 33. 35 (an infin. with *Šᵉwâ medium*, not שִׁכְבָהּ). On the other

hand, the *ă* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲגַמִּים (constr. אַגְמֵי) *marshes*, הֲדַסִּים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים.

t (*b*) Of the form קָטֶל: בְּאֵר *well*, זְאֵב *wolf*, &c.; *locative* בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* זְאֵבִים, זְאֵבֵי; on the other hand בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin. constr.* שְׁאֵת, cf. § 76. *b*.—(*c*) of the form קְטָל: בְּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֻשׁוֹ, as סִבְּכוֹ occurs Jer. 4, 7 along with the *constr. st.* סְבַךְ Ps. 74, 5; comp. for the Dageš, § 20. *h*), perhaps also לְאֻמִּים *nation*, pl. לְאֻמִּים.

u 5. Paradigms *g–i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (*a*) of the form *qăṭl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ă* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus אָוֶן, מָוֶת *vanity*, עָוֶל *iniquity*, תָּוֶךְ *midst*; with final א, שָׁוְא *falsehood*; comp., however, also רֹחַב *width*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עָוֶל as *constr. st.* Ezek. 28, 18 (according to Qimḥi) and with suff. עַוְלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (see, however, below, letter *w*).

v (*b*) Of the form *qăṭl* with consonantal *Yôdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, גַּיְא (also גַּי), in Is. 40, 4 גֵּיא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zech. 14, 4) גֵּיא (also גֵּי); plur. 2 Ki. 2, 16 and Ezek. 6, 3 *K^eṯh.* according to Baer גאות, i.e. doubtless גֵּאוֹת (cf. גֵּיאוֹתֵיךְ Ezek. 35, 8; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] גיאות, i.e. doubtless גֵּיאוֹת), but in *Q^erê*, and all other passages, גְּאָיוֹת. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Ḥireq*) remains also before ה_ *locale*, e.g. בַּיְתָה (but in the *constr. st.* e.g. בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף).—עִירוֹ (from עַיִר) Gen. 49, 11 is peculiar, so also שִׁיתוֹ Is. 10, 17 (from שַׁיִת).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like עֲיָנוֹת *springs*, עֲיָרִים *young asses*, תְּיָשִׁים *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Prov. 8, 28 עִינוֹת for עֵינוֹת; comp. for an analogous weakening of *ê* to *î*, § 75. *f*.

w (*c*) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st.* sing. (Paradigm *i*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form *qăṭl*: יוֹם (comp., however, § 96), שׁוֹר, סוֹף, &c.; with middle *Yôdh*, חֵיל 1 Chron. 9, 13 (elsewhere חַיִל), לֵיל Is. 21, 11 (elsewhere לַיְלָה, in prose לַיִל, see above, § 90. *f*); from the ground-form *qĕṭl*, עֵיר, שִׁיר, דִּין, רִיב, גִּיר, &c. The plurals חֻמִּים *pots*, שְׁוָקִים *streets*, שְׁוָרִים *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for חֻמִּים 1 Sam. 13, 6 read חוֹרִים as in 14, 11). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle א also belong to this class, such as רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רָאשׁ = *ra'š*, see § 96) and צֹאן *sheep*.

x 6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from ל״ה stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned in § 84 *a*, letter *c*, ϵ, like גֻּבָּה &c., also שֻׁחוֹ Ezek. 47, 5, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24. *d* (comp. the *constr. plur.* חַגְוֵי *clefts*, Obad. 3 and elsewhere, and קַצְוֵי *ends*, Ps. 48, 11 and elsewhere, where the ו becomes again a strong consonant, from חָגְוֵי and קָצְוֵי or חָגוֵי and קָצוֵי), there occur also (*a*) commonly, of the ground-form *qăṭl*, forms like פְּרִי, בְּכִי, גְּדִי, פִּרְיוֹ, בִּכְיוֹ, לֶחְיוֹ, &c.; in *pause* פֶּרִי, בֶּכִי, לֶחִי, עֵבִי, אֵרִי, צִבִי &c.; in *pause* פֶּרִי, בֶּכִי, לֶחִי, עֵבִי, אֵרִי, צְבִי (comp. § 29. *m*), but אֲרֵי Jud. 14, 18; with suffixes פִּרְיוֹ (attenuated from *păryō*), but also פֶּרְיְךָ, לֶחְיוֹ, &c.;

before a grave suffix פְּרִיהֶם, but also פְּרִיכֶם. Plur. גְּדָיִים (constr. גְּדָיֵי, see above, letter *o*, חִטָּאֵי), אֲרָיִים and אֲרָיוֹת; with softening of the י to א (as elsewhere in בְּלוֹאֵי Jer. 38, 12, for which there is בְּלוֹיֵי in verse 11, according to § 8. *k*; עֲרָבִיאִים 2 Chron. 17, 11, comp. 26, 7 *K^e th.*, probably in לֻלָּאוֹת, דּוּדָאִים from דּוּדַי and לוּלַי; also חלכאים Ps. 10, 10 *K^e th.*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. חֶלְכַּי *hapless*): חֲלָאִים *jewels*, Cant. 7, 2 (from חֲלִי), טְלָאִים *lambs*, 1 Sam. 15, 4. Is. 40, 11 (from טְלִי); but instead of פִּתָּאִים and צְבָאִים (from פִּתִּי and צְבִי) the Masora requires פְּתָאִים and צְבָאִים; dual: לְחָיַיִם, *constr. st.* לְחָיֵי, with *suff.* לְחָיַי &c. On דַּל *door*, cf. § 95. *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 603 sqq., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 sqq.

(*b*) From the ground-form *qĭṭl*, חֲצִי *half*, in *pause* חֲצִי, with suff. חֶצְיוֹ &c.— From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as אִי (from *'iwy* = אֱוִי), עִי, צִי *ship*, plur. אִיִּים, צִיִּים &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. צִים Num. 24, 24 read with the Samaritan יְוָנִים, and for בַּצִּים Ezek. 30, 9 read probably with Cornill אָצִים. *y*

(*c*) From the ground-form *qŭṭl* sometimes forms like תֹּהוּ, בֹּהוּ (from *tŭhw*, *bŭhw*), sometimes like חֶלְיִ, עֶנְיִ, and even without an initial guttural יְפִי, דְּמִי, צְרִי (also צָרִי, יָפִי, דָּמִי, רָאִי &c.; in *pause* חֹלִי &c., with suff. חָלְיוֹ, plur. חֳלָיִים. From עֹפִי *branch*, there occurs in Ps. 104, 12 the plur. עָפָאִים (analogous to פִּתָּאִים &c., see above, letter *x*); the *K^e th.* obviously intends עֲפָאִים (so Opitius and others). Dual, with *suff.* דַּלְיָו Num. 24, 7 from דְּלִי, for דֶּלִי *bucket*. *z*

7. On Paradigms *l–n:* segholate forms from stems ע״ע (see § 84 *a*, letter *c*, *β*). (*a*) In the *qāṭl*-form the *ă* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.* sing., as in יָם (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יַם־סוּף *the Red sea;* and even before *Maqqeph*, יָם־הַמֶּלַח *the salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e. g. פַּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qameṣ* in pause, as well as after the article (e. g. הָעָם). Adjectives of this class (formerly treated under letter *ff*) are, e. g. דַּל *poor*, קַל *light*, plur. דַּלִּים, קַלִּים; under the influence of a guttural either forms like לַחִים, צַחִים arise, or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעֵי, רָעֵים. In the *constr. st.* חֵי *life*, and דֵּי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חֵי[1] and דֵּי. As a locative form notice הָהָרָה *to the mountain*, Gen. 14, 10 (see § 27. *q*) beside הָהֳרָה. The stem is expanded to a triliteral form in חֲרָרִי Jer. 17, 3 (on the analogy of the *qāṭṭāl*-forms; but in Ps. 30, 8 for הֲרָרִי read הָרֲרִי) and הָרָרָם Gen. 14, 6; plur. *constr.* הָרְרֵי Num. 23, 7, &c. (but only in poetical passages); עָמְמֵי Jud. 5, 14. Neh. 9, 22; עַמְמֵי Neh. 9, 24: elsewhere עַמֵּי, עַמִּים.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ă* is some- *aa*

[1] חֵי only in Dan. 12, 7 as *constr. st.;* since in the asseverative formulae חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ, חֵי פַּרְעֹה (otherwise only in 2 Sam. 15, 21, after חַי יהוה, and Amos 8, 14) חֵי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.), in use along with the equally regular חַי אָנֹכִי (חַי אָנֹכִי Deut. 32, 40) and חַי יְהוָה (= חַי אֲדֹנָי).

times attenuated to *ĭ*, e. g. פִּתִּי, פִּתִּים, from פֶּתִי; סְפִים and סְפוֹת (also סַפּוֹת 2 Sam. 17, 28) from סַף. Before ח *ă* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e. g. פַּחִים *traps*.

bb (*b*) *Qĭṭl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אִשֵּׁי *fire* (with suff. אִשַּׁי, but comp. also אִשֶּׁכֶם Is. 50, 11), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a triliteral form, the plur. חֲצֵצֵיךְ Ps. 77, 18. (*c*) *Qăṭl*-forms: כֹּל, חֹק *totality*, before *Maqqeph* כָּל־, חָק־, with suff. חֻקִּי &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20. *m*) always חָקְכֶם, חָקְךָ (חֻקִּי and חֻקְכֶם are bracketed in the Paradigm as being simply analogous formations on the model of עֲוֹנִי, עֲוֹנְךָ, עֲוֹנְכֶם, for which עֲוֹנִי and עֲוֹנְךָ are also found). חֻקֻּקִי, expanded to a triliteral form, Jud. 5, 15 and Is. 10, 1, generally explained as a secondary form of חֻקְקִי with abnormal weakening of the *ŭ* to *ĭ*, is more probably to be referred to a *qĭṭṭl*-form = Arabic *ḥiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nûn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms *l-n*, e. g. אַף *nose, anger* (אַפַּי, dual אַפַּיִם, also *face*) for *'anp*; חֵךְ *palate* for *ḥink*, זִקִים *fetters*, עֵז *goat*, plur. עִזִּים, for *'inz*, probably also אֵב *green herb*, for *'inb*.

dd **2.** Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; comp. § 84 *a*, letters *f–i*, and the general laws of formation, § 92. *b–g*.

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qăṭăl*. The lengthening of the *ă* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st.* sing. only in ל״א-forms, e. g. צָבָא *army*, צִבְאָ. For the construct forms חֶלֶב *milk*, לֶבֶן־ *white*, Gen. 49, 12, instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חָלָב, לָבָן, a secondary form חָלֵב, לָבֵן must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עֶשֶׁן occurs once, Ex. 19, 18, beside עֲשַׁן. The plur. פָּרָשִׁים *horses*, Is. 21, 7 (instead of פְּרָשִׁים, ground-form *părăš*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qaṭṭâl*-form פָּרָשׁ *horseman*.

ee Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to keep the preceding vowel short, e. g. גְּמַלִּים *camels*, קְטַנִּים *small ones*, פְּלַגּוֹת *brooks* (see § 20. *a*).—The attenuation of the *ă* of the first syllable to *ĭ* does not take place in the *constr. st.* plur. before a middle guttural, e. g. נַהֲרֵי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms זַנְבוֹת *tails*, כַּנְפוֹת, and (in the dual) כַּנְפֵי *wings*, from כָּנָף, זָנָב.—The dual נַהֲרַיִם from נָהָר *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ă* before a tone-bearing termination.

ff B. From ע״ע stems, forms like חָלָל, עָנָן, &c. belong to this class.

gg C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qĭṭăl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵבָב *heart*, שֵׂכָר *temetum*, עֵנָב *grape*, &c. From שֵׂעָר *hair*, besides the *constr. st.* שְׂעַר the form שַׂעַר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from צֵלָע *rib*, צַלַע and even צֶלַע 2 Sam. 16, 13, both, probably, also old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צֵלָע; comp. also צַלְעִי and צַלְעוֹ, as well as the *constr. st.* plur. צַלְעוֹת; also from נֵכָר *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* נֶכַר־ is found, Deut. 31, 16.

2. On Paradigms *c–e:* ground-form *qāṭŭl*, developed to *qāṭēl*, with a final guttural, e.g. שָׂבֵעַ *satisfied.* In the *constr. st.* the original *ŭ* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69. *c*, becomes *ă*, e.g. זְקַן, חֲסַר, &c., but not before suffixes, כִּתְפִי, &c., nor in forms from ל״א stems, e.g. מְלֵא *full*, מָלֵא; comp., moreover, עֲקֵב Gen. 25, 26 from עָקֵב *heel*, and אֲבֵל- Ps. 35, 14, *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary כָּתֵף, &c., have a segholate form, as עֶרֶל, גֶּוֶל, יֶרֶךְ, גֶּדֶר, אֹרֶךְ (Ezek. 44, 9), *constr. st.* of אָרֵךְ *long*, גָּדֵר *wall*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, גָּזֵל *robbery*, עָרֵל *uncircumcised*. In Is. 11, 14 בְּכָתֵף would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בְּכֶתֶף); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended (wrongly) by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] בכ׳ אֶחָד *with one shoulder*, i. e. *shoulder to shoulder*); cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.* *hh*

In the plur. *constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *ĕ* is frequently retained in verbal adjectives of this formation, e.g. חֲפֵצִי, יְשֵׁנִי, אֲבֵלִי, שְׁמֵחִי, שְׂבֵחִי; comp. also יִתְדָתָיו (under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָתֵד *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרֵא *fearing*, always יִרְאֵי; comp. also רִגְעֵי Ps. 35, 20 from רָגַע.—With *ă* retained in the initial syllable comp. אַחֵר *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From ע״י stems come forms like מֵת *dead person*, גֵּר *resident stranger*, עֵד *witness*, with unchangeable *Ṣērê;* hence מֵתֵי, מֵתִים, &c. *ii*

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭŭl*. This ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭōl*, e.g. עָגֹל *round*, עָמֹק *deep*, אָדֹם *red;* on the other hand before formative additions the short *ŭ* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see letter *ee* above), as עֲגֹלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, שְׁחֹרִים, גְּבֹהָה). The form עָגוֹל, 1 Ki. 10, 19, is abnormal; likewise עֲמוּקָה Prov. 23, 27, Jablonski (Baer and Ginsburg עֲמֻקָּה). *kk*

3. On Paradigm *f:* ground-form *qāṭăl* from ל״ה stems. As in verbs ל״ה § 75. *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שָׂדֶה the form שָׂדַי, with the final *Yôdh* retained, is also found in poetry; in the same way final ו is retained in עֲנָיִם *the poor*, *constr.* עֲנֵי. The plur. of שָׂדֶה is שָׂדוֹת, *constr.* שְׂדוֹת (also שְׂדֵי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׂדַי; so Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 351). The *qĭṭăl*-form (see § 84 *a*, letter *i*) רֵעָה 2 Sam. 15, 37. 16, 16. 1 Ki. 4, 5 is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רֵעָה of Opitius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנַי, פָּנֶיהָ, פָּנֶיךָ, &c. *ll*

In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st.* sing.; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, *constr.* יַד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יֶדְכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, *constr.* יְדוֹת, dual יָדַיִם, יְדֵי, with *suff.* יָדַי, יְדֵיכֶם, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, *constr.* דַּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דִּמְכֶם (*ă* attenuated to *ĭ*), plur. דָּמִים, דְּמֵי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations. *mm*

3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been *nn*

lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ* (Paradigm *a*, to which examples like אוֹפַנִּים *wheels*, for אֹופַנִּים, comp. אֲלַמִּים *porches*, are to be referred), the cases in which the vowel becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of the ל״ה formations of this class is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עוֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from *'âlăm*), the following forms are also inflected: מִקְטָל (§ 85. *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20. *a*), as מְבַטֵּחוֹ Jer. 17, 7. Ps. 40, 5. Job 8, 14, &c.; ל״א nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st.* plur., e. g. מִקְרָאֵי from מִקְרָא[1]; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85. *n*) of verbs ל״א (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נִקְרָאִים but also נֶחְבְּאִים Jos. 10, 17, נִטְמָאִים Ezek. 20, 30 sq., and so always נִבְּאִים (except Ezek. 13, 2 הַנִּבְּאִים) and נִמְצְאִים (except Ezra 8, 25 הַנִּמְצָאִים).

pp Moreover, the other participles in *ā* also follow the analogy of עוֹלָם as regards the final syllable (מָקְטָל, מְקֻטָּל; comp., however, הַמּוּשָׁב Gen. 43, 12 in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65. *d*); also שֻׁלְחָן *table* (§ 85. *u*; plur. שֻׁלְחָנוֹת, *constr.* שֻׁלְחֲנוֹת), קָרְבָּן, *constr.* קָרְבַּן, hence in plur. *constr.* with *suff.* קָרְבְּנֵיהֶם Lev. 7, 38; עַקְרָב (§ 85. *w*), plur. עַקְרַבִּים (with sharpening of the final consonant for עַקְרָבִים, comp. also עֵירֹם *naked*, plur. עֵרֻמִּים Gen. 3, 7 [but in 2, 25 עֲרֻמִּים from עָרֹם], מַעֲרֻמִּים *nakedness*, 2 Chron. 28, 15; קַרְחָה, קָרְחֹתָיו; מַעֲמַקֵּי Is. 51, 10, נִבְכַּהֵי Is. 23, 8 sq.; even with attenuation of the *ă* to *ĭ*, מוֹרְגִים *threshing instruments*, 2 Sam. 24, 22. 1 Chron. 21, 23, from מוֹרָג), מַתָּן (§ 85. *g*), מָגֵן (§ 85. *i*), מָעוֹז (§ 85. *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *ā* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e. g. מְגֻנֵּי, מְעֻזֵּי; מוֹשָׁב (§ 85. *g*); תּוֹשָׁב (§ 85. *p*), *constr. st.* plur. תּוֹשְׁבֵי 1 Ki. 17, 1; finally, also isolated forms according to § 84 *a*, letter *t*, and § 84 *b*, letters *b*, *c*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*. Cf. further, צַוָּאר *neck* (from *ṣăw'ăr*), *constr. st.* צַוַּאר Jer. 28, 10 sqq., *constr. st.* plur. צַוְּארֵי Gen. 45, 14, &c.

qq 2. (Paradigm *b*; comp. § 84 *a*, letter *s*.) Instead of the original *ĭ* in such forms as אֹיְבֶךָ (cf. 2 Ki. 22, 29), the second syllable more frequently has *ĕ*, e. g. יֹצְרֵךְ *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91. *d*; but cf. also אֹבֵד Deut. 32, 28) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחֲךָ, sometimes like בֹּרְאֲךָ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נֹטַע Ps. 94, 9 (according to § 65. *d*); with a middle guttural נֹאֲלֵךְ Is. 48, 17; comp. 43, 14.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *ē* in the final syllable (מְתַקְטֵל, מְקַטֵּל, &c.); see further, in § 84 *b*, letter *d*, גֹּבֵן, &c. (but with exceptions, as שְׁלֹשִׁים, רִבֹּעִים),

[1] מְקַדְּשֵׁיהֶם Ezek. 7, 24 for מְקֻדָּשׁ (from מְקֻדָּשׁ) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'ēl* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ד (according to § 20. *m*).

and letters *l*, *p*; § 85. *i*, *k* (מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, *constr. st.* מִזְבַּח, plur. מִזְבְּחִים), and letter *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מַקְהֵלִים Ps. 26, 12.

3. (Paradigm *c*: *part. Qal* of verbs ל״ה, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the unchangeableness of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ezek. 17, 15 *ē* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *Seghôl* in the *constr. st.* in 2 Sam. 24, 11 (so Opitius, Ginsburg; but Baer הֹוֶה), Eccles. 2, 15 (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מְקֹרֶה Eccles. 3, 19 is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the ל״ה-forms mentioned in § 84 *a*, letter *r*, § 85. *g* (with *suff.*, e. g. הַמַּעֲלָךְ Deut. 20, 1, *which brought thee up*), and letter *h*. *rr*

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *ăy* of the termination has been contracted to *ê*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*; as מְשִׁתֵּיהֶם Is. 5, 12. Dan. 1, 10. 16; מַרְאֵיהֶם *their appearance*, Dan. 1, 15. Gen. 41, 21, cf. Nah. 2, 5; נוֹטֵיהֶם *who stretched them forth*, Is. 42, 5; *defectively* אֹפֵיהֶם Hos. 7, 5 (comp. גְּוֵיהֶם Ezek. 34, 14); on the other hand, the examples from Is. 14, 11. Gen. 47, 17. 1 Sam. 19, 4, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מַחֲנֵיךְ *thy camp*, Deut. 23, 15 (מַחֲנֶךָ occurs just before), מִקְנֵיךְ *thy cattle*, Is. 30, 23, מַרְאַיִךְ Cant. 2, 14, and מַרְאָיו *the sight of him*, Job 41, 1 (with the ' here retained orthographically), מַעֲלָיו Ezek. 40, 31, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124. *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מְמֵחָיִם Is. 25, 6 (*part. Pu.* from מָחָה). *ss*

4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a*, *b*), or a vowel which has already become vocal *Šewâ* (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like כָּתָב) cannot undergo any vowel changes. *tt*

Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *păqîd*) are § 84 *a*, letter *k*, נָדוֹל, &c. (with *ô*, not changeable *ō* for *ŭ*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם, this *ô* is demonstrably obscured from *â* (Arab. *sălâm*); letters *l*, *m*, אָסִיר, אָסוֹר, &c.; § 85. *u*, זָרוֹן, *constr.* זְרוֹן; חָזִיוֹן, *constr.* חֲזִיוֹן; כְּלִיוֹן, *constr.* כְּלְיוֹן (comp., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* קְנִמוֹן, עֲצְבוֹן, and with plural suffix עֲבוֹנֵיךְ Ezek. 27, 12 sqq.); § 85. *w*, חַלָּמִישׁ, *constr.* חַלְמִישׁ; § 85. *l*, מָקוֹם, &c. *uu*

2. עָנִי (ground-form *'ănîy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a closing *Yôdh* has been resolved into *î*; before formative additions the *Yôdh* under the protection of a *Dageš forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Šewâ*; comp. § 84 *a*, letter *l*, נָקִי, plur. נְקִיִּם, and § 87. *a*. *vv*

3. כְּתָב with unchangeable *â* in the second syllable, whilst the *Šewâ* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kĭtâb*); *constr. st.* כְּתָב־ Est. 4, 8 (readings like כְּתַב 2 Chron. 35, 4 are incorrect, although יְקַר Est. 1, 4 and כְּתַב־ 4, 8 are supported *ww*

by fairly good authority; however, these *qᵉṭâl*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The plural forms are given in the Paradigm within brackets, since they are not found in the Old Testament. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84 *a*, letters *n–p*, belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84 *a*, letter *u*, § 84 *b*, letter *e* (קָטָל, comp., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), letters *f–i*, *m* (No. 34 sq.), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85. *b–w* (especially letters *l* and *r*).

xx In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָטָל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the ante-penultima (with the secondary tone); comp. above, letters *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטִיל (properly *qâṭîl*) the examples סָרִיסִים, פָּרִיצִים, שָׁלִישִׁים, whilst the *constr. st.* sing. according to the rule, changes the *ā* into vocal *Šᵉwâ* (סְרִיס, פְּרִיץ). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עָרִיץ *tyrant*, which is for עַזִּיז, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qameṣ*.) Of the form קָטוּל (*qâṭûl*) in this class, are שָׁבוּעַ *week*, plur. שָׁבֻעִים and שָׁבֻעוֹת, *constr.* שִׁבְעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שִׁבְעֹתֵיכֶם.

§ 94. *Formation of Feminine Nouns.*

a **1.** The feminine ending ה־, when appended to the masculine forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92. *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

b Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, כַּבְשָׂה, and with attenuation of *ă* to *ĭ* כִּבְשָׂה *lamb*, רִצְפָּה *hot stone*, Is. 6, 6 (elsewhere always רִצְפָּה; see Baer on Ezek. 40, 17), חֻזְקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סְתָרָה *covering* (masc. סֵתֶר), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ, derived from ל״ה stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲדָנָה *grace, pleasure* (עֶדֶן); (*c*) חֲלָדָה, proper name (חֹלָד *mole*), אָכְלָה *food* (אֹכֶל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נַעַר); (*f*) בָּאְשָׁה *weed*, טָהֳרָה *purity* (טֹהַר); (*g*) עַוְלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צֵידָה *victuals* (masc. צַיִד, comp. Paradigm *h*); from *qiṭl* and *quṭl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אַלְיָה *fat tail* (as if from אַלִי), שִׁבְיָה (*ă* attenuated to *ĭ*) *captivity* (שֶׁבִי), לְוָיָה *wreath* (probably an original *qiṭl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (attenuated from מַדָּה); adjectives derived from ע״ע stems also belong in flexion

to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רָעָה *mala*; (*m*) זִמָּה *plan*; (*n*) חֻקָּה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qăṭălăt*, &c., (*a*) נְקָמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *c* (*b*) אֲדָמָה *earth*; (*c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֲיָפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קָצָה *end* (from יָפֶה, קָצֶה). From stems ע״י arise such forms as עֵדָה (masc. עֵד, properly *part. Qal* from עוּד) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qăṭŭl*, עֲמֻקָּה *profunda* (masc. עָמֹק), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the *d* second syllable, (*a*) יוֹלֵדָה *a woman with child* (comp. the examples in § 84 *a*, letter *s*, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part. Pi'ēl*, Ex. 22, 17. 23, 26; in the *Hithpa'ēl*, 1 Ki. 14, 5 sq.), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ĭ*) into *Šᵉwâ*, יְשֻׁבָה *dwelling*, Nah. 3, 8. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת֫ (see below, letter *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלֶה), but also with a recurrence of the final *Yôdh*, הֹמִיָּה *clamorous*, Prov. 7, 11, and the examples in § 75. *v*. On the *â* of the participles of verbs ע״י, which also belong to this class, such as זָרָה *peregrina*, comp. § 72. *g*.

Paradigm IV: original changeable vowel in the first syllable, *e* unchangeable in the second, (*a*) גְּדֹלָה *magna*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, properly *pia*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seiuncta*; (*b*) עֲנִיָּה *misera*.

2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִית *f* *weeping* (masc. בְּכִי, § 93. I, *k*), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs ל״א, as יֹצֵאת, מֹצֵאת, may be due to contraction from *yôṣê'et*, &c., whilst forms like נְשֹׂאֵת, מוֹצֵאת (see § 74. *i*) may be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93. *t*. Apart from the ל״ה formations, the only examples with simple ת are יֹלַדְתְּ בֵּן (*construct st.*) Gen. 16, 11. Jud. 13, 5. 7 for יֹלֶדֶת (Gen. 17, 19. Is. 7, 14), and מְשֹׁרֶת 1 Ki. 1, 15, contracted from מְשָׁרַתְתְּ; comp. § 80. *d*.

The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine *g* nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (*a*) from גְּבִרְתְּ (for original *gᵉbirt*; § 69. *c*), the form גְּבֶרֶת *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; the *absolute st.* is גְּבִירָה); from מַלְכְּתְּ (מֶלֶךְ = מָלְךְ) מַלְכָּת *queen*; in Paradigm II, (*a*) יָבָם *levir*, fem. יְבֶמֶת (from יְבַמְתְּ); פְּחָתֶת (פַּחַת = פְּחַת *pit*) Lev. 13, 55; (*c*) גָּדֵר *wall*, גְּדֶרֶת (from גְּדַרְתְּ = *gᵉdirt*; comp. זְקַן as *construct st.* of זָקֵן); on the other hand, חֲמֵשֶׁת is *construct st.* of חֲמִשָּׁה, with lengthening of the original *ĭ* of חֲמִשְׁתְּ.

h Formations with a changeable *ō* in the second syllable belonging to this class are, נְחֹשֶׁת *bronze* (from נְחֹשֶׁת); perhaps also כְּתֹבֶת *writing* (unless it be obscured from כָּתָב, § 93, Paradigm IV, *c*).—Paradigm III, (*a*) חֹתֶמֶת (from חֹתָמֶת), masc. חוֹתָם *seal;* (*b*) יוֹנֶקֶת (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e. g. חֹבֶרֶת Ex. 26, 4, &c.), and so most feminines of the participle קֹטֵל. On this transition of the ground-form *qôṭilt* to קֹטֶלֶת (יוֹנֶקֶת, יֹלֶדֶת, see above), cf. § 69. *c; qôṭalt* regularly serves as the ground-form before suffixes, and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. יֹדַעַת, feminine of יֹדֵעַ *knowing;* in a wider sense, גֻּלְגֹּלֶת *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, *c*.

On the endings וֹת and יֹת—, see § 86. *k, l*, § 95 at the end.

§ 95. *Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.*

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92. *b–k*, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the *ā* of the termination ה—ָ becomes again *ă* in the *construct st.* ת—ַ). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel *before* the ending ה—ָ, e. g. צְדָקָה; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ;* on the other hand, *before* a vowel which had thus become vocal *Šᵉwâ* the *ă* in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to vocal *Šᵉwâ* returns, although usually attenuated to *ĭ*, e. g. צִדְקַת from *ṣădhăqăth;* (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination וֹת or יֹם—, and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qameṣ* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ*. This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st.*, whether ending in וֹת or יֹ—; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 (with the exception of I, *d*) as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, *d*.

I. *b*

	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*
Sing. absolute	מַלְכָּה	חֶרְפָּה	חָרְבָּה	חֻקָּה	[גְּבִירָה]
	(*queen*)	(*reproach*)	(*waste*)	(*statute*)	(*mistress*)
„ *construct*	מַלְכַּת	חֶרְפַּת	חָרְבַּת	חֻקַּת	גְּבֶרֶת
„ *with light suff.*	מַלְכָּתִי	חֶרְפָּתִי	חָרְבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבִרְתִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	מַלְכַּתְכֶם	חֶרְפַּתְכֶם	חָרְבַּתְכֶם	חֻקַּתְכֶם	גְּבִרְתְּכֶם
Plur. absolute	מְלָכוֹת	חֶרְפּוֹת	חֳרָבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ *construct*	מַלְכוֹת	חֶרְפּוֹת[1]	חָרְבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ *with suff.*	מַלְכוֹתַי		חָרְבוֹתַי	חֻקּוֹתַי	
Dual absolute		רִקְמָתַיִם			מְצִלְתַּיִם
		(*embroidery on both sides*)			(*cymbals*)

II. III. *c*

	a.	*b.*	*c.*	*a.*	*b.*
Sing. absolute	צְדָקָה	זְעָקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנֶקֶת	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת
	(*righteousness*)	(*outcry*)	(*year*)	(*sprout*)	(*skull*)
„ *construct*	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	שְׁנַת	יוֹנֶקֶת	גֻּלְגֹּלֶת
„ *with light suff.*	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שְׁנָתִי	יְוֹנַקְתִּי	גֻּלְגַּלְתִּי
„ *with grave suff.*	צִדְקַתְכֶם	זַעֲקַתְכֶם	שְׁנַתְכֶם	יְוֹנַקְתְּכֶם	גֻּלְגַּלְתְּכֶם
Plur. absolute	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת[2]	[יְוֹנְקוֹת]	
„ *construct*	צִדְקוֹת		שְׁנוֹת	יְוֹנְקוֹת	גֻּלְגְּלוֹת
„ *with suff.*	צִדְקוֹתַי		שְׁנוֹתַי	יְוֹנְקוֹתַי	גֻּלְגְּלוֹתַי
Dual absolute			שְׂפָתַיִם		[נְחשְׁתַּיִם]
			(*lips*)		(*fetters of brass*)
„ *construct*			שִׂפְתֵי		

REMARKS.

1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (*a*) The locative of this class has the form גִּבְעָתָה *towards Gibeah* (masc. גֶּבַע). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qăṭl* or a *qiṭl* base, e.g. חֻזָּקָה *strength* (comp. חֶרְפָּה under *b*). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (comp. שֶׁבַע *seven*, fem.). *d*

[1] Only in Ps. 69, 10, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, comp. § 93. *m*.

[2] On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנִים see § 87. *n*.

Analogous to masculine forms like דְּבַשׁ (§ 93. *s*) is הֲדַסָּה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פְּרִי (ל״ה, comp. § 93. I, *k*) arise feminines sometimes like גְּאֻוָּה, שַׁלְוָה, אַלְיָה (see above, § 94. *b*), sometimes like בְּכִירָה (§ 94. *f*); occasionally the final ת is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (comp. § 87. *k*), e. g. חֲנִיתוֹת *spears*. Forms like גְּדִיָּה (comp. אָנְיָה, a *qŭṭl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms גְּדִי *kid*, אֳנִי *a fleet*.—(*b*) From a stem חִטָּה, ע״ן *wheat* (for חִנְטָה), *plur.* חִטִּים.—(*c*) From עָרְלָה *foreskin*, the *plur. absol.* is עֲרָלוֹת (comp. פְּעָלִים, § 93, Paradigm I, *f*), *constr.* עָרְלוֹת.—(*d*) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem ע״ע (ground-form *qŭṭl*, like חַיָּה of the form *qăṭl*, זָמָּה of the form *qĭṭl*), with *ŏ* for *ŭ*, חָגָּא *terror*, Is. 19, 17 (Aramaic orthography for חֲגָּה).

e (*e*) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פ״ו and פ״ן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as שֶׁבֶת (from יָשַׁב), דַּעַת (from יָדַע), גֶּשֶׁת (from נָגַשׁ), as well as קַחַת (from לָקַח); comp. § 69. *m* and § 66. *b* and *g*. The infinitives of verbs פ״י are, however, also found in the form יְדָעָה, לֶדֶת, צֵאָה, and of the same origin also are עֲדָה *congregation* (from יָעַד), עֵצָה *counsel* (from יָעַץ), שֵׁנָה *sleep* (from יָשֵׁן), *constr.* עֲדַת, שְׁנַת, while in the *constr.* forms זֵעַת *sweat*, Gen. 3, 19 (from יָזַע *to flow*), and צֵאַת *excrement*, Ezek. 4, 12, the Ṣere has remained firm.

f From a stem ע״ו (cf. בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*) is בֹּשֶׁת *shame*, with *suffix* בָּשְׁתִּי. From a stem ל״ה (דָּלָה, comp., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ידל) the masculine דַּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דָּלֶת *door*; in the *plural* דְּלָתוֹת, *constr.* דַּלְתוֹת, the ת of the termination is, however, retained (see above, letter *d*, חֲנִיתוֹת). In a similar way שִׁקַּת *trough* has arisen (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שֶׁקִּי = שִׁקִּי; on the other hand, the *plur. constr.* שִׁקַּתוֹת Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be derived from a kindred form (שִׁקֶּת or שִׁקֶּת).

g 2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qăṭălăt*, &c., comp. § 94. *c*, Paradigm II, *a* and *b*. Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטָן, plur. קְטַנִּים, we find קְטַנָּה *parva*, &c.—The *constr.* forms, like צִדְקַת (*ṣidh^{e}qath*), are distinguished by the *Ś^{e}wâ medium* (§ 10. *d*) from the segholate forms, like כִּבְשַׂת (*kibh-sath*). Consequently the *constr. st.* בִּרְכַּת Gen. 28, 4 and elsewhere (from בְּרָכָה *blessing*), and חֶרְדַּת 1 Sam. 14, 15 and elsewhere (from חֲרָדָה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm *b*) the original *ă* is retained in the first syllable in the *constr. st.* (comp. also אַדְמַת *earth*, אַדְמַת); in other cases it is modified to *S^{e}ghôl*, e. g. עֶגְלָה *wagon*, עֶגְלָתוֹ. Frequently from an *absol. st.* in ה_ the *constr.* is formed with the termination ת, e. g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטֶרֶת (from עֲטָרַת); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצֶרֶת is found usually, even in the *absol. st.*; יְבֻמָּת (from יָבָם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as in יְבִמְתִּי, and thus completely agrees with גְּבֶרֶת (Paradigm I, *e*). From a stem לי״ן (אָמַן) is formed אֱמֶת *truth* (from *'ămant*, and this no doubt for an original *'ămint*, § 69. *c*) before suffixes אֲמִתִּי &c.

h From the masc. form קָטֵל (*qāṭĭl*) are formed, according to rule, גְּדֵרָה *wall*,

נִבְלָה *corpse*, constr. נִבְלַת; בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בְּהֵמַת (for בְּהֶמַת). More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *ath* of the *constr. st.*; thus from נֵבֶלָה once נִבְלָתִי Is. 26, 19, and always בְּרֵכַת *pool*, גְּזֵלַת *prey*, טְמֵאַת *unclean*, מְלֵאָתִי *full*, Is. 1, 21 (with *î compaginis*, see § 90. *l*), מְרֵרָתִי Job 16, 13; שְׁאֵלָתִי 1 Sam. 1, 27 and elsewhere (with syncope of the א, שְׁלָתֵךְ 1 Sam. 1, 17) also שְׁאֵלְתִי Job 6, 8.

As dual we find יְרֵכַתַּיִם *sides* (comp. יְרֵכָתָו Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete יְרֵכָה, feminine of יֶרֶךְ); the *constr. st.* יַרְכְּתֵי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יַרְכָּה, comp. יֶרֶךְ as *constr. st.* of יֶרֶךְ), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרֵכַת and חֲרֵדַת (letter *g*). *i*

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qăṭĭlt* is developed (§ 69. *c*) to *qᵉṭalt*, and this again regularly to קְטַלְתָּ. Thus the feminine of חָבֵר *companion* is חֲבֶרֶת, of גְּדֵר fem. גְּדֶרֶת besides גְּדֵרָה.—Of ע״ו stems the segholate forms נַחַת *rest* and שַׁחַת *pit* (from שׁוּחַ, נוּחַ) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שַׁחַת *corruption* (stem שָׁחַת); in the same way also נַחַת *rest* is distinct from נַחַת *a lighting down* (stem נָחַת). *k*

The feminines of the form *qāṭĭl* from stems ע״ו, as מֵתָה *mortua*, עֵדָה fem. *witness* (from מוּת, עוּד), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Comp., on the other hand, the forms from פ״י stems mentioned above, letter *e*, such as שְׁנַת *sleep*, constr. st. שְׁנַת; moreover, חֵמָה *anger*, constr. st. חֲמַת (but חֵמָת *a leathern bottle*, in *pause* חֵמָת Gen. 21, 15, *constr. st.* חֲמַת מַיִם Gen. 21, 14, perhaps from a stem חמת). *l*

The feminines of the form *qāṭŭl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עָמֹק), maintain the original *ŭ* by sharpening the following consonant (comp. § 93. *kk*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise, like נְחֹשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשְׁתָּם &c. Dual נְחֹשְׁתַּיִם (placed under Paradigm III, *c*); comp., however, נְחֻשָׁתַי Lam. 3, 7. *m*

A few feminines from ל״ה stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *âth*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yôdh* and contraction of the preceding *ă* with the *ă* of the termination *ăth*; thus מְנָת *portion* (for *mănăyăth* or *mănăwăth*), קְצַת *end*, plur. מְנָיוֹת (*constr. st.* Neh. 12, 47. 13, 10) and מְנָאוֹת (Neh. 12, 44); קְצָוֹת Ex. 38, 5; comp. 37, 8 and 39, 4 *Kᵉth.*; on גְּאָיוֹת *valleys*, see § 93. *v*.—אוֹת *sign* (stem אוה) is obscured from אָת, and this is contracted from *'âyăth* = *'ăwăyăth*; plur. אֹתוֹת, with double feminine ending; comp. above, letter *f* and § 87. *k*.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֲלָתִי, &c., Gen. 24, 41 and elsewhere, is abnormal. *n*

3. Paradigm III, comp. the various forms in § 94. *d* and *f–h*. The *dual* חוֹמֹתַיִם *two walls*, Is. 22, 11 and elsewhere, taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חוֹמָתַיִם, is abnormal (comp. § 87. *s*, and the proper name גְּדֵרֹתַיִם Jos. 15, 36). —Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ע״ו, such as זָרֶה (masc. זָר from *zâr*, hence with unchangeable *â*), must be reckoned also בָּמָה *high place* (from בּוּם)[1], which has for its *constr. st.* plur. the pleonastic form בָּמוֹתֵי, or written *o*

[1] This etymology is extremely doubtful.—G. W. C.]

defectively בָּמֹתַי (see § 87. *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בָּמָתַי, which is to be read *bām°thê* (not *bŏm°thê*), with an anomalous shortening of the *â* to ־ַ; with suffixes on the contrary בְּמוֹתַי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָטָל (§ 84 *b*, letter *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *â* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e. g. דַּלֶּקֶת *inflammation* (from *dallăqt*), with suff. צָרַקְתִּךְ Ezek. 16, 52; טַבַּעַת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קַטַל and קִטֵּל (§ 84 *b*, letters *c* and *d*), as אִוֶּלֶת *folly* (for *'iwwălt*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85. *g–k*), e. g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, *constr.* always מַמְלֶכֶת; מַזְמֵרָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מַזְמֵרוֹת; מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *reward*, with suff. מַשְׂכֻּרְתִּי; comp. also the examples given in § 85. *g* and *p*, as מוֹלֶדֶת *birth* (from ל״א, on the other hand, מוֹצָאָה *outgoing*), תּוֹלֶדֶת *generation*, תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination*, constr. תּוֹעֲבַת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e. g. אִגֶּרֶת *a letter*, plur. אִגְּרוֹת (as if from אִגֵּרָה); also יוֹנְקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנֶקָה. Comp., moreover, מַחֲרֵשֶׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחֵרֵשׁוֹת (as if from מַחֲרֵשָׁה[1]; on the other hand, כֹּתָרוֹת *capitals* (of columns), and תּוֹכָחוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of כֹּתֶרֶת and תּוֹכַחַת.

r In כֻּתֹּנֶת *coat* the original *ŭ* of the first syllable is maintained by the sharpening of the following consonant (comp. Arab. *qŭttŭn*), with suff. כֻּתָּנְתִּי, the *constr. st.*, however, is כְּתֹנֶת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex. 28, 39); plur. כְּתֹנוֹת, *constr.* כִּתְנוֹת.—The form גִּלְגֹּלֶת given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pŭlpŭl*-form of the stem גָּלַל, comp. קִדְקֹד § 84 *b*, letter *p*.

s 4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become vocal *Šewâ*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע״ע stems especially belong to this class, as מְגִלָּה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (§ 85. *i* and *q*), as well as the feminines of the participle *Hiph'îl* of verbs ע״ו, e. g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מֵאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע״ו stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מָנוֹחַ), see § 85. *l*; from ל״ה stems perhaps also תְּעָלָה *conduit* (*constr. st.* תְּעָלַת Is. 7, 3 and elsewhere) and תְּלָאָה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, as masculines, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93. *ww*).

t 5. The feminine ending ־ִית (apart from ל״ה-forms like בְּכִית, § 94. *f*) arises from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending ־ִי, which is employed to form

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[1] עַשְׁתֹּרֶת *Astarte* (plur. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the original עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, like מֹלֶךְ Lev. 18, 21, &c. (for מֶלֶךְ), with the vowels of בֹּשֶׁת *shame*, the latter word having been substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

adjectives, &c., see § 86. *d*, *h*, and *k*. The ending וּת, mentioned in the same place, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עַשְׁתּוּת Job 12, 5, sometimes to forms with a half-closed syllable, as מַלְכוּת; from ל״ה stems we find forms sometimes like שְׁבוּת *captivity*, sometimes like בְּכוּת *weeping*, גְּלוּת *exile*, חָזוּת *vision;* the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qăṭṭîl*-form is formed כְּבֵדוּת *difficulty;* from a *qăṭṭôl*-form פְּקֻדוּת &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. *u* In some cases the whole ending וּת is retained, as if belonging to the stem (comp. above, letter *f*), e. g. אַלְמְנוּתַיִךְ from אַלְמָנוּת, in others this ending is resolved, as in מַלְכִיּוֹת Dan. 8, 22 (no doubt for *măl°khuwwôth*), as well as in עֵדוֹת *°ēdh°wôth*, from עֵדוּת *testimony*, but only in connexion with suffixes, עֵדוֹתֶיךָ Ps. 119, 14, &c.; עֵדוֹתָיו 1 Ki. 2, 3, &c.

§ 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms[1], pp. 294 to 296, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

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[1] The only omissions from these Paradigms are אֶחָד, חָם and חֲמוֹת (on which see the remarks), and all the forms which are not found in the Old Testament.

Sing. absolute		אָב (*father*)	אָח (*brother*)	אָחוֹת (*sister*)	אִישׁ (*man*)	אִשָּׁה (*woman*)
,,	*construct*	אֲבִי	אֲחִי	אֲחוֹת	אִישׁ	אֵשֶׁת
,,	*with suff. of* 1 *sing.*	אָבִי	אָחִי	אֲחוֹתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
,,	2 *masc.*	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אֲחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
,,	2 *fem.*	אָבִיךְ	אָחִיךְ	אֲחוֹתֵךְ	אִישֵׁךְ	
,,	3 *masc.*	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אֲחוֹתוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
,,	3 *fem.*	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אֲחוֹתָהּ	אִישָׁהּ	
,,	1 *Pl.*	אָבִינוּ	אָחִינוּ	אֲחוֹתֵנוּ		
,,	2 *masc.*	אֲבִיכֶם	אֲחִיכֶם	[אֲחוֹתְכֶם]		
,,	2 *fem.*	אֲבִיכֶן				
,,	3 *masc.*	אֲבִיהֶם	אֲחִיהֶם	אֲחוֹתָם		
,,	3 *fem.*	אֲבִיהֶן				
Plur. absolute		אָבוֹת	אַחִים		אֲנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
,,	*construct*	אֲבוֹת	אֲחֵי		אַנְשֵׁי	נְשֵׁי
,,	*with suff. of* 1 *sing.*	אֲבֹתַי	אֶחָי, *pause* אַחַי	אַחְיוֹתַי	אֲנָשַׁי	נָשַׁי
,,	2 *masc.*	אֲבֹתֶיךָ	אַחֶיךָ		אֲנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
,,	2 *fem.*		אַחַיִךְ	אַחְוֹתַיִךְ		
,,	3 *masc.*	אֲבֹתָיו	אֶחָיו	אַחְיוֹתָיו	אֲנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
,,	3 *fem.*		אַחֶיהָ		אֲנָשֶׁיהָ	
,,	1 *Pl.*	אֲבֹתֵינוּ	אַחֵינוּ		אֲנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
,,	2 *masc.*	אֲבֹתֵיכֶם	אֲחֵיכֶם	אַחְוֹתֵיכֶם		נְשֵׁיכֶם
,,	3 *masc.*	אֲבֹתָם (אֲבֹתֵיהֶם)	אֲחֵיהֶם	אַחְיוֹתֵיהֶם	אַנְשֵׁיהֶם	נְשֵׁיהֶם
,,	3 *fem.*				אַנְשֵׁיהֶן	

Remarks.

אָב *father;* the *constr.* אֲבִי, like אֲחִי and בְּנִי (which occurs once), may perhaps be reckoned among the remains of an earlier linguistic period, discussed in § 90. *l.* However, אַב also occurs in compound proper names, e. g. אַבְשָׁלוֹם, beside אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gen. 17, 4 sq. אַב־הֲמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אב[ר]הם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87. *p*.

אָח *brother.* The plur. *absol.* אַחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22. *c*); אָחָיו stands for אַחָיו according to the phonetic law stated in § 27. *q*, and so also אָחַי in *pause* for אַחַי. The sharpening of the ח merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathaḥ* short, as in גְּמַלִּים, &c. (§ 93. *ee*).

אֶחָד *one* (for אַחְד, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22. *c*, comp. § 27. *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אַחַד (Gen. 48, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 22. Is. 27, 12.

כְּלִי	יוֹם	בַּת	בֵּן	בַּיִת	אָמָה
(*vessel*)	(*day*)	(*daughter*)	(*son*)	(*house*)	(*handmaid*)
כְּלִי	יוֹם	בַּת	בֶּן־	בַּיִת	
		בִּתִּי	בְּנִי	בֵּיתִי	אֲמָתִי
כֶּלְיְךָ		בִּתְּךָ *pause* בָּתְּךָ,	בִּנְךָ *pause* בְּנֶךָ,	בֵּיתְךָ	אֲמָתְךָ
			בִּנֵּךְ	בֵּיתֵךְ	
	יוֹמוֹ	בִּתּוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	אֲמָתוֹ
		בָּתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	אֲמָתָהּ
			בִּנֵּנוּ		
		בִּתְּכֶם		בֵּיתְכֶם	
	יוֹמָם			בֵּיתָם	
כֵּלִים	יָמִים	בָּנוֹת	בָּנִים	בָּתִּים	אֲמָהוֹת
כְּלֵי	יְמֵי	בְּנוֹת	בְּנֵי	בָּתֵּי	אַמְהוֹת
כֵּלַי	יָמַי	בְּנֹתַי	בָּנַי		אַמְהֹתַי
כֶּלָיִךְ	יָמַיִךְ	בְּנֹתַיִךְ	בָּנָיִךְ	בָּתַּיִךְ	
	יָמַיִךְ	בְּנֹתַיִךְ	בָּנַיִךְ	בָּתַּיִךְ	
כֵּלָיו	יָמָיו	בְּנֹתָיו	בָּנָיו		אַמְהֹתָיו
כֶּלֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	בְּנֹתֶיהָ	בָּנֶיהָ		אַמְהֹתֶיהָ
כֵּלֵינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	בְּנֹתֵינוּ	בָּנֵינוּ	בָּתֵּינוּ	
כְּלֵיכֶם	יְמֵיכֶם	בְּנֹתֵיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בָּתֵּיכֶם	אַמְהֹתֵיכֶם
כְּלֵיהֶם	יְמֵיהֶם	בְּנֹתֵיהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בָּתֵּיהֶם	
			בְּנֵיהֶן	בָּתֵּיהֶן	אַמְהֹתֵיהֶן

Zech. 11, 7; and especially before מִן [מְ] Gen. 3, 22. Ex. 30, 14. Num. 16, 15. Jud. 17, 5. 1 Sam. 9, 3. Ezek. 18, 10); fem. אַחַת *una* (for אַחַדְתְּ, according to § 19. *d*), in *pause* אָחַת. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19. *k*), Ezek. 33, 30, as in Aramaic; plur. אֲחָדִים *some*, but also *iidem*.

אָחוֹת *sister*, from *'ăḥăwăt* or *'ăḥăyăt*, with elision of the ו or י, and the *â*, which has arisen from *ăă*, obscured to *ô*. In Num. 6, 7 אֲחֹתוֹ stands for אֲחֹתוֹ (with *Dageš forte implicitum* in the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אֲחָיוֹת) does not happen to occur. In Ezek. 16, 52 אַחְיוֹתֵךְ occurs (for אַחְיֹתַיִךְ). In the forms אֲחוֹתִי Jos. 2, 13 *Keth.*, אֲחוֹתַיִךְ Ezek. 16, 51. 55. 61 (to be read also in verse 45 for אֲחוֹתֵךְ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48. 49. 56), and אֲחוֹתֵיכֶם Hos. 2, 3 (for which, however, read אֲחוֹתְכֶם) the third radical has been entirely lost.

	[מַי] (*water*)	עִיר (*city*)	פֶּה (*mouth*)	רֹאשׁ (*head*)	שֵׁם (*name*)	[שָׁמַי] (*heaven*)
Sing. absolute						
„ *construct*		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם־, שֵׁם	
„ *with suff. of* 1 *sing.*		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי	שְׁמִי	
„ 2 *masc.*		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	שִׁמְךָ, *pause* שְׁמֶךָ	
„ 2 *fem.*				רֹאשֵׁךְ	שְׁמֵךְ	
„ 3 *masc.*		עִירוֹ	פִּיהוּ, פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ	שְׁמוֹ	
„ 3 *fem.*		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשָׁהּ	שְׁמָהּ	
„ 1 *Pl.*			פִּינוּ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ	שְׁמֵנוּ	
„ 2 *masc.*			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשְׁכֶם	שִׁמְכֶם	
„ 3 *masc.*		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשָׁם	שְׁמָם	
„ 3 *fem.*			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשָׁן		
Plur. absolute	מַיִם	עָרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רָאשִׁים	שֵׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ *construct*	מֵימֵי, מֵי	עָרֵי		רָאשֵׁי	שְׁמוֹת	שְׁמֵי
„ *with suff. of* 1 *sing.*	מֵימַי	עָרַי				
„ 2 *masc.*	מֵימֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ				שָׁמֶיךָ
„ 2 *fem.*		עָרַיִךְ				
„ 3 *masc.*	מֵימָיו	עָרָיו		רָאשָׁיו		שָׁמָיו
„ 3 *fem.*	מֵימֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ		רָאשֶׁיהָ		
„ 1 *Pl.*	מֵימֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רָאשֵׁינוּ		
„ 2 *masc.*		עָרֵיכֶם		רָאשֵׁיכֶם		שְׁמֵיכֶם
„ 3 *masc.*	מֵימֵיהֶם	עָרֵיהֶם		רָאשֵׁיהֶם	שְׁמוֹתָם	
„ 3 *fem.*				רָאשֵׁיהֶן	שְׁמוֹתָן	

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אֶשׁ (from *'iš̈š̈*, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form *'inš* from the stem אֲנַשׁ, which again has been attenuated from *'anš*), or softened directly from *'inš*. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אִישׁ *to be strong*?) is to be assumed for the singular[1]; consequently the stem אֲנַשׁ *to be sociable*, would be connected only with the plur. אֲנָשִׁים (אִישִׁים is found only in Is. 53, 3. Ps. 141, 4. Prov. 8, 4).

אָמָה *slave, handmaid;* with the plur. אֲמָהוֹת, with consonantal ה, comp. in Aram. אֲבָהָן *fathers*, and similarly in Phoen. דלהת from דלת, also Arab. *'abahât*

[1] So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.* i. 83 sq., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 sqq., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L. B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 sqq.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אִישׁ and נָשִׁים with the stem אנשׁ.

(fathers), *'ummahât* (mothers), with an artificial expansion into a triliteral stem.

אִשָּׁה *woman*, probably for אַנְשָׁה ; ? from אָנַשׁ *to be weak* (= Arabic *'ănŭṯă*), and therefore distinct from אנשׁ *to be sociable* (see above, on אִישׁ). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68 ; König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 159 sq. The form אֶשֶׁת (for *'išt*, with ת fem. from *'iš*, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *ē*, comp. חֶמֶשֶׁת as *constr. st.* of חֲמִשָּׁה *five*) occurs in Deut. 21, 11. 1 Sam. 28, 7. Ps. 58, 9, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].— In Ps. 128, 3 אֶשְׁתְּךָ is found for אִשְׁתְּךָ. Instead of the plur. נָשִׁים (by aphaeresis from אֲנָשִׁים ? according to Friedr. Delitzsch, from another distinct stem, נשׁה), we find in Ezek. 23, 44 אִשּׁוֹת[1].

בַּיִת *house*, plur. בָּתִּים (only in Deut. 6, 11. 1 Chron. 28, 11 בָּתִים without *Metheg*), pronounced *bâtîm*. The explanation of the Dageš in the ת is still a matter of dispute. According to Jewish tradition (comp. Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, ed. 3, p. 79), the *Dageš forte* (after firm *Metheg;* comp. § 16. *f.* ζ) serves merely to distinguish this word from בָּתִּים *passing the night* (*part. Qal* of בּוּת); the Syriac *bâttîn*, however, shows that the *Dageš* is original, and belongs to the character of the form. According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בָּתִּים is simply contracted from *bai-tîm* (as אַיִן from אַיְן, עֵינָם from עֵינַיִם, &c.), and the Dageš, therefore, is *lene;* König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum;* Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation *bottîm* is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 8. *d*, note 2), which leaves no doubt as to the *â*.

בֵּן *son* (Gen. 30, 19 בֶּן־שִׁשִּׁי), *constr.* usually בֶּן־ (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gen. 17, 17. Is. 8, 2, and elsewhere, 1 Chron. 9, 21 ; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבֶּן, Ex. 30, 14. Lev. 27, 3, and elsewhere [מִבֶּן only after וְאֵם and before הֹדֶשׁ, also in Is. 51, 12; see Strack on Ex. 30, 14]), rarely בֵּן־ (Deut. 25, 2. Jon. 4, 10 twice, Prov. 30, 1, and so always in the combination בֵּן־נוּן, and in the proper names בִּנְיָמִין [but בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjamite*] and בֵּן־יָקֶה Prov. 30, 1), once בְּנִי (comp. § 90. *l*) Gen. 49, 11, and בְּנוֹ (§ 90. *n*) Num. 23, 18. 24, 3. 15.— In Gen. 49, 22 בֵּן, for which בֶּן־ ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

בַּת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69. *c*, for *bint*, fem. of בֵּן), with suff. בִּתִּי for בִּנְתִּי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בָּנָה, comp. בָּנִים *sons*.

חָם *husband's father*, only with suff. חָמִיהָ, חָמִיךָ ; and חָמוֹת *husband's mother*, only with suff. חֲמוֹתָהּ, חֲמוֹתֵךְ. Comp. אָב, אָח and אֲחוֹת.

יוֹם *day* (Arab. *yaum*), dual יוֹמַיִם ; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָם *yām*)[2], *constr.* יְמֵי and (poetically) יְמוֹת, Deut. 32, 7. Ps. 90, 15.

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[1] Friedr. Delitzsch (in the Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ezek. 23, 44, remarks that the Assyro-Babylonian forms from *aššatu* (woman), the plur. *aššâti* corresponding, therefore, to אִשּׁוֹת, not to the ordinary plur. נָשִׁים.

[2] The supposition (put forward also in earlier editions of this Grammar) that the plur. יָמִים arose from יְוָמִים through elision of the ו, is invalidated by the fact

כְּלִי *vessel*, in *pause* כֶּלִי (with suff. כֶּלְיֵךְ Deut. 23, 25) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כֵּלִים (as if from כֵּל, כֶּלֶה; according to König, ii. 63, simply shortened from *kilyîm*).

מַיִם *water*; comp. on the plur. § 88. *d*.

עִיר *city*. The plur. עָרִים is scarcely syncopated from עֲיָרִים, as it is pointed in Jud. 10, 4 (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding עֲיָרִים *ass colts*), but from a kindred sing. עָר, which still occurs in proper names.

פֶּה *mouth*, *constr. st.* פִּי (for original פִּוִי = פֶּהָ?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), פֶּה stands for פֶּאֶה (ground-form *pi'ay*) from פָּאָה *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for פִּי, from a stem פָּיָה or פָּוָה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assyr. *pû*, Arab. *fû*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, Bibl. Aram. פֻּם, פֻּמָּא, Syr. *pûm*, *pûmā*, so that Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (פמו), viz. *fm* and *fw*. פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיהֶם we find in Ps. 17, 10. 58, 7. 59, 13 פִּימוֹ. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 Sam. 13, 21 is generally explained as a contraction from פִּיִּים, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. פִּיּוֹת, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Prov. 5, 4; reduplicated פִּיפִיּוֹת Is. 41, 15. Ps. 149, 6.

רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רָאשׁ = *rāʾš*); plur. רָאשִׁים (for רָאְשִׁים, § 23. *c*); רֹאשָׁיו only in Is. 15, 2.

שֶׂה *a head of small cattle* (*sheep* or *goat*), *constr. st.* שֵׂה, with suff. שֵׂיהוּ 1 Sam. 14, 34 and שְׂיוֹ Deut. 22, 1, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 sq., from a stem רשי (שֶׂה = *say* = *wîsay*).

שֵׁם *name*, *constr.* generally שֵׁם (only six times שֶׁם־); comp. בֵּן.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven* (§ 88. *d*).

§ 97. *Numerals.* (*a*) *Cardinal Numbers.*

a **1.** The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10, in Hebrew, are substantives with an abstract meaning, like *trias*, *decas*, πεντάς, and were, therefore, originally attached in the *construct st.* to the word numbered, e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים *trias filiorum*. However, the appositional construction of the numerals was likewise in use, side by side with this, at an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים, *trias*, sc. *filii*, and from the latter was developed the use of the abstract numerals as adjectives (placed after their noun), see § 134. *c* (אֶחָד *unus*, fem. אַחַת *una*, see § 96, show even

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that the *a* becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ* in the *constr. st.* The view that יוֹם is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָם, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling ובים (= וּבְיֹם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7. *f*), and יֹמָם Hos. 6, 2. Cf. also the note on § 100. *g*.

by their form that they are adjectives, although even in this case combinations like אַחַד מֵהֶרִים *unus e montibus* are possible). The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special (and, with the exception of שְׁתַּיִם, a shorter) form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns. Hence, with the numerals from 3 to 10, it comes to appear as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive, and the feminine with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality, dual forms are naturally used, with the usual distinction of gender. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows:

	With the Masculine.		*With the Feminine.*		*b*
	Absol.	*Constr.*	*Absol.*	*Constr.*	
1.	אֶחָד	אַחַד	אַחַת	אַחַת	
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתַּיִם [1]	שְׁתֵּי	
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שָׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ	
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע	
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמֵשֶׁת	חָמֵשׁ	חֲמֵשׁ	
6.	שִׁשָּׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שֶׁבַע	שִׁבְעַ	
8.	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה		
9.	תִּשְׁעָה	תִּשְׁעַת	תֵּשַׁע	תְּשַׁע	
10.	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשֶׂרֶת	עֶשֶׂר	עֲשַׂר	

[1] Shortened from שְׁנָתַיִם, which would be the regular feminine form of שְׁנַיִם. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in שְׁתַּיִם, &c. (even after מִן ; מִשְׁתֵּי Jon. 4, 11 ; comp., however, מִשְׁתֵּי Jud. 16, 28) can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nûn*, for in that case the word could only be שִׁתַּיִם (comp. Arab. *ṯintāni*). It is rather to be read *štáyim*, *štê* (with *Dageš lene*), comp. אֶשְׁתַּיִם, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 206), and Arab. *'iṯnătāni* (with a kind of prosthetic א ; comp. § 19. *m*), as a further feminine form of *'iṯnāni*, *duo*.— Philippi gives a very thorough treatment of the subject in his article, 'Das Zahlwort Zwei im semitischen' (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 21 sqq.), according to which the original form was *ṯiny*, which, however, even in the primitive language, was shortened to *ṯin*. In his opinion, שְׁנַיִם goes back to the dual form *ṯinaimâ*, שְׁתַּיִם to *ṯinataimâ*, *ṯintaimâ*, so that in that case שְׁתַּיִם, which in the Babylonian Codex of 916 has been almost always substituted by a later hand for שְׁתַּיִם, would be the more original and correct form.

On the connective forms שִׁבַע, תִּשַׁע, comp. the analogous forms in § 93. *h*.

c The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The full form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns[1], e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים Gen. 7, 13. 1 Sam. 10, 3. Job 1, 4. Ezek. 7, 2 *Kᵉth.*; probably also Jos. 17, 11, where we should read with Dillmann שׁ׳ הַנָּפוֹת. In apposition, Zech. 3, 9. 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23. Conversely in Gen. 38, 24 שְׁלֹשׁ חֳדָשִׁים (but in the Samaritan שְׁלֹשֶׁת). — For שִׁבְעָה *seven*, there occurs in Job 42, 13 the strange form שִׁבְעָנָה, according to Ewald an old feminine substantive (comp. the German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

d **2.** The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form עָשָׂר masc., עֶשְׂרֵה fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. However, owing to their rapid pronunciation in one breath, the units almost invariably appear in the form of the *construct st.* (without pretonic vowels); comp., in the following table, אַחַד and אַחַת in the numeral 11, and the units in the feminine numerals from 13 upwards. The proper connective forms, however, of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשֶׁת, &c., are not admitted in combination with עָשָׂר, since the units are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי, in the number 12, are only apparently in the *construct st.*, although formed in the same way (by contraction of the *ay*, and the loss through phonetic decay of the ם of שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם), and for the same reason, viz. their close connexion with the following noun. In שְׁנֵים and שְׁתֵּים the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ם), unless both forms are to be regarded as the Masoretic *Qᵉrê perpetuum* (§ 17), viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, for שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם, as really intended by the *Kᵉthibh*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	Masculine.	*Feminine.*
11.	אַחַד עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה
	עַשְׁתֵּי[2] עָשָׂר	עַשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה

[1] In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97. *h*).

[2] עַשְׁתֵּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *ištin* or *ištên*; comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 269. Accordingly, עַשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר is a compound, like the

	Masculine.	*Feminine.*
12.	שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר / שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה / שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, comp. § 134. *f*.

Very rarely the units appear in the masc. in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר *fifteen*, Jud. 8, 10. 2 Sam. 19, 18; שְׁמֹנַת עָשָׂר *eighteen*, Jud. 20, 25.

f **3.** The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit, thus, שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תִּשְׁעִים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עֶשֶׂר *ten*[1]. These numerals are all of common gender, and do not admit of the *construct state*.—In compound numerals, like 22, 23, 44, &c., the units may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e. g. Num. 3, 39. 26, 14. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e. g. 1 Chron. 12, 28. 18, 5[2]. In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily וְ, but וָ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, וַ before ־, וּ before *Šᵉwā*; see § 104. *d, e, g*.

g The remaining numerals are the substantives—

100 מֵאָה fem., *constr.* מְאַת.

200 מָאתַיִם dual (contracted from מְאָתַיִם; comp. § 23. *c*).

Sansk. *ékâdaçan*, ἕνδεκα, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12–19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עַשְׁתֵּי ע׳ for אַחַד ע׳ and אַחַת ע׳ see Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 226; עַשְׁתֵּי ע׳ occurs only in the Priestly Code, in Jer., Ezek., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (i. 3), and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

[1] For the irregular plural forms תִּשְׁעִים, שִׁבְעִים, עֶשְׂרִים (from the *segholates* תֵּשַׁע, שֶׁבַע, עֶשֶׂר), we should expect תְּשָׁעִים, שְׁבָעִים, עֲשָׂרִים. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93. *l, o, r*) connected with the special meaning of these plurals?

[2] According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticae Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.* ii. p. 215 sqq.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herner (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 sqq.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW.* 1896, i.

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 Ki. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15, *K^eth.* הַמְּאָיוֹת).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אַלְפַּיִם dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים plur., and so on (except עֲשָׂרָה אֲלָפִים in 2 Sam. 18, 3. 2 Ki. 24, 14 *K^eth.*; elsewhere always עֲשֶׂרֶת אֲלָפִים).

10000 רִבָּבָה, in the later Books רִבּוֹת, רִבּוֹ, רִבּוֹא (properly *multitude*, comp. *μυριάς*).

20000 רִבֹּתַיִם dual (see below, letter *h*); but שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹת Neh. 7, 70 (also שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹא Neh. 7, 71).

40000 אַרְבַּע רִבּוֹא Neh. 7, 66.

60000 שִׁשִּׁ־רִבְאוֹת Ezra 2, 69 (Baer and Ginsburg רִבְאוֹת, as in Dan. 11, 12). אַלְפֵי רְבָבָה *thousands of myriads*, Gen. 24, 60.

h Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning of our ending *-fold*, e. g. אַרְבַּעְתַּיִם *fourfold*, 2 Sam. 12, 6; שִׁבְעָתַיִם *sevenfold*, Gen. 4, 15. 24. Is. 30, 26. Ps. 12, 7. 79, 12 (comp. § 134. *r*). The dual רִבֹּתַיִם Ps. 68, 18 (explained by אַלְפֵי שְׁנָאן *thousands of duplication*) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense. — Besides the plural, which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֲחָדִים *some*, also *iidem*, and עֲשָׂרוֹת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21. 25.

i 2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, although they are translated in English as nominatives, e. g. שְׁלִשְׁתְּכֶם *your triad*, i. e. *you three*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98. *Numerals.* (*b*) *Ordinal Numbers.*

a The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination ־ִי (§ 86. *h*), before which another ־ִי also is generally inserted between the second and third stem radicals. They are as follows: שֵׁנִי *second*, רְבִיעִי, שְׁלִישִׁי (like גָּבַע, גִּבְעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֻמִשִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִשִּׁי), שִׁשִּׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עֲשִׂירִי. This *î* in the penultima unquestionably results from the tendency to assimilation with the *î* of the ultima, König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 225. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רִאשׁוֹן (cf. § 27. *x*), from רֹאשׁ *head, beginning*, with the termination וֹן (§ 86. *f*). On the use of אֶחָד as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, comp. § 134. *p*; in such cases as Gen. 1, 5. 2, 11, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

The feminine forms have the termination תִ֫ית, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) תָ֫יָה. They are employed also to express fractions, e.g. חֲמִשִּׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשִׂירִית and עֲשִׂירָיָה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like שְׁלִישׁ *a third*, רֻבַּע and רָ֫בַע *a quarter*, חֹמֶשׁ *a fifth part*, and with the affformative עִשָּׂרוֹן, (plur. עֶשְׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Comp. finally שָׁבוּעַ ἑβδομάς, *a week*; עָשׂוֹר *a decade* (of days), and also the *tenth day*. *b*

On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134. *q* and *r*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARTICLES.

§ 99. *General View.*

a **1.** The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30. *s*). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100. *i*) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 sq.

b **2.** So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i.e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; comp. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. the Latin *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, the German *statt*, *anstatt*, *wegen*, *weg*, and the English *instead*, *away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (*a*) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as יוֹמָם *by day*, from יוֹם (comp., however, § 100. *g*); or most commonly (*b*) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Comp. in German *gen*, from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e.g. *ἀπό*, *ab*, *a*; *ἐξ*, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*[1].

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[1] Even short phrases are contracted into one word: Lat. *forsitan*, from *fors sit an*, δηλονότι, δηλαδή, Fr. *peut-être*, Eng. *prithee* from *I pray thee*.— In Chinese most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e.g. *iù* (to give), and also the sign of the dative; *ì* (to make use of), hence *to*, *for*; *nëi* (the interior), hence *in*.

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or *Šᵉwâ*. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26. *m*), such particles cannot stand independently, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47. *a–d*). *c*

The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development, is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and Aramaic, i. e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic דִּי becomes at a later period דְּ; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt; lêš* (why?) from *li-ayyi-šaiʾn*, &c. Comp. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, to the earliest documents which have come down to us. *d*

3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition;* as מַדּוּעַ *wherefore?* for מַה־יָּדוּעַ *quid edoctus?* (τί μαθών;) or *quid cognitum?* בִּלְעֲדֵי (from בַּל and עֲדֵי) *besides;* מִלְמַעְלָה (from מִן, לְ, מַעְלָה) *from above, above.* *e*

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e. g. כִּי־עַל־כֵּן, אַף־כִּי, כִּי־אִם, אַחֲרֵי־כֵן.

§ 100. *Adverbs.*

1. The negative לֹא *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there*, are of obscure origin. *a*

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are— *b*

(*a*) Substantives with prepositions, e. g. בִּמְאֹד (with might) *very;* לְבַד *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix לְבַדִּי *I alone;* מִבַּיִת *from within, within;* cf. also בְּאֶחָד (as one) *together.*

(*b*) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118. *m*), comp. τὴν ἀρχήν, δωρεάν, e. g. מְאֹד (might) *very*, אֶפֶס (cessation) *no more*, הַיּוֹם (the day) *to-day* (comp. § 126. *b*), יַחַד (union) *together.* Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e. g. סָבִיב, plur. סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת, *circuit*, as adverb *circum, around;* others have quite ceased to be so used, e. g. בְּבָר (length) *long ago;* עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again* or *further, longer.* *c*

d (*c*) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the Indo-Germanic neuter), e. g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לָרִאשׁוֹנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת *multum, much, enough;* נִפְלָאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus*, sc. *modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

e (*d*) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiphʿîl*, which are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113. *h*), e. g. הַרְבֵּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much*, לְהַרְבֵּה *in multitude;* הַשְׁכֵּם (*mane faciendo*) *early;* הָעֲרֵב (*vespere faciendo*) *in the evening.*

f (*e*) Pronouns and numerals, e. g. זֶה (prop. *there=at this place*) *here*, הֲנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, comp. עֲדֶן and עֲדֶנָּה = עַד־הֵן, עַד־הֵנָּה *till now*); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שָׁבַע, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times;* שֵׁנִית *for the second time.*

g **3.** Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables (most frequently ם_) to substantives or adjectives, e. g. אָמְנָם and אֱמֶנָם *truly* (from אֱמֶת *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רֵיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty*, Ruth 1, 21, parallel with the *fem.* מְלֵאָה *full* (from רֵיק *empty, emptiness, vacuum*); יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם)[1]. Comp. also דוּמָם (an adj. in Hab. 2, 19. Lam. 3, 26; an adv. in Is. 47, 5), and, with *ô* in the last syllable, פִּתְאֹם, for פִּתְעֹם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פֶּתַע *a twinkling*), and שִׁלְשׁוֹם *the day before yesterday* (from שָׁלֹשׁ *three*), the *ô* in both cases being probably obscured from an original *â*.—Moreover, comp. אֲחֹרַנִּית *backward*, and קְדֹרַנִּית *sordidate*, Mal. 3, 14. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *îth*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

h The termination ם_ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סֻלָּם *ladder* (from סלל), and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם_, ם_, would correspond to ן_, ן (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), comp. פְּדוּיִם, equivalent to פְּדוּיֹן *redemption*, כְּפִתְאֹם (with prep.)

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[1] Is this ם_ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צהרם) mentioned in § 88. *c*? Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctu*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יממ, Syr. *'îmāmā;* cf., on the other hand, König, ii. 255: the Phoen. יממ is probably plural, and in the case of the parallel Syriac *'îmāmā*, the derived form (occurring in יוֹמָם) is also used to express *day*, beside the ordinary *yôm*.—De Lagarde's opinion (*Novae psalt. gr. editionis specimen*, p. 12 sq.) that יוֹמָם should be read יָמָם is altogether improbable.

suddenly, 2 Chron. 29, 36. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *ăn* in Arabic.

i **4.** A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e. g. אָז *then*, כֵּן, כָּכָה *thus* (cf. אֵיכָה, אֵיכָכָה *how?*), אַךְ *only*, אָכֵן *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative הַ (*Hē interrogativum*), e. g. הֲלֹא (Deut. 3, 11 הֲלוֹא) *nonne?* הֲגַם *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from הַל, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Deut. 32, 6[1].

k The ה interrogative takes—(1) *Ḥaṭeph-Pathaḥ* generally before non-gutturals (even before ר), with a firm vowel, e. g. הֲשַׂמְתָּ *hast thou set?* see the interrogative clause, § 150. *c* (הֲיִיטַב Lev. 10, 19 is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Šᵉwâ*, usually *Pathaḥ* without a following *Dageš forte*, e. g. הֲבֵרָכָה Gen. 27, 38, comp. 18, 17. 29, 5. 30, 15. 34, 31; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathaḥ* with a following *Dageš forte*, e. g. הַבְּדֶרֶךְ *num in via*, Ezek. 20, 30, הַלְּבָן Gen. 17, 17. 18, 21. 37, 32. Num. 13, 19. Job 23, 6; even in ר, 1 Sam. 10, 24. 17, 25. 2 Ki. 6, 32.

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameṣ* or *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, it takes *Pathaḥ*, e. g. הַאֶלֶךְ *shall I go?* הַאַתָּה *num tu?* הַאִם *num si;* הֲאֶרְצֶה Mal. 1, 13; also in Jud. 6, 31 read הַאַתֶּם (not הָא׳), likewise הַ in Jud. 12, 5. Jer. 8, 19. Neh. 6, 11.—In הָאִישׁ Num. 16, 22, the Masora intends the article; we should read הַאִישׁ, and comp. Deut. 20, 19; in Eccl. 3, 21 read הַעֹלָה and הַיֹּרֶדֶת; the article is a correction due to doctrinal motives.

n (4) The ה takes *Sᵉghôl* before gutturals which have *Qameṣ* or (as in Jud. 9, 9 sqq.) *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, e. g. הֶאֱמוֹר Mic. 2, 7; הֶאֱנֹכִי Job 21, 4; הֶהֱיִיתָה Joel 1, 2; הֶהָשֵׁב Gen. 24, 5 (comp. the analogous instances in § 22. *c*, § 35. *k*, § 63. *k*). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

o **5.** Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus יֶשְׁךָ *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. יֶשְׁנוֹ, 2nd plur. masc. יֶשְׁכֶם; אֵינֶנִּי *I am not*, 2nd sing. אֵינְךָ, fem. אֵינֵךְ, 3rd sing. אֵינֶנּוּ, fem. אֵינֶנָּה, 2nd plur. אֵינְכֶם, 3rd plur. masc. אֵינָם.—Also עוֹדֶנִּי *I am yet* (עוֹדִי only in בְּעוֹדִי and מֵעוֹדִי), עוֹדְךָ, עוֹדֵךְ, עוֹדֵינוּ (Lam. 4, 17 *Kᵉth.;* עוֹדֶינָה *Qᵉrē*), עוֹדָם.—

[1] The separation of the ה at the beginning of Deut. 32, 6, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle הַל.

אַיֶּכָּה *where art thou?* אַיּוֹ *where is he?* אַיָּם *where are they?* The same applies to הֵן (הֶן־) and הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here, here is;* see § 105. *b*), only in Gen. 19, 2 הִנֶּה־נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּנִי and הִנְּנִי (Gen. 22, 7 with *Munaḥ*), in *pause* הִנֶּנִּי *behold me* (*here am I*), הִנְּךָ (*pause* הִנֶּךָּ Ps. 139, 8), הִנְּךָ, הִנּוֹ, and הִנֶּהָ, הִנָּנוּ (*behold us*), and הִנְּנוּ, in *pause* הִנֶּנּוּ, הִנְּכֶם, הִנָּם.

p The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nûn epentheticum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e. g. יֶשְׁנוֹ *there is, he is*), is at least inadmissible for forms (like בְּעוֹדִי, אַיּוֹ) evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable.

§ 101. *Prepositions.*

a **1.** All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, viz.:

(*a*) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, comp. in German *statt dessen, kraft dessen*, in Greek τούτου χάριν, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia, montis instar*[1]. Comp. אַחַר (hinder part*) *behind, after* (*Mil'êl* in אַחַר בֵּן Lev. 14, 36. Deut. 21, 13. 1 Sam. 10, 5; אַחַר וָה 2 Chron. 32, 9); אֵצֶל (side*) *close by;* בֵּין (intermediate space*) *between;* בְּעַד, בַּעַד (distance) *behind, around;* זוּלַת, or with *Ḥireq compaginis* זוּלָתִי (removal, want) *except;* לַעַן (purpose) *on account of;* מוּל (מוֹל only in Deut. 1, 1) *before, over against;* מִן־ (separation; cf. § 119. *v*) *from, out of;* נֶגֶד (coming in front, that which is over against) *before, over against;* עַד־ (progress, duration*) *during, until;* עַל־ (height, upper part*) *upon, over;* עִם־ (connexion?) *with;* it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עֶמֶת, לְעֶמֶת *near, beside, like;* תַּחַת (under part*) *under, instead of.*

b (*b*) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e. g. לִפְנֵי (in the face of*) *before;* כִּפְי, לְפִי (according to the mouth, i. e. the command of*) *according to;* בִּגְלַל (in the concern of) *on account of;* לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of.*

c **2.** Substantives used adverbially very frequently become preposi-

[1] In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use, is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kawisprache*, iii. p. 621.

tions in this way, e.g. בְּלִי, בִּבְלִי, מִבְּלִי, בִּבְלָתִי, בְּאֶפֶס (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹד (in the duration of) *during*; בְּדֵי, כְּדֵי (according to the requirement of) *for, according to.*

§ 102. *Prefixed Prepositions.*

1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן *from, out of*, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99. *c*), and even with its *Nûn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e. g. מִיַּעַר *out of a forest.* *a*

Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, comp. Jud. 20, 14 with verse 15. Ezek. 43, 6, &c.) only before the article, e. g. מִן־הָאָרֶץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e. g. מִן־אָז Jer. 44, 18, מִן־בְּנֵי Joel 1, 12. 1 Chron. 5, 18; cf. Ex. 18, 14. Lev. 1, 14. 14, 30. Jud. 7, 23. 10, 4. 19, 16. Ps. 104, 7 (2 Ki. 23, 36 before ר; also before ק in Ps. 18, 49), and elsewhere in the later Books (as in Aramaic)[1]; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (comp. § 90. *m*) and מִנֵּי Is. 30, 11. Its form is most commonly מִ *with a following Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Še·wâ* (comp. § 20. *m*). With a following יְ the מִ is, as a rule, contracted to מִי, e. g. מִיְּדֵי = מִיָּדֵי or מִיֶּדֵי (but comp. מִיְּשֵׁנֵי Dan. 12, 2; מִיְּגֹר שָׁתָךְ 2 Chron. 20, 11); before gutturals it becomes מָ (according to § 22, *c*), e. g. מֵאָדָם, מֵעָם; מִ occurs before ח with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִחוּץ *on the outside*, and in מִחוּט Gen. 14, 23; before ה in מֵהְיוֹת (comp. § 28. *b* and § 63. *q*. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the supposed virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מֵהְיוֹת is merely due to the analogy of לִהְיוֹת); similarly Is. 14, 3 before ר; but in 1 Sam. 23, 28. 2 Sam. 18, 16 מֵהֵרֹף is to be read, according to § 22. *s*. *b*

2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99. *c*) to a single prefixed consonant with *Še·wâ* (but see below), viz.: *c*

בְּ *in, at, with.*

לְ *towards, to, for*, Lat. *ad.*

כְּ *like, as, according to* (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(*a*) The *Še·wâ mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ă*, according to *d*

[1] König, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 sqq.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

letter *f*)[1]; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Še·wâ:* before *Še·wâ simplex* in the form of an *ĕ*, attenuated from *ă:* before a *Ḥaṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. לִפְרִי *for fruit*, כַּאֲרִי *as a lion*, בְּעָנְיִי *bŏ·nî, in affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, comp. § 28. *b*, and the infinitives with לְ, § 63. *i*): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24. *c*, e. g. לִיהוּדָה for לִיְ׳. When the prefixes לְ, כְּ, וְ, בְּ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Še·wâ* and *Ḥaṭeph Se·ghôl* regularly coalesce in *Ṣērê*, e. g. בֵּאלֹהִים, &c., for בֶּאֱ׳; so with suffixes וֵאלֹהָיו, &c. (once also in the sing., לֵאלֹהוֹ Hab. 1, 11); also regularly לֵאמֹר *to say*, for לֶאֱמֹר, see § 23. *d*.

e (*b*) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, and they take its vowel. See further in § 35. *n*.

f (*c*) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qameṣ* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ă*, comp. § 26. *e*, § 28. *a*), but only in the following cases:

(*aa*) לָ before infinitives of the above-mentioned form, as לָתֵת *to give*, לָדִין *to judge*, לָבֹז *to plunder*, לָגֹז *to shear*, לָחֹג *to keep a festival*, לָלֶדֶת *to bring forth*, לָלֶכֶת *to go*, לָקַחַת *to take*, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115. *e*), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְצֵאת Ex. 19, 1, לְשָׁבֶת Gen. 16, 3 (in such cases as לָתֵת־חָרֶב Ex. 5, 21 the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs ע״ו, the לָ is retained even in close connexion; comp. Ezek. 21, 20. 25. 22, 3);

g (*bb*) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בָּזֶה (so also in 1 Sam. 21, 10; not בְּזֶה), לָזֶה, בָּזֹאת, לָזֹאת (in close connexion, however, לְזֹאת Gen. 2, 23; בְּזֹאת Gen. 45, 23); בָּאֵלֶּה *as these;* and especially בָּכֶם, לָכֶם, בָּכֶם, לָכֶם (בָּכֵם) and בָּהֶם, לָהֶם, בָּהֵם, לָהֵם, see § 103. *e;*

h (*cc*) before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as פֶּה לָפֶה *mouth to mouth*, 2 Ki. 10, 21, בֵּין מַיִם לָמָיִם *between waters and waters*, Gen. 1, 6; לָטֹרַח *for a trouble*, Is. 1, 14, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Deut. 17, 8, also shows that the punctuation לָ requires at least the lesser pause after it; in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לָ is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest distinctives;

i (*dd*) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost as adverbs, e. g. לָעַד *to eternity*, לָרֹב *in multitude*, לָבֶטַח *in security*, לָנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לָנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity*, Is. 34, 10. Cf. also לָנֶפֶשׁ *for the dead*, Lev. 19, 28. Num. 5, 2. 9, 10.

k (*d*) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בַּמָּה; in *pause* and before א as in בָּמָה *by what?* (before a following relative clause, as in Eccles. 3, 22, בְּמָה; comp. Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, 4th ed., on Is. 2, 22); כַּמָּה *how much?* but also כַּמָּה 2 Chron. 18, 15, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *Se·ghôl* in these forms arises from a partial lengthening of the

[1] Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

original *ă*, while the מ is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ă* of the prefixes.

When לְ (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49. *f, g*, the form לָמָּה (Job 7, 20 לָמָּה, 1 Sam. 1, 8 לָמָּה, all *Mil'êl*, and hence the *ă* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לָמָּה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 Sam. 28, 15. 2 Sam. 14, 31. Jer. 15, 18, before ה; 2 Sam. 2, 22. Ps. 49, 6, before א); לָמָּה, however, remains before ח. Before letters which are not gutturals, לָמָּה is found in Ps. 42, 10. 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable). *l*

Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יַהְוֶה) but those of אֲדֹנָי (see § 17. *c*), takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדֹנָי, thus וַאדֹנָי, לַאדֹנָי, בַּיהוָה, לַיהוָה, וַיהוָה, מֵיהוָה (since they are to be read וַאדֹנָי, לַאדֹנָי, בַּאדֹנָי, מֵאֲדֹנָי); for the א of אֲדֹנָי, as of אֲדֹנִים, &c. (see below), *quiesces* after the prefixes בַּ, בַּ, לַ, וְ, but is *audible* after מֵ (for מִן), שֶׁ (no instance in the O. T.), and הָ (in הָאֲדֹנִים, the article, not הַ interrog., is intended, since the only example with ה interrog., Jer. 8, 19, is to be pointed הַיהוָה, i. e. הַיְהוָה, not הַאדֹנָי). Hence the rule, מֹשֶׁה מוֹצִיא *Moses brought out* (i. e. מ, שׁ, ה make the א audible), וְכָלֵב מַכְנִיס *and Caleb brought in* (i. e. ו, כ, ל, ב allow it to quiesce)[1].—As regards the other plural forms of אָדוֹן, syncope of the א always takes place after בַּ, וְ, כַּ, לַ, except in the form אֲדֹנָיו, thus לַאדֹנָיו, &c.; but לַאֲדֹנֵי, &c., לַאֲדֹנֵינוּ, &c., לַאֲדֹנֵיהֶם. *m*

§ 103. *Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form.*

1. As all prepositions were originally nouns (§ 101) in the accusative, they may be united with the noun-suffixes (§ 91. *b–l*), e. g. אֶצְלִי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, תַּחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa, for my sake.* *a*

Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת (usually אֶת־) *near, with*, is distinguished from אֵת (comp. note 1, p. 380), the sign of the definite accusative (§ 117. *a*), in its connexion with suffixes, by a difference of pointing, the former making אִתִּי, אִתָּךְ, in *pause* אִתָּךְ, 2nd fem. אִתָּךְ (Is. 54, 10 אִתֵּךְ), אִתּוֹ, אִתְּכֶם, אִתָּם (also in the later Books, especially in Kings, and in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אוֹתִי *with me;* מֵאוֹתָךְ *from thee*, 1 Ki. 20, 25; מֵאִתּוֹ *from him*, 1 Ki. 22, 7; אִתָּם *with them*), while the latter retains its original *o* before the light suffixes. Hence the following forms arise:— *b*

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	אִתִּי *me.*	אִתָּנוּ *us.*
2.	*m.* אִתָּךְ, *pause* אִתָּךְ; *f.* אִתָּךְ . . . . . *thee.*	אִתְּכֶם *you.* . . . . .
3.	*m.* אִתּוֹ *him.* *f.* אִתָּהּ *her.*	אִתָּם, אִתָּן, אִתְּהֶם *them.*

[1] Another *vox memor.* is בָּל־בּוֹ נֶעְלָם *all is hidden in him.*

Less common are the *plene* forms אוֹתִי, אוֹתָךְ (Num. 22, 33 אֹתָכָה before ה), אוֹתָךְ (Ex. 29, 35 אֹתָכָה), אוֹתוֹ, אוֹתָהּ, אוֹתָנוּ, אוֹתָם. Moreover, for אֶתְכֶם we find אוֹתְכֶם Jos. 23, 15; for אִתָּם, five times (Gen. 32, 1. Ex. 18, 20, &c.), אֶתָּהֶם, and in Ezek. 23, 45 אוֹתְהֶם; for אִתָּן (only found in Ezek. 16, 54; 35, 26 אֹתָנָה; 34, 21 אוֹתָנָה) also אֶתְהֶן (Gen. 19, 8, &c. [13 times]) and אוֹתְהֶן Ezek. 23, 47.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֶתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant. 2, 7, &c., אֶתְכֶם is used instead.

c 2. The preposition עִם־ *with* (with suffixes on the model of stems ע״ע, עַמִּי, עִמָּךְ [1 Sam. 1, 26 עִמָּכָה], in *pause* עִמָּךְ; 2nd fem. עִמָּךְ; עִמּוֹ, עִמָּהּ) is united with the suffixes נוּ, כֶּם and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mêm* to be distinctly audible: עִמָּנוּ, עִמָּכֶם, עִמָּהֶם (so in Num. 22, 21, and often in very late passages, otherwise עִמָּם is generally used). In the first person, besides עִמִּי, we also find עִמָּדִי (probably from original ענדי; cf. Arab. *'inda*, beside, with).

d 3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תַּחְתֵּנִי 2 Sam. 22, 37. 40. 48 (for which Ps. 18, 37. 40. 48 תַּחְתָּי), תַּחְתָּנָה Gen. 2, 21 and בַּעֲדֵנִי Ps. 139, 11 (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יְשׂוּפֵנִי)[1].

e **2.** When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to בְּ is appended the syllable מוֹ (see the Rem.), and בְּ and לְ take at least a full vowel, בָּ and לָ (§ 102. *d*, *f*).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (*a*) in the pausal forms בָּךְ, לָךְ, אִתָּךְ, עִמָּךְ (not *bèkha*, &c.); (*b*) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.), and in בָּנוּ, לָנוּ, עִמָּנוּ, &c. (not *bēnû*, &c.).

f (*a*) לְ *with Pronominal Suffixes.*

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	לִי *to me.*	לָנוּ *to us.*
2.	*m.* לָךְ (לָכָה), in *pause* לָךְ; *f.* לָךְ . . . . . *to thee.*	לָכֶם; [לָכֶנָּה [2]לָכֶן *to you.*
3.	*m.* לוֹ *to him.*; *f.* לָהּ *to her.*	לָהֶם, לָהֶמָּה, poet. לָמוֹ[3]; לָהֶנָּה[4], לָהֶן *to them.*

[1] *Fînî* and *bînî* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fî* and *bî*, are compared by Socin.

[2] לָכֶן does not occur in the Old Testament, by a mere accident, no doubt; Ezek. 13, 18 לָכֶנָּה.

[3] The question whether לָמוֹ can also stand for the sing. לוֹ, which Rödiger positively denied, must now decidedly be answered in the affirmative, since the

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner: בִּי, בְּךָ (Ex. 7, 29. 2 Sam. 22, 30. Ps. 141, 8 בְּכָה, as in Gen. 27, 37. 2 Sam. 18, 22. Is. 3, 6 לְכָה), בּוֹ, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides בָּהֶם (especially in the later Books) and בָּהֵמָּה (only in Ex. 36, 1. Hab. 1, 16; לָהֵמָּה only in Jer. 14, 16), the form בָּם is also used; and for the feminine, besides בָּהֵנָּה (which occurs three times), בָּהֵן is found fifteen times, and בָּהֶן, but only in 1 Sam. 31, 7. Is. 38, 16. Ezek. 42, 14.—According to the Masora, לֹא is found fifteen times for לוֹ (as conversely in 1 Sam. 2, 16. 20, 2 לוֹ for לֹא), e.g. Ex. 21, 8. 1 Sam. 2, 3. Is. 9, 2. Ps. 100, 3 (and, as has been conjectured, also Job 41, 4); comp. Delitzsch on Ps. 100, 3.—In Num. 32, 42. Zech. 5, 11. Ruth 2, 14, the Masora requires לָהּ instead of לָהִּ (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; comp. § 23. *k*, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58. *g*, § 91. *e*). *g*

(*b*) כְּ *with Pronominal Suffixes.* *h*

	Sing.	Plur.	
1.	כָּמֹונִי [5] *as I.*	כָּמֹונוּ *as we.*	
2.	*m.* כָּמֹוךָ [5] *f.*	כָּמֹוכֶם, כָּכֶם, seldom כְּמוֹתֶם	*as ye.*
3.	*m.* כָּמֹוהוּ *as he.* *f.* כָּמֹוהָ *as she.*	כָּהֶם, [כָּהֵמָּה], כָּהֵם [כָּהֵן], כָּהֵנָּה	*as they.*

Phoenician suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. in ם has been universally recognized as the ground-form of the Hebrew suffixes in מוֹ (comp. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 153 sqq. and p. 154 for Schlottmann's explanation of this ם). It is true that in such places as Gen. 9, 26. 27. Deut. 33, 2. Is. 30, 5. Ps. 73, 10 (all *in* or immediately before the principal pause; in Deut. 33, 2 with *Zaqeph qaṭon* at least) לָמוֹ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is. 53, 8 for נֶגַע לָמוֹ we should read with the LXX נְגַע לַפָּוֶת. On the other hand, in Is. 44, 15 its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct—פָּגְעֵימוֹ Ps. 11, 7 and בַּפְּגִימוֹ Job 27, 23, as well as עָלֵימוֹ, the last occurring three times, Job 20, 23. 27, 23 (beside עָלָיו), and especially Job 22, 2. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= פָּנָיו, בַּפִּיו, עָלָיו).

[4] The form לָהֵן occurs in Ruth 1, 13 in the sense of *therefore*.

[5] The use of נִי here for י_ (cf. above, letter *d*) might be due to euphonic reasons. Probably, however, it is a case of contraction from כָּמֹה אֲנִי, see letter *k*.—כָּמֹנִי (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, כָּמֹךָ Ex. 15, 11.

i (*c*) מִן *with Pronominal Suffixes.*

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in *pause* also מֵנִּי *from me.*	מִמֶּנּוּ *from us.*
2.	*m.* מִמְּךָ, in *pause* מִמֶּךָּ; *f.* מִמֵּךְ *from thee.*	מִכֶּם; מִכֶּן *from you.*
3.	*m.* מִמֶּנּוּ, Job 4, 12 in *pause* מִנֵּהוּ, [מִמֶּהוּ or מִמֵּהוּ] *from him.*	מֵהֶם, מֵהֵמָּה, poet. מִמֶּהֶם [מֵהֵן], מֵהֵנָּה *from them.*
	f. מִמֶּנָּה *from her.*	

k The syllable מוֹ (in Arabic *mâ* = מָא = Heb. מָה *what*) in בַּמֹּונִי (probably from בְּמָה אֲנִי, prop. *according to what I*, for *as I*) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ, even without suffixes, so that בְּמוֹ, כְּמוֹ, לְמוֹ appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to בְּ, כְּ, לְ. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of מִן, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

l The form בָּהֶם, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 Ki. 17, 15 (in *pause*), בַּהֵמָּה only in Jer. 36, 52 (in *pause*); בָּהֵן (Baer following Qimḥi בָּהֶן) only in Ezek. 18, 14. Comp. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 sqq.—For בָּכֶם *as ye* Qimḥi requires כָּכֶם (invariably or only in Job 16, 4?); in Jos. 1, 15. Jud. 8, 2. Ezra 4, 2 Baer gives בָּכֶם.

m With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֶּנִּי *from me* is usually explained as arising, by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מנמני, just as מִמֶּנּוּ *from him*, from מנמנ-הו, identical in form with מִמֶּנּוּ[1] *from us*, from מנמנ-נו, while מִמֶּנָּה *from her* goes back to מנמנה. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*Revue des études juives*, xxiii. 302 sqq.), that מִמֶּנִּי, &c., have arisen from מְנֶנִּי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of אֵינֶנִּי, עוֹדֶנּוּ, תַּחְתֶּנָּה, § 100. *o*.—The bracketed form מִמֶּהוּ, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes מִמֶּנָּהוּ, occurs only in Ps. 68, 24, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (מֶן = *portion*). The expression מִן־הוּא (for מִמֶּנּוּ?) Is. 18, 2. 7 is very strange.—מֵהֵמָּה occurs only in Jer. 10, 2. Eccles. 12, 12 (Job 11, 20 מִמֶּהֶם); מֵהֵן (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מֵהֶן) only in Ezek. 16, 47. 52.

n **3.** Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124. *a*), and are, therefore, joined with the

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[1] The Babylonian Masora writes מִמֶּנִּי (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91.*g*). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אֶל־, עַד־, עַל־ with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל״ה) אֱלַי (אֲלַי), עֲדַי, עֲלַי (contracted to אֵלַי, אָלַי, &c.)[1].

Without suffixes these prepositions are— *o*

אַחַר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אֶל־, poet. also אֵלֵי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between;* the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינְךָ, &c. (Gen. 16, 5 בֵּינֶיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינָיו, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qᵉrê* for בֵּינוֹ, which is found e.g. in Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת.

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always has the plural form, sometimes masc. סְבִיבֶיךָ, &c., sometimes, and more frequently, in the fem. סְבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ezek. 43, 17 סָבִיב אוֹתָהּ is abnormal for סְבִיבֶיהָ.

עַד־ (*continuation, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עֲדֵי. In Job 32, 12 עֲדֵיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 Ki. 9, 18 for עַד־הֵם read עֲדֵיהֶם.

עַל־ *upon, over* (comp. the subst. עָל *height, the top*, from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עֲלֵי.

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחְתַּנִי, &c., comp. above, letter *d*.

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[1] The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 101 sqq.; *Nachrichten der G. g. G.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA.*, 1884, p. 280 sq. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 348 sqq., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 sqq., תַּחְתֶּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלֶיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לְפָנֶי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תְּחָתֶיךָ, אֲחָרֶיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 sq.

With Suffixes.

1 *Sing.*	אַחֲרַי (*after me*)	בֵּינַי (*between me*)	סְבִיבוֹתַי (*around me*)	תַּחְתַּי (*beneath me*)	אֵלַי (*to me*)	עָדַי (*unto me*)	עָלַי (*on me*)
2 *S. m.*	אַחֲרֶיךָ	בֵּינְךָ	סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ	תַּחְתֶּיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	עָדֶיךָ	עָלֶיךָ
2 *S. f.*	אַחֲרַיִךְ		סְבִיבוֹתַיִךְ & סְבִיבַיִךְ		אֵלַיִךְ		עָלַיִךְ
3 *S. m.*	אַחֲרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָדָיו	עָלָיו
3 *S. f.*	אַחֲרֶיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עָדֶיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
1 *Plur.*	אַחֲרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵינוּ בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ [1] &	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
2 *Pl. m.*	אַחֲרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֲלֵיכֶם	עֲדֵיכֶם	עֲלֵיכֶם
3 *Pl. m.*	אַחֲרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם בֵּינוֹתָם &	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם סְבִיבוֹתָם &	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם usually תַּחְתָּם &	אֲלֵיהֶם & [אֵלֵימוֹ [2]]	[עֲדֵיהֶם]	עֲלֵיהֶם [עֲלֵימוֹ [2]]
3 *Pl. f.*	אַחֲרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֲלֵיהֶן & אֲלֵהֶן		עֲלֵיהֶן

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

a **1.** The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their relations one to another. They may be either—

(*a*) Original pronouns, e. g. the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

(*b*) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs or conjunctions; so probably אֲשֶׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (=*qui, quae, quod*), and in many cases stands simply for כִּי; also אַל־ (*nothing*), *that not*; פֶּן־ *that not* (the Greek μή of *prohibition*), &c. To these may be added the

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[1] As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gen. 26, 28) distinguishes between the two forms: בינותינו means *between us and you*, whereas בינינו (Jos. 22, 25. 27. 28 before וביניכם) means *between us on the one hand*.

[2] The poetical form אֵלֵימוֹ only in Ps. 2, 5; עָלֵימוֹ, on which see note 3 on letter *f*, frequently.

adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e. g. בְּטֶרֶם (*in the not yet*) *earlier, before*, for which מִפְּנֵי is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e. g. אַף־כִּי *added to this, that=much more*), see Syntax.

(*c*) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר *b* or כִּי together form one single conjunction, e. g. יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *because*, prop. *on account of the fact that;* אַחַר אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, *after that;* בַּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (with כְּ); עֵקֶב כִּי and עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר *in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because.* Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e. g. עַל־ (for עַל־אֲשֶׁר) *although*, Job 16, 17.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as *one* substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small *c* words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus אוֹ *or*, אִם־ *if* (also *or* before the second member of a double question), אַף *also*, וְ *and*, and others.

Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally וַ, as still before *Ḥaṭeph Pathaḥ*, and— *d* with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect; cf. § 49. *f*) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ (§ 102. *d–i*), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw copulative* has some further peculiarities:

(*a*) Usually it takes simple *Šᵉwâ* (וְ).

(*b*) Before words which begin with a guttural having a *compound Šᵉwâ*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šᵉwâ* is compounded (according to § 28. *b*), e. g. וַחֲכַם *and be thou wise*, וַעֲבָדִים *and servants*, וַעֲזוּז *and strength*, וֶאֱכֹל *and eat thou*, וַחֳלִי *and sickness*. On וֵאלֹהִים, וַאלֹהַי, &c., see § 102. *d;* on וַאדֹנַי, &c., see § 102. *m;* on such cases as וְעֹצֶר Job 4, 2, comp. § 28. *b*.

(*c*) Before words with simple *Šᵉwâ* under the first consonant (except in the *e* cases under letter *f*), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū*, e. g. וּלְכֹל *and to all*, so also (except in the case under letter *g*) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וּמְלֹאָהּ. On the cases in which *simple Šᵉwâ* has become a *Ḥaṭeph* after וְ *copulative* (e. g. וְזָהָב Gen. 2, 12), comp. § 10. *h*.

(*d*) With a following יְ the וְ coalesces to form וִי according to § 24. *b*, e. g. *f* וִיהִי *and let him be*. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw copulative* before forms with initial *Šᵉwâ* from הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* (e. g. וְהִיִּיתֶם Jos. 8, 4, וְחִיֵּה Gen. 20, 7), comp. § 63. *g*.

g (*e*) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qameṣ*, like לָ, בָּ, בְּ (see § 102. *f*), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וָבֹא 2 Ki. 22, 30), e. g. וָמֵת Ex. 21, 12 (on the other hand, in verse 20 וּמֵת is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 Ki. 7, 4 וָנָבֹא שָׁם, וָמֵתְנוּ and וּמֵתְנוּ; Ruth 3, 3 וָסַכְתְּ; Ps. 10, 15 וָרָע; 1 Sam. 9, 4 וָאַיִן; 2 Sam. 13, 26 וָלֹא; Ezek. 47, 9 וָחָי; comp. also (with *Ṭiphḥa*) Gen. 33, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 12. The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by meams of וְ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Wāw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ Gen. 1, 2, יוֹם וָלַיְלָה Gen. 8, 22 (see also the previous examples); Gen. 13, 14 (thrice); Ex. 25, 3 זָהָב וָכֶסֶף; Ps. 96, 7 כָּבוֹד וָעֹז; Ps. 76, 7 כֹּה וְכֹה; אֱלֹהִים וָמֶלֶךְ; Gen. 7, 13 נֹחַ וְשֵׁם־וְחָם וָפֶת; 1 Ki. 21, 10 וְסוּס וָרֶכֶב *thus and thus*; Est. 1, 8 אִישׁ־וָאִישׁ at the end of the verse, but in Ps. 87, 5 אִישׁ וְאִישׁ, in spite of the *Dᵉḥi* with the second אִישׁ, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words פֶּחַד וָפַחַת וָפָח Is. 24, 17. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וְ occurs before a conjunctive accent (and, when farther removed from the principal pause, even with the smaller disjunctives, in spite of a following tone-syllable), e. g. צֹאן וָעֶבֶד Gen. 32, 6; comp. Gen. 31, 40. Lev. 7, 23. Deut. 2, 21, and among the examples given above, Gen. 7, 13 and Ps. 76, 7. (Exceptions: וְקַדְמָה Gen. 13, 14, where evidently the וְ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וָזִיף Jos. 15, 55, וָעֶתֶר 19, 7, וָבֶטֶן 19, 25, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וְ (not וָ) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וָזֶה, וָאֵת, וָלֹא, וָגַם and others (to be distinguished from וָלֹא *if not*, with *Zaqeph gadol*, 2 Ki. 5, 17).

§ 105. *Interjections.*

a **1.** Among the interjections some (as in all other languages) are simply natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gesticulations, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e. g. אֲהָהּ (Ezek. 30, 2 הָהּ), אָח *ah!* הֶאָח *aha!* (comp. this אָח also in אַחְלַי and אֲחַלְלַי *utinam!*), אֲנָּא Ex. 32, 31, &c. (Gen. 50, 17 אָנָּא) *ah!* (from אָהּ and נָא), otherwise written אָנָּה 2 Ki. 20, 3. Jon. 1, 14. Ps. 116, 4; also הַס (in pause הָס, even in the plural הַסּוּ *hold your peace!* Neh. 8, 11) *hush!* הוֹי (Amos 5, 16 הוֹ־הוֹ) *ha! woe!* אוֹי, אוֹיָה (Ps. 120, 5), אִי (in אִילוֹ Eccles. 4, 10; אִי־לָךְ 10, 16) *woe!*

b **2.** Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הֵן (הֵא) or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); רְאֵה *behold!* (prop. imperative); הָבָה, plur. הָבוּ (prop. *give*, imperative of יָהַב; comp. as to the tone,

§ 69. *o*), the Latin *age, agite, come on!* לְכָה (also לֵךְ), לְכוּ (prop. *go*, imperative of הָלַךְ) with the same meaning[1]; חָלִילָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*) בִּי (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָא *pray*[2]*!* used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs[3].

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[1] רְאֵה (Deut. 1, 8), הָבָה and לָבָה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

[2] נָא serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (*a*) after the *imperative*, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110. *d*; (*b*) with the *imperfect*, either in the cohortative (§ 108. *b*) or jussive (§ 109. *b*); (*c*) once with *perfect*, Gen. 40, 14; (*d*) after various particles: הִנֵּה־נָא *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions אַל and אִם: אַל־נָא *ne quaeso* and אִם־נָא *if now*, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, *if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Num. 12, 13 נָא stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read אֵל־נָא.—In polite language this particle is used constantly in a variety of ways, Gen. 18, 3 sq. 19, 7 sq. 19, and 50, 17.

[3] Against the usual view which regards נָא as a hortatory particle (= *up! come!* analogous to the original imperatives הָבָה and לְכָה and the Eth. *năʾâ*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָא as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָא with the Assyrian, Arabic and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

THIRD PART.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. Use of the Tenses and Moods[1].

§ 106. *Use of the Perfect.*

a The perfect serves to express actions, events, or conditions, which the speaker wishes to represent as in a state of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are thought of in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed in letters *b–p:* hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 1, and cf. further § 107. *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

b **1.** To represent actions, events, or conditions, which, after a shorter

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[1] Comp. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47. *a;* also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtzon, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled *Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.* appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 sqq. (Leyden, 1892). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 sqq. and vii. 33 sqq.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(*a*) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gen. 18, 15 *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי) . . . . . ; *and he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחָקְתְּ); Gen. 3, 11 מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who told thee . . . .?* Comp. 3, 13. 14. 17. 22. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is. 66, 8 מִי־שָׁמַע כָּזֹאת *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing?* *b*

Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos. 1, 5 *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee;* Jos. 1, 17. Ex. 10, 14. Deut. 32, 21. 1 Ki. 2, 38. Is. 46, 4. 11. Joel 2, 2. Eccles. 1, 9. *c*

(*b*) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gen. 4, 4 *and Abel, he also brought* (וְהֶבְיא), &c.; Gen. 7, 20 *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּגְבְּרוּ), &c.; Job 1, 1 *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz*, &c.; even in relating repeated actions, 1 Sam. 18, 30. *d*

Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of *narration* occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Job 1, 1; comp. Dan. 2, 1) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gen. 7, 11. 13), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (comp. above Gen. 4, 4 and 7, 20). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111. *a*. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1. *b*). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112. *pp–uu*. *e*

(*c*) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect), e.g. 1 Sam. 28, 3 *now Samuel was (long since) dead*[1] . . . *and Saul had put away* (הֵסִיר) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land.* Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Comp. 1 Sam. 9, 15. 25, 21. 2 Sam. 18, 18.—Gen. 20, 18 (*for the Lord had fast closed up*, &c.); 27, 30. 31, 19. 34. Deut. 2, 10; and in a negative *f*

[1] Incorrectly e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul obstulit magos*, &c.

statement, Gen. 2, 5 *for the Lord God had not* (up to that time) *caused it to rain*, &c. This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e. g. Gen. 2, 2 *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gen. 7, 9. 19, 27, &c.; 29, 10 *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (כַּאֲשֶׁר רָאָה) . . ., *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of an action, &c., on the occurrence of another event, as in Gen. 24, 15. 27, 30, &c.; cf. § 164. *b*, with the note, and letter *c*.

g **2.** To represent actions, events or conditions, which, although completed in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(*a*) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e. g. Ps. 10, 11 הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face* (*and still keeps it hidden*); Ps. 143, 6 פֵּרַשְׂתִּי יָדַי *I have spread forth my hands* (*and still keep them spread forth*). This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive[1] verbs, denoting affections or conditions of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under letter *f*, by the imperfect[2]. Thus, יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Job 9, 2. 10, 13, לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gen. 4, 9, &c.; on the other hand, e. g. in Gen. 28, 16. Num. 22, 34, the context requires *I knew not;* זָכַרְנוּ *we remember* Num. 11, 5; מֵאֲנָה *she refuseth* Job 6, 7; עָלַץ *it exulteth;* שָׂמַחְתִּי *I rejoice* 1 Sam. 2, 1; בִּקֵּשׁ *he requireth* Is. 1, 12; קִוִּיתִי *I wait* Gen. 49, 18. Ps. 130, 5 (parallel with הוֹחַלְתִּי); חָפַצְתִּי *I delight* Ps. 40, 9 (mostly negative, Is. 1, 11 and elsewhere); אָהַבְתִּי *I love* Gen. 27, 4; שָׂנֵאתִי *I hate* Ps. 31, 7; מָאַסְתִּי *I despise* Amos 5, 21; תִּעֲבֻנִי *they abhor me* Job 30, 10; בָּטַחְתִּי *I trust* Ps. 25, 2; חָסִיתִי *I put my trust* Ps. 31, 2; צָדַקְתִּי *I am righteous* Job 34, 5.—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גָּדַלְתָּ *thou art great* Ps. 104, 1; קָטֹנְתִּי *I am little* Gen. 32, 11;

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[1] With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing condition), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, note on letter *a*), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

[2] Cf. *novi, odi, memini;* οἶδα, *μέμνημαι, ἔοικα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, *ἥλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.*

גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is. 55, 9; רָחֲקוּ *they stand aloof* Job 30, 10; טָבוּ *they are goodly* Num. 24, 5; נָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is. 52, 7; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gen. 18, 13; יָגַעְתִּי *I am weary* Ps. 6, 7; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is. 1, 11, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עַד־מָתַי *h* Ex. 10, 3 *how long hast thou* already *been refusing* (and refusest still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*) Ps. 80, 5. Prov. 1, 22 (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עַד־אָנָה Ex. 16, 28. Hab. 1, 2.

(*b*) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be represented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e. g. הֲרִמֹתִי *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. 14, 22; נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer. 22, 5; הַעְלֵתִי *I testify* Deut. 8, 19; יָעַצְתִּי *I counsel* 2 Sam. 17, 11 (but in a different context in ver. 15, *have I counselled*); אָמַרְתִּי (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 Sam. 19, 30; *I declare* Job 9, 22. 32, 10.

(*c*) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are *k* still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e. g. Ps. 9, 11 *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (לֹא־עָזַבְתָּ) *them that seek thee.* Comp. ver. 13, also Ps. 10, 3. 119, 40 and Gen. 49, 11 (כִּבֵּס).

Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English *l* present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107. *a*). Thus, לֹא יָכֹלְתִּי *I am not able* Ps. 40, 13 and לֹא אוּכַל Gen. 31, 35 have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e. g. Is. 5, 12. Ps. 2, 1 sq. Prov. 1, 22. Job 3, 17.

3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an *m* express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(*a*) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present), e. g. Gen. 23, 11 *the field I give* (נָתַתִּי) *thee;* comp. ver. 13 and 48, 22. 2 Sam. 14, 21. 24, 23. Jer. 40, 4; in a threat, 1 Sam. 2, 16. 15, 2. 2 Sam. 5, 6 (unless, with Wellhausen, יְסִירֶךָ is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gen. 1, 29. 15, 18. 17, 20. Jud. 1, 2.

(*b*) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, *n* in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum*

confidentiae), e. g. Num. 17, 27 הֵן גָּוַעְנוּ אָבַדְנוּ כֻּלָּנוּ אָבָדְנוּ *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone.* Gen. 30, 13. Is. 6, 5 (נִדְמֵיתִי *I am undone*[1]). Prov. 4, 2. Even in interrogative sentences, Gen. 18, 12. Num. 17, 28. 23, 10. Jud. 9, 9. 11. Zech. 4, 10 (?). Prov. 22, 20[2]. This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so transports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e. g. Is. 5, 13 *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (גָּלָה); 9, 1 sqq. 10, 28. 11, 9 (after כִּי, as frequently elsewhere); 19, 7. Job 5, 20. 2 Chron. 20, 37. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

o (*c*) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e. g. Is. 4, 4 אִם רָחַץ *when he has washed away* = *when he shall have washed away* (an *imperfect* follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107. *x*); Is. 6, 11 (after עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם, as in Gen. 28, 15. Num. 32, 17; also 2 Sam. 17, 13 after עַד אֲשֶׁר, Gen. 24, 19 after עַד אִם and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mic. 5, 2 (יָלְדָה); Gen. 43, 14 וְאֲנִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי *and I—if I am bereaved* (*orbus fuero*), *I am bereaved*, an expression of despairing resignation. Comp. Prov. 23, 15. Est. 4, 16.

p **4.** To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive), e. g. Gen. 31, 42 *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שִׁלַּחְתָּנִי); Gen. 43, 10. Ex. 9, 15 (שָׁלַחְתִּי *I had* almost *put forth*, &c.); Num. 22, 33. Jud. 13, 23. 14, 18. 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הֵכִין); 2 Ki. 13, 19; so frequently after כִּמְעַט *easily*, *almost*, Gen. 26, 10. Is. 1, 9 (where כִּמְעַט is probably to be connected

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[1] Comp. the similar use of ὄλωλα (*διέφθορας*, *Il.* 15, 128) and *perii!* On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, comp. below, letter *p*.

[2] In Gen. 40, 14 a *perf. confidentiae* (after כִּי אִם, as in 2 Ki. 5, 20. 23, 9) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen, *but have me in thy remembrance*, &c. Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a *precative* perfect in Hebrew. In Job 21, 16. 22, 18 also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me.* Comp. Driver, *The Use of the Tenses*, p. 29 sqq.

with the word after it); Ps. 73, 2. 94, 17. 119, 87. Prov. 5, 14. Cf. also Job 3, 13. 23, 10 (בַּהֲחָנֵנִי). Ruth 1, 12 (*if I should think*, &c.; comp. 2 Ki. 7, 4); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 Sam. 25, 34.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Num. 14, 2 לוּ מַתְנוּ *would that we had died . . . !* (לוּ with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die!* 1 Sam. 14, 30). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gen. 21, 7 מִי מִלֵּל *who would have said . . .? quis dixerit?* Ps. 73, 11.

§ 107. *Use of the Imperfect*[1].

a The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events or conditions, which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

Knudtzon (see above, Rem. on § 106. *a*) would prefer the term *present* rather than imperfect, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker[2].

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere *past time:*

b (*a*) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period[3], e. g. Gen. 2, 6 *a mist went up* continually (יַעֲלֶה), 2, 25. 37, 7. 48, 10. Ex. 1, 12. 8, 20. 13, 22. 15, 6. 12. 14. 15. Num. 9, 15 sq. 20 sq. 23, 7. Jud. 2, 1. 5, 8. 1 Sam. 3, 2. 13, 17 sq. 2 Sam. 2, 28. 23, 10. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 7, 8. 21, 6. Is. 1, 21. 6, 4 (יִמָּלֵא), 17, 10 sq. 51, 2 *a*. Jer. 13, 7. 36, 18. Ps. 18, 7. 14. 17 sqq. 38 sqq. 24, 2. 32, 4. 5 (אוֹרִיעֲךָ), 47, 5. 68, 10. 12. 104, 6 sqq. 106, 19. 107, 18. 29. 139, 13. Job 3, 3. 11. 4, 12. 15 sq. 10, 10 sq. 15, 7 sq.—

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[1] Comp. the literature cited above, p. 320, note.

[2] This is undoubtedly the view of De Lagarde also (*Übersicht über die Bildung der Nomina*, p. 6), when he defines the perfect as serving to express that of which we are immediately sensible, the imperfect that at which we arrive by comparison and imagination.

[3] Comp. the Mêša' inscription, l. 5, כי יאנף כמש בארצה *for Chemosh was angry with his country.*

very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Num. 9, 15–23 and § 112. *e*), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive[1].

c Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אָז *then*, טֶרֶם *not yet*, בְּטֶרֶם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e. g. Ex. 15, 1 אָז יָשִׁיר־מֹשֶׁה *then sang Moses*, &c.; Num. 21, 17. Deut. 4, 41. Jos. 10, 12. 1 Ki. 3, 16. Ps. 126, 2. Job 38, 21. (The *perfect* is used after אָז when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e. g. Gen. 4, 26 אָז הוּחַל *then began*, &c.; Gen. 49, 4. Ex. 15, 15. Jos. 22, 31. Jud. 5, 11. Ps. 89, 20[2].) After טֶרֶם e. g. Gen. 19, 4 טֶרֶם יִשְׁכָּבוּ *before they lay down;* Gen. 2, 5. 24, 45. 1 Sam. 3, 3. 7, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gen. 24, 15 instead of the perf. כִּלָּה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 Sam. 3, 7 [יֵדַע] an imperf. is co-ordinated with ידע.) After בְּטֶרֶם (sometimes also simply טֶרֶם Ex. 12, 34. Jos. 3, 1), e. g. Jer. 1, 5 בְּטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא *before thou camest forth;* Gen. 27, 33. 37, 18. 41, 50. Ruth 3, 14 (perhaps also in Ps. 90, 2 an imperf. was intended instead of יֻלָּדוּ; comp. Wellhausen on 2 Sam. 3, 2). After עַד־ Jos. 10, 13. Ps. 73, 17 (*until I went*), 2 Chron. 29, 34; on the other hand, with the perf., e. g. Jos. 2, 22[3].

d 2. Driver (*The Use of the Tenses*, p. 32) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction between the *participle* as expressing *mere* duration, and the *imperfect* as expressing *progressive* duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words וְנָהָר יֹצֵא Gen. 2, 10 represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but יִפָּרֵד, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way יַעֲלֶה Gen. 2, 6 represents new mists as constantly arising, and יִמָּלֵא Is. 6, 4 new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence תִּבְלָעֵמוֹ Ex. 15, 12 (after a *perf.* as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and יַנְחֵנִי Num. 23, 7 the leading on by stages, &c.

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[1] According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is. 10, 13 *bis* (where, however, וְאָסִיר might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is. 48, 3. 57, 17. Ps. 18, 38 *b*, also (according to § 49. *c*) in 2 Sam. 1, 10 and Ezek. 16, 10. In some other cases וְ is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for וָ (*imperf. consec.*) in order to represent historical statements as promises; comp. Is. 42, 6. 51, 2 *bis*, 63, 3 sqq. and the note on p. 151.

[2] After אָז *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gen. 24, 41. Ex. 12, 48. Mic. 3, 4. Zeph. 3, 9. Ps. 51, 21.

[3] As after אָז, so also after טֶרֶם, בְּטֶרֶם and עַד־ the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our *future*, e. g. 2 Ki. 2, 9. Is. 65, 24. Job 10, 21; after עַד־ e. g. Is. 22, 14. The imperf. is used in the sense of our *present* after טֶרֶם in Ex. 9, 30. 10, 7.

(*b*) To express actions, &c., which were *repeated* in the past, either at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e. g. Job 1, 5 *thus did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *Job continually* (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4, 3 sq. 22, 6 sq. 23, 11. 29, 7. 9. 12 sq. Gen. 6, 4. 29, 2. 30, 38. 42. 31, 39 (*I used to bear* the loss of it), Ex. 1, 12. 19, 19. 33, 7 sqq. (יִקַּח *used to take* every time). 40, 36 sqq. Num. 9, 17 sq. 20 sqq. 11, 5. 9. Jud. 6, 4. 14, 10. 21, 25. 1 Sam. 1, 7. 2, 22. 9, 9. 13, 19. 18, 5. 27, 9. 2 Sam. 1, 22. 12, 3. 13, 18. 1 Ki. 5, 25 (of tribute repeated year by year). 10, 5. 13, 33. 14, 28. 2 Ki. 4, 8. 8, 29. 13, 20. 25, 14. Jer. 36, 23. Ps. 42, 5. 44, 3. 78, 15. 40. 103, 7. Est. 2, 14; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 Ki. 18, 10. *e*

2. In the sphere of *present time*, again *f*

(*a*) To express actions, events, or conditions, which are *continued* for a shorter or longer time[1], e. g. Gen. 37, 15 מַה־תְּבַקֵּשׁ *what seekest thou?* 19, 19 לֹא־אוּכַל *I cannot;* 24, 50. 31, 35. Is. 1, 13. Other examples are Gen. 2, 10. 24, 31. 1 Sam. 1, 8. 11, 5. 1 Ki. 3, 7. Ps. 2, 2. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e. g. Prov. 15, 20 *a wise son maketh a glad father;* hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e. g. Job 4, 17 *is mortal man just before God?* In a negative sentence, Job 4, 18, &c.

(*b*) To express actions, &c., which may be *repeated* at any time, including therefore the present, or are *customarily* repeated on a given occasion (comp. above, letter *e*), e. g. Deut. 1, 44 *as bees do* (are accustomed to do); Gen. 6, 21. 32, 33. 43, 32. Jud. 11, 40. 1 Sam. 2, 8. 5, 5. 20, 2. 2 Sam. 15, 32. Is. 1, 23. 3, 16. Ps. 1, 3. So again (see letter *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e. g. Ex. 23, 8 *a gift blindeth* (יְעַוֵּר), &c.; Gen. 2, 24. 22, 14. Is. 32, 6. Am. 3, 7. Mal. 1, 6. Job 2, 4, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gen. 49, 27 *Benjamin is* זְאֵב יִטְרָף *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial *g*

[1] It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between *continued* and *repeated* actions. Some of the examples given under letter *f* might equally be referred to letter *g*.

expressions) Gen. 10, 9. 22, 14, and elsewhere; לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה כֵן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence *may not, shall not be*, see letter *u*), Gen. 29, 26. 20, 9. 34, 7. 2 Sam. 13, 12.

h (*c*) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e. g. Gen. 32, 30 *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 24, 31. 44, 7. Ex. 5, 15. 2 Sam. 16, 9. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e. g. Job 1, 7 (2, 2) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gen. 16, 8 (comp. 42, 7) אֵי־מִזֶּה בָּאתְ *whence camest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

i **3.** In the sphere of *future time.* To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(*a*) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e. g. Ex. 4, 1 *they will not believe* (יַאֲמִינוּ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6, 1. 9, 5, &c.

k (*b*) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e. g. Gen. 43, 7 could we in any wise know *that he would say* (יֹאמַר)? 2, 19. 43, 25. Ex. 2, 4. 2 Ki. 3, 27 אֲשֶׁר־יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat;* 13, 14. Jon. 4, 5. Job 3, 3. Eccles. 2, 3. Ps. 78, 6 *that the generation to come might know,* בָּנִים יִוָּלֵדוּ *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent;* the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (*c*) To represent a *futurum exactum;* comp. Is. 4, 4. 6, 11 (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106. *o*); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד Ps. 132, 5 and עַד אֲשֶׁר *until* Gen. 29, 8. Num. 20, 17, &c.

m **4.** Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or conditions, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

n (*a*) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (comp. e. g. Ps. 59, 17 with verse 18; 2 Sam. 22, 50 with Ps. 18, 50; Jud. 19, 11, &c.), of the imperative (Is. 18, 3), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e. g. תֵּרָאֶה *let it appear* Gen. 1, 9. 41, 34. Lev. 19, 2. 3. 2 Sam. 10, 12 (and so frequently in verbs ל״ה; comp. § 109. *a*, note); Zech. 9, 5 (תָּחֵיל); Ps. 61, 7 (תּוֹסִיף); Prov. 22, 17 (תָּשִׁית); 23, 1. Job 6, 23 (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10, 20 *K'th.*; so probably also יָדִין *let him judge!* Ps. 72, 2.—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which should have been subsequently accomplished at a fixed point of time in the past, e. g. Job 10, 18 אָנְוַע *I should have* (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost;* comp. verse 19 אָהְיֶה and אוּבָל. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e. g. Job 9, 29 אֶרְשָׁע *I am to be guilty;* 12, 4. Comp. Job 9, 15. 19, 16; in a question, Ps. 42, 10. 43, 2.

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not happen. The imperfect with לֹא represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive[1] with אַל־ (comp. § 109. *c*), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while אַל־ with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus לֹא with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנֹב *thou shalt not steal* Ex. 20, 15; comp. verses 3. 4. 5. 7. 10 sqq. So לֹא with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Prov. 16, 10. *o*

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after אל־, does not, as a rule (according to letter *n* above, and § 109. *a*, note), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after אַל־ of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs ל״ה (comp. for these § 109. *a*, note), but also from verbs ע״ו: to express a prohibition or negative wish, אַל־תָּבִיא Gen. 19, 17, אַל־תָּסוּר Jos. 1, 7, אַל־נָא יָשִׂים 1 Sam. 25, 25. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) וְאַל־נָמוּת *that we die not* 1 Sam. 12, 19. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, אַל־יָנוּם *he will not slumber*[2] Ps. 121, 3; comp. Jer. 46, 6. 2 Chron. 14, 10. *p*

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[1] As stated in § 46. *a*, a prohibition cannot be expressed by אַל־ and the imperative.

[2] To regard this as an optative (so Hupfeld) is from the context impossible. It is more probably a strong pregnant construction, or fusion of two sentences (such as, *do not think he will slumber!*). Verse 4 contains the objective confirmation, by means of לֹא with the imperf., of the conviction which was previously only subjective.

q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165. *b*), as בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ *that they may not understand*), אֲשֶׁר, Gen. 11, 7; לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר Num. 17, 5; לְמַעַן Deut. 4, 1. Ps. 51, 6. 78, 6, and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר[1] Ez. 12, 12 *that*[2]; לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not* Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14; also after פֶּן *that not, lest* Gen. 3, 22. 11, 4. 19, 15, and elsewhere[3]. In Lev. 9, 6 such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109. *f*) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in Lam. 1, 19 to the principal clause simply by וְ: *while they sought them food* וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם *to refresh their souls* (cf. also Lam. 3, 26 *it is good and let him hope*, i.e. *that he should hope*); so after an interrogative clause, Ex. 2, 7. Finally also in a relative clause, Ps. 32, 8 בְּדֶרֶךְ־זוּ תֵלֵךְ *in the way which thou shouldst go.*

r (*b*) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the *potential* of the classical languages, as also to our use of the auxiliaries *can*, *may*, *should*[4]). More particularly such imperfects are used—

s (1) In a permissive sense, e.g. Gen. 2, 16 *of every tree of the garden* (אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל) *thou mayest freely eat* (the contrary in verse 17); 3, 2. 42, 37. Lev. 21, 3. 22. Job 21, 3. In the 1st pers. Ps. 5, 8. 22, 18 (*I may*, or *can*, *tell*); in a negative sentence, e.g. Ps. 5, 5.

t (2) In interrogative sentences, e.g. Prov. 20, 9 מִי־יֹאמַר *quis dixerit?* Comp. Gen. 17, 17. 18, 14. 31, 43. 1 Sam. 11, 12. 2 Ki. 5, 12 הֲלֹא־אֶרְחַץ בָּהֶם *may I not wash in them?* Is. 33, 14. Ps. 15, 1. 24, 3. Eccles. 5, 5. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e.g. Gen. 39, 9 *how then can I . . .?* 44, 34. Is. 19, 11. Ps. 137, 4, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take

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[1] But יַעַן אֲשֶׁר in a causal sense (*because*, *since*), e.g. Jud. 2, 20 (as אֲשֶׁר Gen. 34, 27) is followed by the perfect. On Jos. 4, 24 see above, § 74. *g*.

[[2] R.V. *because he shall not see.*]

[3] 2 Ki. 2, 16 פֶּן occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time, when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 Sam. 20, 6, since a *perfect consec.* follows, read with Driver וְיִמְצָא.)

[4] By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for making intelligible to ourselves the full significance of the Semitic imperfect.

place, e. g. Gen. 43, 7 הֲיָדוֹעַ נֵדַע *could we in any wise know . . . ?* Comp. 2 Sam. 3, 33 (הֲכְמוֹת *was Abner to die as a fool*, i. e. *was he destined to die . . . ?*), and so probably also Gen. 34, 31 (*should he deal . . . ?*). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—

(3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, *u* e. g. Ex. 3, 11 *who am I* (כִּי אֵלֵךְ) *that I should* (*ought, could*) *go?* 16, 7. Num. 11, 12. Jud. 9, 28. 1 Sam. 18, 18. 2 Ki. 8, 13. Is. 29, 16. Job 6, 11. 21, 15, similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gen. 38, 18. Ex. 5, 2.

Rem. In such passages as 1 Sam. 11, 5. Ps. 8, 5. 114, 5, the context shows that *v* the imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e. g. Gen. 20, 10. Jud. 18, 23. 2 Sam. 7, 18. Is. 22, 1.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w* should not happen, e. g. Gen. 32, 13 אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִסָּפֵר מֵרֹב *which cannot be numbered for multitude;* 20, 9 *deeds* (אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יֵעָשׂוּ) *that ought not to be done* (comp. above, letter *g*); Ps. 5, 5.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x* to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 גַּם כִּי־אֵלֵךְ . . . לֹא־אִירָא רָע *yea, though I walk* (or *had to walk*) . . . *I fear* (or *I would fear*) *no evil;* Job 9, 20 *though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me.* After a perfect in the protasis, e. g. Job 23, 10. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e. g. Job 5, 8 *but as for me, I would seek unto God* (were I in thy place); 3, 13. 16. 14, 14 sq. Ps. 55, 13. Ruth 1, 12. However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Comp. § 109. *h*.

§ 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i. e. according to § 48. *c*, the 1st pers.[1] sing. or *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending ־ָה—[2], represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather contain the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative

[1] For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48. *d*.

[2] But verbs לי״ה, according to § 75. *l*, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending ־ֶה—; comp. e. g. in Deut. 32, 20 אֶרְאֶה after אַסְתִּירָה.

lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

b **1.** The cohortative, whether standing alone or co-ordinated with another cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle נָא:

(*a*) To express self-encouragement, e. g. Ex. 3, 3 אָסֻרָה־נָּא וגו׳ *I will turn aside now, and see . . . !* So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e. g. Gen. 18, 21. 32, 21 (rarely so used after אַל־, Gen. 21, 16 *let me not look . . . !* Jer. 18, 18), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e. g. Is. 5, 1 *I will sing*[1] *. . . !* 5, 6. 31, 8. Comp. also Gen. 46, 30 *now let me die* (*I am willing to die*), *since I have seen thy face;* and Ps. 31, 8. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g. Ps. 2, 3 נְנַתְּקָה *come! let us break asunder!* &c., and Gen. 11, 3.

c (*b*) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Deut. 2, 27 אֶעְבְּרָה *may I be allowed to pass through* (*let me pass through*)*!* Num. 20, 17 נַעַבְרָה־נָּא *may we be allowed to pass through!* Jer. 40, 15 *let me go, I pray thee!* &c.; 2 Sam. 16, 9; so after אַל־ 2 Sam. 24, 14. Jer. 17, 18. Ps. 25, 2, &c., 69, 15. After אַל־נָא Jon. 1, 14.

d **2.** The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (*a*) In dependence (with *wāw copulative*, Ps. 9, 15 after לְמַעַן) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gen. 27, 4 *bring it to me,* וְאֹכְלָה *that I may eat,* prop. *then will I eat;* Gen. 19, 5. 23, 4. 24, 56. 27, 25. 29, 21. 30, 25 sq. 42, 34. 49, 1. Deut. 32, 1. Hos. 6, 1. Ps. 2, 8. 39, 14. Job 10, 20 *Qᵉrê;* Is. 5, 19 *and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come,* וְנֵדְעָה *that we may know it!* Gen. 26, 28. 1 Sam. 27, 5. Also after negative sentences, Gen. 18, 30. 32. Jud. 6, 39, and after interrogative sentences, 1 Ki. 22, 7. Is. 40, 25. 41, 26. Am. 8, 5.

e (*b*) In conditional sentences (with or without אִם) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Job 16, 6 אִם־אֲדַבְּרָה *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged,* וּמַה־אֶחְדָּלָה *and should I forbear, what am I eased?*

[1 R.V. *let me sing.*]

without אִם Job 19, 18. 30, 26 (where, however, וְאֵיחַלָה is probably intended); Ps. 73, 16 (unless וְאֶחְ֫שְׁבָה should be read), 139, 8 sq. After the 3rd person, Job 11, 17 *though it be dark*, &c. So perhaps also 2 Sam. 22, 38 אֶרְדְּפָה *if I determined to pursue, then . . .*, comp., however, Ps. 18, 38.

(*c*) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e.g. Job 31, 7 sq. *if my step hath turned out of the way . . .*, אֶזְרְעָה *then let me sow;* comp. 16, 4 sq. *I also could speak as ye do, if . . .!* So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e.g. Ps. 40, 6 *else would I declare and speak of them;* 51, 18 *else would I* (*gladly*) *give it*, i.e. if thou didst require it (comp. the precisely similar וְאֶשָּׂא Ps. 55, 13); Job 6, 10. In the 1st plur. Jer. 20, 10. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish מִי־יִתֶּנְנִי, מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי, e.g. Jer. 9, 1 *oh, that I had . . .*, וְאֶעֶזְבָה *then* (i.e. if I had) *should I* (or *would I*) *leave my people*, &c.; Jud. 9, 29. Job 6, 8 sqq., without *Wāw* Is. 27, 4. Ps. 55, 7. Job 23, 4 (comp. also verse 7). *f*

Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a *necessity*) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, Is. 38, 10 אֶלְכָה; Jer. 3, 25. 4, 19. 21. 6, 10. Ps. 55, 3. 18 (?); 57, 5, where, however, with Hupfeld, שְׁכָבָה should be read; 77, 7. 88, 16, and in the 1st plur. Is. 59, 10), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative *form* is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw consec.* of the imperfect (comp. § 49. *e*, as also Ps. 66, 6 שָׁם נִשְׂמְחָה *there did we rejoice*[1]; Ps. 119, 163 וְאֹתֲעֵבָה; Prov. 7, 7), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm. *g*

2. The cohortative is strange after עַד־ Ps. 73, 17 *until I went . . .* אָבִינָה *I considered their latter end;* possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider,' &c. (but אָבִינָה Prov. 7, 7 is still dependent on the preceding וְ); עַד־אַרְנִיעָה Prov. 12, 19 is at any rate to be explained in the same way (for which in Jer. 49, 19. 50, 44 we have כִּי־אֹ with a similar meaning), *as long as I* (intentionally) *wink with the eye-lashes* (shall wink). On the other hand, in Ex. 32, 30 אֲכַפְּרָה, with the Samaritan, is to be read instead of אוּלַי אֲכַפְּרָה after. *h*

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[1] Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׁם is the use of the historic imperf. after אָז, § 107. *c*.

§ 109. *Use of the Jussive.*

a As the *cohortative* is used in the 1st pers., so the *jussive* (comp. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary *imperfect*[1], § 48. *f, g*) is especially found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen. More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The *jussive*, either standing alone or co-ordinated with another jussive:

b (*a*) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or precative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of נָא. Examples: Gen. 1, 3 יְהִי אוֹר *let there be light!* Gen. 1, 6. 9. 11. &c. (the creative commands); Num. 6, 26 *the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!* comp. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gen. 30, 34 לוּ יְהִי *I would it might be;* Ps. 81, 9 אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי *if thou wouldst hearken unto me!* As a humble request, Gen. 44, 33 יֵשֶׁב־נָא עַבְדְּךָ . . . וְהַנַּעַר יַעַל . . . *let thy servant, I pray thee, abide*, &c., *and let the lad go up*, &c., Gen. 47, 4.

c (*b*) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and requests. As the prohibitive particle, אַל־ is used almost exclusively (according to § 107. *o*) before the jussive (in negative desires and requests frequently אַל־נָא); e. g. Ex. 34, 3 אִישׁ אַל־יֵרָא *neither let any man be seen!* Prov. 3, 7 *be not* (אַל־תְּהִי) *wise in thine own eyes!* Job 15, 31 אַל־יַאֲמֵן *ne confidat.* In the form of a request (prayer), Deut. 9, 26 אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת *destroy not!* 1 Ki. 2, 20. Ps. 27, 9. 69, 18.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of לֹא with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (לֹא with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood

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[1] With regard to verbs ל״ה, it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108. *a*, note 2), e. g. אַל־יִרְאֶה Job 3, 9 (but previously יְקַו *let it look for!*): especially *in* (Neh. 2, 3) and immediately *before* the principal pause, Gen. 1, 9 יֵרָאֶה; Jud. 6, 39 יִהְיֶה, but previously יְהִי־נָא; Is. 47, 3 תֵּרָאֶה, previously תִּגָּל; Ps. 109, 7. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special ending ה__, see § 75. *hh*.

(as in 1 Ki. 2, 6. Ezek. 48, 14), or (as in Gen. 24, 8) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, letter *k*. Moreover, cf. לֹא יוֹסֵף Joel 2, 2 and from the same verb Gen. 4, 12 (unless it is to be referred to letter *h*) and Deut. 13, 1. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Num. 22, 19 for the ordinary imperfect (see, however, below, letter *i*). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently יוֹסֵף, &c. should not be restored.—On לֹא־תָחוֹס עֵינְךָ, &c., Deut. 7, 16. 13, 9, &c. Ezek. 5, 11, &c., cf. § 72. *r*, according to which תָּחוֹס should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after לֹא 1 Sam. 14, 36 (וְלֹא־נַשְׁאֵר co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 Sam. 17, 12; comp. Is. 41, 23 *K^e'th.* (ונרא, i. e. וְנֵרֶא, after another cohortative); also (see above) לֹא אֹסֵף Deut. 18, 16. Hos. 9, 15, and even without לֹא Ezek. 5, 16.

e 2. אַל־ with the jussive (or imperf., comp. § 107. *p*) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or may not happen; comp. Is. 2, 9 וְאַל־תִּשָּׂא לָהֶם *and thou canst not possibly forgive them* [R.V. *therefore forgive them not*]; Ps. 34, 6. 41, 3. 50, 3. 121, 3 (אַל־יִתֵּן); Prov. 3, 25. Job 5, 22 אַל־תִּירָא *neither needest thou be afraid;* 20, 17. 40, 32.

f **2.** The jussive when depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(*a*) Depending[1] (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e. g. Gen. 24, 51 *take her and go, and let her be* (וּתְהִי prop. *and she will be*) . . .; 30, 3. 31, 37. 38, 24. Ex. 8, 4. 9, 13. 10, 17. 14, 2. Jos. 4, 16. Jud. 6, 30. 1 Sam. 5, 11. 7, 3. 1 Ki. 21, 10. Ps. 144, 5. Prov. 20, 22. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est. 7, 2 (say) *what is thy desire* . . ., וְתֵעָשׂ *and* (i. e. in order that) *it shall be granted!* 1 Ki. 22, 20. Is. 19, 12. Job 38, 34 sq. Depending on a cohortative, e. g. Gen. 19, 20 אִמָּלְטָה נָּא שָׁמָּה *oh, let me escape thither* . . . (וּתְחִי נַפְשִׁי) *that my soul may live;* even after a simple imperf. (comp. below, letter *g*), 1 Ki. 13, 33 *whosoever would, he consecrated him* . . . וְיִהְיוּ *that he might be a priest* (read כֹּהֵן) *of the high places*, but probably the LXX reading וַיְהִי is to be preferred.

g Rem. In 2 Chron. 35, 21 a negative final clause with וְאַל־ is dependent on an imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God* . . . *that he destroy thee not.* As a rule, however, negative clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of וְלֹא and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gen. 42, 2. 1 Ki. 18, 44; after a jussive, Ex. 30, 20. Neh. 6, 9; after a perfect consec., Ex. 28, 35. 43. Num. 18, 5; after לֹא with an imperfect, Num. 18, 3. Deut. 17, 17

[1] This does not include the cases in which the jussive is not logically dependent on a preceding imperat., but is merely co-ordinated, e. g. Gen. 20, 7. Ps. 27, 14, &c.

neither shall he multiply wives unto himself (וְלֹא יָסוּר לְבָבוֹ) *that his heart turn not away;* 1 Sam. 20, 14. 2 Sam. 21, 17. Jer. 11, 21; after אַל־ with jussive, Lev. 10, 9. 16, 2. 2 Sam. 13, 25. Jer. 25, 6. 37, 20. 38, 24 sq. Even after a simple imperfect, Jer. 10, 4 *with nails . . . they fasten it* (וְלֹא יָפִיק) *that it move not;* after a participle, Job 9, 7.

h (*b*) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the protasis or in the apodosis, comp. Ps. 45, 12 יִתְאַו *should he desire . . . then . . .;* 104, 20 תָּשֶׁת . . . וְיהִי *if thou makest darkness, then it is night;* so also in the protasis, Ex. 22, 4. Lev. 15, 24. Is. 41, 28. Ezek. 14, 7 (וְיַעַל). Job 34, 29; in the apodosis, Ex. 7, 9 *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent;* Job 10, 16. 13, 5. 22, 28. In a negative apodosis, Gen. 4, 12 (לֹא־תֹסֵף, but see above, letter *g*). In 2 Ki. 6, 27 אַל־יוֹשַׁעֲךָ (*if the Lord do not help thee*, &c.) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

i Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e. g. Num. 22, 19 (מַה־יֹּסֶף, comp., however, above, letter *d*); Job 9, 33 *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* (יָשֶׁת, hence plainly a *subjunctive = qui ponat;* also in Num. 23, 19 וְיִכְזָב *that he should lie* is probably intended as a jussive); Eccles. 5, 14; so after interrogative sentences, Jer. 9, 11 *who is the wise man,* וְיָבֵן *qui intelligat hoc.*

k Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral sense, for the ordinary imperfect form, and this occurs not alone in those forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Deut. 28, 21. 36. 32, 8. 1 Ki. 8, 1. Is. 12, 1. Mic. 3, 4. 5, 8. Ps. 11, 6. 18, 12. 25, 9. 47, 4. 72, 13. 90, 3. 91, 4. 107, 29. Prov. 15, 25. Job 13, 27. 15, 33. 18, 9. 20, 23 *b*. 27, 22. 33, 11. 27. 36, 14. 38, 24. Eccles. 12, 6 (verse 7 יָשֹׁב, but immediately afterwards תָּשׁוּב); Dan. 8, 12, but also in shortened forms, such as יְהִי Gen. 49, 17. Deut. 28, 8. 1 Sam. 10, 5. 2 Sam. 5, 24. Hos. 6, 1. 11, 4. Am. 5, 14. Zeph. 2, 13. Zech. 9, 5. Ps. 72, 16 sq. 104, 31. Job 18, 12. 20, 23. 26. 28. 27, 8. 33, 21. 34, 37. Ruth 3, 4. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic license, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, namely, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is. 42, 6. 50, 2. Ps. 68, 15. Prov. 23, 25. Job 24, 14. 29, 3. 40, 19), or actually *in* pause (Deut. 32, 18. Job 23, 9. 11. Lam. 3, 50), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48. *g*), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms (comp. § 107. *k* and *m–x*).

§ 110. *The Imperative.*

1. The imperative[1], which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 Ki. 18, 44. Is. 56, 1. 65, 18) with other imperatives: *a*

(*a*) To express real commands, e. g. Gen. 12, 1 *get thee out of thy country;* or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Hos. 10, 12) and requests, 2 Ki. 5, 22. Is. 5, 3; on the addition of נָא see the Rem. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical request (often including a threat) in 1 Ki. 2, 22 *ask for him the kingdom also;* 22, 15. Jud. 10, 14. Is. 47, 12 (with נָא). Jer. 7, 21. Ezek. 20, 39. Am. 4, 4. Job 38, 3 sq. 40, 10 sqq. Lam. 4, 21. The imperative has a concessive sense in Nah. 3, 15 (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under letter *f*, e. g. Is. 8, 9 sq. 29, 9.

(*b*) To express permission, e. g. 2 Sam. 18, 23 after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (for my sake)! Is. 21, 12. 45, 11. *b*

(*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)[2] or promise, e. g. Is. 65, 18 *but be ye glad*, &c. (i. e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is. 37, 30. Ps. 110, 2; in a threat, Jer. 2, 19. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e. g. Is. 54, 14 *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gen. 1, 28 and elsewhere: (for other examples, such as 1 Ki. 22, 12. 2 Ki. 5, 13, see below, letter *f*). Most clearly in the case of the *imperative Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e. g. Gen. 42, 16 וְאַתֶּם תֵּאָסֵרוּ *and ye shall be bound;* Deut. 32, 50. Is. 49, 9 (Is. 45, 22, see below, letter *f*). *c*

Rem. 1. The particle נָא *age!* (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, letter *a*), Gen. 12, 13. 24, 2, sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Num. 16, 26. 20, 10) or in ridicule (Is. 47, 12). *d*

2. The imperative after the desiderative particle לוּ Gen. 23, 13 (at the end of *e*

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[1] On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), comp. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

[2] Analogous to these assurances in the form of an imperative are the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e. g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

verses 5 and 14 also read לוּ for לוֹ and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after לוּ the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.

f **2.** The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or interrogative sentence, serves to express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or condition will take place as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(*a*) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (comp. *divide et impera*), e. g. Gen. 42, 18 זֹאת עֲשׂוּ וְחְיוּ *this do, and live*, i. e. thus shall ye continue to live. 1 Ki. 22, 12. 2 Ki. 5, 13. Is. 36, 16. 45, 22 (וְהִוָּשְׁעוּ). Jer. 6, 16. Am. 5, 4. 6. Ps. 37, 27. Prov. 3, 3 sq. 4, 4. 7, 2. 13, 20 *K^e^th.*, Job 2, 9. 2 Chron. 20, 20; in Jer. 25, 5. Job 22, 21 נָא is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e. g. Is. 8, 9 רֹעוּ עַמִּים וָחֹתּוּ (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces;* comp. verse 9 *b*.

g Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative Is. 8, 10. 55, 2.

h 2. In Prov. 20, 13 the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by asyndeton; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e. g. Deut. 2, 24 הָחֵל רָשׁ (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הָחֵל) *begin, take in possession* for *to take in possession* (comp., however, Jud. 19, 6 הוֹאֶל־נָא וְלִין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and for this kind of co-ordination in general, comp. § 120. *d*). But such imperatives as לֶךְ (לְכוּ), קוּם (קוּמוּ), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

i (*b*) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, expresses also frequently a consequence which is to be expected with certainty and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; comp. Gen. 20, 7 *and he shall pray for thee*, וְיִתְפַּלֵּל *and thou shalt live* comp. Ex. 14, 13. 16. 2 Ki. 5, 10. Job 11, 6. Ps. 128, 5 *the Lord bless thee . . . so that* (or *in order that*) *thou seest*, &c.; Ruth 1,

4, 11; after a cohortative, Gen. 12, 2. 45, 18. Ex. 3, 10 וְהוֹצֵא *that thou mayest bring forth;* Ex. 18, 22. 1 Sam. 12, 17. 1 Ki. 1, 12; Jer. 35, 15 (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 Sam. 21, 3 *wherewith shall I make atonement,* וּבֵרַכְתֶּם *that ye may bless,* &c.—In Num. 5, 19 the imperative without וְ (in 32, 23 with וְ) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd *sing. masc.* occurs in Jud. 4, 20 (עֲמֹד, according to Qimḥi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עָמוֹד should be read), Mic. 1, 13 and Zech. 13, 7 (after עוּרִי) in addressing feminine persons; and in Is. 23, 1. 32, 11 the 2nd *plur. masc.* Moreover, in the latter place there follow quite abnormally four imperatives of the 2nd *sing. masc.* lengthened by ה—. These can only be explained on the ground that the sharp commands, following closely upon one another, remain in the most obvious form (viz. the 2nd sing. masc. imperative), without any attention being paid to the gender or number of those addressed. In Nah. 3, 15 the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Comp., moreover, § 145. *p* on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine. *k*

§ 111. *The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.*

1. The *imperfect* with *wāw consecutive* (§ 49. *a–g*) serves to express actions, events, or conditions, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or conditions mentioned immediately[1] before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (comp. for this interchange of tenses § 49. *a*, and especially § 112. *a*), e. g. Gen. 3, 1 *now the serpent was* (הָיָה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman;* 4, 1. 6, 9 sqq. 10, 9 sq. 15. 19. 11, 12 sqq. 27 sqq. 14, 5 sq. 15, 1 sq. 16, 1 sq. 21, 1 sqq. 24, 1 sq. 25, 19 sqq. 36, 2 sqq. 37, 2. *a*

Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect[2] (viz. הָיָה *it came to pass*), e. g. Is. 6, 1 *in the year that king Uzziah* *b*

[1] On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole Books) see § 49. *b* note.

[2] Comp. Is. 45, 4, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Job 36, 7, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

died, I saw (וְאֶרְאֶה), &c.; Gen. 22, 4. 27, 34. Jud. 11, 16. 1 Sam. 4, 19. 17, 57. 21, 6. Hos. 11, 1: on the use of וַיְהִי to connect expressions of time, see below, letter *g*.— It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 Sam. 17, 55 (cf. Driver on the passage). 2 Chron. 12, 7. 15, 8, &c. Dan. 10, 11. 15. 19; the *Perfect* after וְ and the subject, 2 Chron. 7, 1.

c 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of such imperfects as long as may be desired, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gen. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gen. 1, 5 *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא) *Night;* verse 10. 2, 20. 11, 3 and frequently.

d 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gen. 28, 8 sq. וַיַּרְא עֵשָׂו . . . וַיֵּלֶךְ *when Esau saw that . . ., he went*, &c.; so also, frequently וַיִּשְׁמַע, &c., Gen. 37, 21 and elsewhere. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex. 2, 10 (וַתֹּאמֶר *for she said*); comp. 1 Sam. 7, 12. Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gen. 2, 25 (וַיִּהְיוּ *they were;* but Jos. 4, 9. 1 Ki. 8, 8 *they are*); 36, 14 (וַתֵּלֶד). 32 (וַיִּמְלֹךְ). 1 Ki. 1, 44.

e 4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely *external* connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gen. 32, 31 *and* (*yet*) *my life is preserved;* 2 Sam. 3, 8 *and yet thou chargest me;* Job 10, 8. 32, 3; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Prov. 30, 25 sqq.

f **2.** The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) *and it came to pass*, after which there then follows either an *imperfect consecutive* (Gen. 4, 3. 8. 8, 6. 11, 2. Ex. 12, 29. 13, 17, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gen. 7, 10. 15, 12. 22, 1. 27, 30, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gen. 8, 13. 14, 1 sq. 40, 1. Ex. 12, 41. 16, 22. Num. 10, 11. Deut. 1, 3. 1 Sam. 18, 30. 2 Ki. 8, 21, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gen. 41, 1.

g Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of ויהי is especially common, when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above letter *b;* comp., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gen. 22, *and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham*), the similar cases in Gen. 19, 34. 21, 22. 1 Sam. 11, 11. Ruth 1, 1. Elsewhere the statement

of time is expressed by בְּ or כְּ with an infinitive (Gen. 12, 14. 19, 17. 29. 39, 13. 15. 18 sq. Jud. 16, 25) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, comp. § 106. *f*), e.g. Gen. 15, 17. 24, 15. 27, 30, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי *when*, Gen. 26, 8. 27, 1. Jud. 16, 16, כַּאֲשֶׁר *when*, Gen. 12, 11. 20, 13, מֵאָז *from the time that*, Gen. 39, 5; or, finally, by a noun-clause (comp. § 116. *u*), e.g. 2 Ki. 13, 21 וַיְהִי הֵם קֹבְרִים אִישׁ *and it came to pass, as they were* (just) *burying a man* (prop. they burying), *that . . .*; Gen. 42, 35. 2 Ki. 2, 11 (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וְהִנֵּה); 1 Sam. 7, 10. 2 Sam. 13, 30. 2 Ki. 6, 5. 26. 19, 37 (=Is. 37, 38).—In 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11. 2 Sam. 2, 23. 15, 2 a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, letter *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

h 2. Closely related to the cases noticed in letter *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding ויהי, introduces the apodosis either—(*a*) to whole sentences, or (*b*) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112. *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Comp. for (*a*) 1 Sam. 15, 23 *because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord*, וַיִּמְאָסְךָ *he hath rejected thee* (comp. Num. 14, 16. Is. 48, 4, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex. 9, 21; for (*b*) Gen. 22, 24 וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ *and* (as to) *his concubine* . . ., וַתֵּלֶד *she bare*, &c.; Ex. 38, 24. Num. 14, 36 sq. 1 Sam. 14, 19. 17, 24. 2 Sam. 4, 10. 19, 41 *K^e th.* 21, 16. 1 Ki. 9, 20 sq. 12, 17. 2 Ki. 25, 22. Jer. 6, 19. 28, 8. 33, 24. 44, 25[1].—In 1 Ki. 15, 13. 2 Ki. 16, 14 the preceding noun, used absolutely, is regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by אֵת־.

i **3.** The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under letters *a–h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

k (*a*) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e. g. Gen. 2, 1. 23, 20 וַיָּקָם הַשָּׂדֶה וגו׳ *so* (in this way) *the field became* (legally) *the property of Abraham*, &c.; 1 Sam. 17, 50. 31, 6.

l (*b*) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e. g. Gen. 39, 2. Job 2, 3 *and he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וַתְּסִיתֵנִי וגו׳ *so that thou thus* (as it now appears)

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[1] Comp. the Mêša' inscription, l. 5 (*Omri*) *the king of Israel*, ויענו *who oppressed Moab*, &c.—The peculiar imperfect consecutive in Gen. 30, 27 *b* (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: *I have observed and* have come to the conclusion, *the Lord hath blessed me*, &c.

groundlessly movedst me against him; Ps. 65, 9 *so that they are afraid . . .;* even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer. 20, 17 וַתְּהִי *so that my mother should have been . . .* Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer. 38, 9 וָמֵת *so that he dies* (must die).

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e. g. Is. 51, 12 *who art thou* (i. e. art thou *so helpless*), וַתִּירְאִי *that thou art* (*must needs be*) *afraid?* Ps. 144, 3 (comp. Ps. 8, 5, where in a very similar context כִּי *that* is used with the imperfect); Gen. 12, 19 (וָאֶקַּח); 31, 27 וָאֲשַׁלְּחֲךָ *so that I might have sent thee away;* Job 11, 3 וְתַלְעֵג *so that thou mockest.*

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

n (*a*) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties of the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107. *a*, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

o (*b*) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

p (1) To represent actions, events, or conditions, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

q Comp. the examples given above, under letters *a* and *f*, of the imperfect consecutive as an historic tense. The imperfect consecutive also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*praeteritum*) in a subordinate clause; e. g. Gen. 27, 1. Num. 11, 20. Deut. 4, 37. 1 Sam. 8, 8. 1 Ki. 2, 5. 11, 33. 18, 13, &c.; also in Is. 49, 7 וַיִּבְחָרֶךָּ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמָן. In Job 31, 26. 34 the imperfect consecutive is joined to an imperfect denoting the past in a conditional sentence. An imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a perfect which has the sense of a pluperfect (§ 106. *f*), e. g. in Gen. 26, 18. 28, 6 sq. 31, 19. 34 (*now Rachel had taken the teraphim,* וַתְּשִׂמֵם *and had put them,* &c.); Num. 14, 36. 1 Sam. 28, 3. 2 Sam. 2, 23. Is. 39, 1. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113. *r*, § 116. *x*, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

r (2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or their equivalents, which describe actions and conditions as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(*a*) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106. *g*, e. g. Ps. 16, 9 *therefore my heart is glad* (שָׂמַח) *and my glory rejoiceth* (וַיָּגֶל); Is. 3, 16 (parallel with a simple imperfect). Comp. also such examples as Ps. 29, 10 וַיֵּשֶׁב (prop. he sat down, *and has been enthroned* ever since), Ps. 41, 13.

(*β*) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences frequently confirmed (see § 106. *k*), e. g. Job 14, 2 *he cometh up* (יָצָא) *like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּמָּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבְרַח) *also as a shadow,* וְלֹא יַעֲמוֹד *and continueth not;* Job 20, 15. 24, 2. 11. Is. 40, 24. Prov. 11, 2. *s*

(*γ*) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e. g. Job 14, 10 *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) *and wasteth away* (וַיֶּחֱלָשׁ), &c., i. e. remains wasted; Job 4, 5. 6, 21. Is. 44, 12 sqq. Hos. 8, 13. Hab. 1, 9 sq. Ps. 3, 5 (*I cry unto the Lord, and he answereth me;* cf. 55, 18); 90, 3. Job 5, 15. 7, 18. 12, 25. 34, 24. 37, 8 (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39, 15. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence, Ps. 59, 16, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 Sam. 2, 29. Ps. 42, 6 (וַתֶּהֱמִי for which in verse 12 and in 43, 5 we have וּמַה־תֶּהֱמִי *and why art thou disquieted?*). *t*

(*δ*) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present continues or is being repeated, e. g. Num. 22, 11. 1 Sam. 2, 6. 2 Sam. 19, 2 *behold the king weepeth* (בֹּכֶה) *and mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *for Absalom;* Am. 5, 8. 9, 5 sq. Nah. 1, 4. Ps. 34, 8. Prov. 20, 26. Job 12, 22 sqq., but comp. e. g. Job 12, 4 קֹרֵא לֵאלוֹהַּ *who called upon God,* וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ *and he answered him.* *u*

(*ε*) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is. 51, 12. Ps. 144, 3 (see above, letter *m*); Job 10, 22. So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (comp. § 114. *r*), Is. 30, 12. Jer. 10, 13. Ps. 92, 8, &c. *v*

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(*a*) an imperfect which refers to the future, Ps. 49, 15. 94, 22 sq.;—(*β*) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106. *n*, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); comp. Is. 5, 15 (parallel with a simple imperfect); 5, 16 (comp. 2, 11. 17, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5, 25. 9, 5. 10 sq. *w*

13. 15. 17 sqq. 22, 7 sqq. Joel 2, 23. Mic. 2, 13. Ezek. 33, 4. 6. Ps. 7, 13. 64, 8 sqq.;—(γ) a future participle, Jer. 4, 16[1].

x Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e.g. Job 9, 16 אִם־קָרָאתִי וַיַּעֲנֵנִי *if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . .;* Ps. 139, 11 וְאֹמַר *if I should say* (previously, in verse 8 sq., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is. 48, 18 sq. an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by לוּא *utinam* (וַיְהִי *and it* or *so that it were* equivalent to *then should it be*). Comp. also the examples mentioned above, under letter *l* (Jer. 20, 17) and *m* (Gen. 31, 27), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring *contingently*.

§ 112. *The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.*

a **1.** The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (comp. § 49. *a;* on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49. *h*) to express actions, events, or conditions, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § 111. *a*, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent; see the examples.

b Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect*, &c.) reaching afterwards in the *perfect* a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa[2]. The strict regularity of this alternation belongs indeed rather

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[1] Also in Jer. 51, 29 the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וַיַּחֲלֹוּ Hos. 8, 10 would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וְיִחֲלוּ, and Ewald reads וְיָחֵלּוּ.—In Ezek. 28, 16 (comp. Jer. 15, 6 sq.) וָאֲחַלֶּלְךָ appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; comp. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 sqq.

[2] It is difficult to give a proper explanation of this phenomenon (according to § 49. *a*, note, to be found only in the Canaanitish group of languages), when we have given up the theory of a special *wāw conversivum* in the unscientific sense mentioned in § 49. *b*, note, at the end, and if we accept the fact that the *perfect*

to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (comp. e. g. Ezek. 14, 13. Amos 5, 19. Ruth 3, 3, four perfects in each case, Is. 8, 7 five, Ex. 6, 6 sq. eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect* acc. to § 111. *c*), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e. g. Gen. 12, 12 *when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say* (וְאָמְרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וְהָרְגוּ אֹתִי) *but they will save thee alive* (וְאֹתָךְ יְחַיּוּ). *c*

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (*a*) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see letter *e*), (*b*) in loose connexion (see letter *x*) with the preceding, and (*c*) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or what are equivalent to sentences (see letter *ff*). *d*

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves *e*

(*a*) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i. e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past:*

(*a*) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gen. 2, 6 אֵד יַעֲלֶה *there went up a mist* (again and again) *from the earth,* וְהִשְׁקָה *and watered* (as it were, and it always watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects,

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and *imperfect consecutive* cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the *perfect consecutive* originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the *imperfect consecutive* represents an action which is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) *in past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.

Gen. 2, 10 (וְהָיָה *and it became* afresh every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29, 2 sq. (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex. 33, 7–11 יִקַּח *he used to take* at each new encampment *the tent*, וְנָטָה *and to pitch it* again every time *without the camp;* notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7. 8. 9. 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34, 34 sq. Num. 9, 19. 21 (among several simple imperfects). 10, 17. Jud. 2, 19. 1 Sam. 2, 19 תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ *she used to make . . .* וְהַעֲלָתָה *and brought it to him from year to year;* 27, 9 (וְלָקַח). 1 Ki. 14, 28. 2 Ki. 3, 25. 12, 15 (in verses 16 sq. imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gen. 6, 4 (וְיָלְדוּ as a continuation of וָבָאוּ), Job 31, 29[1].

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex. 39, 3 (Samaritan וקצצו). 1 Sam. 5, 7 (? see § 112. *rr*). 7, 16. 2 Sam. 15, 2. 16, 13 *and he threw stones at him,* וְעִפֵּר *and cast dust* continually; 12, 16. 31. 2 Ki. 6, 10. 12, 11 sqq. 15. Jer. 37, 15. Job 1, 5.

g Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one *single* action or occurrence in the past; thus Ex. 18, 26. 40, 31 sq. 1 Sam. 1, 4. 2 Sam. 15, 1 sq. 1 Ki. 14, 27 (comp. verse 28); 1 Ki. 18, 4. 2 Kí. 12, 10. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, letter *dd.*

h (γ) After a perfect, Gen. 37, 3 (וְעָשָׂה לוֹ, i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)[2]; Num. 11, 8. 1 Sam. 16, 14. 2 Ki. 3, 4[3]; in interrogative sentences, 1 Sam. 26, 9 *who has ever*, &c.; Ps. 80, 13. Job 1, 1. 4. Ruth 4, 7; Gen. 26, 10, to express that which might possibly have happened, *one of the people might lightly . . ., and thou shouldest have brought guiltiness upon us.*

i (δ) After an infinitive, Amos 1, 11 עַל־רָדְפוֹ *because he did pursue his brother,* וְשִׁחֵת *and* (on each occasion) *did cast off all pity* (then an imperfect consecutive); after an infinitive absolute, Jos. 6, 13. 2 Sam. 13, 19. Jer. 23, 14.

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[1] Also in Ezek. 44, 12 (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read שָׁרְתוּ and וַיִּהְיוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen: *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh . . .*

[2] Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 Sam. 2, 19.

[3] Amos 4, 7 would also come under this head, if וְהַמְטַרְתִּי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; מָטַרְתִּי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106. *m*), and the passage then belongs to letter *s*.

(ε) After a participle, Is. 6, 3 (וקרא, &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֹמְדִים, verse 2); 1 Sam. 2, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 17[1]. *k*

(ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gen. 47, 22 *the priests had a portion from Pharaoh,* וַיֹּאכְלוּ *and did eat* (year by year), &c.; 1 Ki. 4, 7. *l*

(*b*) To express *present* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time. *m*

(α) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gen. 2, 24 *therefore a man leaves* (יַעֲזֹב *is accustomed to leave*) . . . וְדָבַק *and cleaves*, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is. 5, 11 (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation of יַדְלִיקֵם); Is. 28, 28. Jer. 12, 3. Hos. 4, 3. 7, 7. Ps. 90, 6. Job 14, 9; also in dependent clauses, Lev. 20, 18. Is. 29, 8. 11 sq. Amos 5, 19.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing a contingent action, &c., e. g. Ex. 21, 12 מַכֵּה אִישׁ וָמֵת (instead of מַכֵּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְכִי יַכֶּה אִישׁ) *if one smite a man and* (so that) *he die*, &c., Ex. 21, 16. Is. 29, 15. Amos 6, 1. Hab. 2, 12. *n*

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer. 7, 9 sq. *will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery* (simple infinitives absolute; comp. § 113. *ee*), וּבָאתֶם *and then come and stand before me . . . and say*, &c.; comp. below, letter *u*. *o*

(*c*) To express *future* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus— *p*

(α) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e. g. Amos 9, 3 sq. מִשָּׁם אֲחַפֵּשׂ וְלָקַחְתִּים *I will search and take them out thence*, &c.; Gen. 4, 14. 40, 13. 1 Sam. 17, 32. 2 Ki. 5, 11. Job 8, 6 sq. (also with a change of subject, Gen. 27, 12. Jud. 6, 16 and elsewhere); and in interrogative sentences, Gen. 39, 9. Ex. 2, 7. 2 Sam. 12, 18. 2 Ki. 14, 10. Amos 8, 8. Ps. 41, 6; comp. also Jud. 1, 11; in sentences

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[1] That וְהָלְכָה, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from יֵלֵכוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וְיוּכְלוּ; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיֵּרָא and וַיֵּלְכוּ of actions which happened but once.

expressing a wish, 2 Sam. 15, 4; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after אִם־ Gen. 32, 9. Ex. 19, 5. 1 Sam. 1, 11, or כִּי Gen. 37, 26 or הֵן Jer. 3, 1; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gen. 12, 13. Num. 15, 40. Is. 28, 13; after אֲשֶׁר Deut. 2, 25 or פֶּן־ Gen. 3, 22. 19, 19. 32, 12. Is. 6, 10. Amos 5, 6; in temporal clauses, Is. 32, 15. Jer. 13, 16; and in relative clauses, Gen. 24, 14. Jud. 1, 12. 1 Sam. 17, 26.

q (β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e. g. Gen. 1, 14 sq. יְהִי מְאֹרֹת . . . וְהָיוּ *let there be lights . . . and let them be*, &c.; Gen. 12, 3. 24, 4. 28, 3. 31, 44. 1 Ki. 1, 2. 22, 13. Ruth 2, 7. 1 Chron. 22, 11; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, Ps. 109, 10.

r (γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 5 לֵךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ *go and tell* (that thou mayst tell), &c.; Gen. 6, 14. 8, 17. 27, 43 sq. 1 Sam. 15, 3. 18. 1 Ki. 2, 36. Jer. 48, 26.

s (δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance (comp. § 106. *m* and *n*), e. g. Gen. 17, 20 הִנֵּה בֵּרַכְתִּי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרֵתִּי אֹתוֹ *behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful*, &c.; Is. 2, 11. 5, 14; on Amos 4, 7 see above, note 3 on letter *h*; in an interrogative sentence, Jud. 9, 9. 11, 13.

t (ε) After a participle, e. g. Gen. 7, 4 *for yet seven days*, אָנֹכִי מַמְטִיר *and I will cause it to rain . . .* וּמָחִיתִי *and I will* (i. e. in order to) *destroy*, &c.; Jer. 21, 9; also with a different subject, Gen. 24, 43 sq. *the maiden which cometh forth* (הַיֹּצֵאת) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי אֵלֶיהָ *to whom I shall say . . .*, וְאָמְרָה *and she* (then) *shall say*, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִנֵּה, e. g. Gen. 6, 17 sq.; with a different subject 1 Ki. 20, 36. Amos 6, 14; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִנֵּה (comp. § 140), Ex. 3, 13 *behold, I come* (i. e. if I shall come) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי לָהֶם *and shall say unto them . . .*, וְאָמְרוּ *and they* (then) *shall say*, &c.; 1 Sam. 14, 8 sqq. Is. 7, 14. 8, 7 sq. 39, 6.

u (ζ) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113. *t*), e. g. Is. 31, 5, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113. *dd* and *ee*), e. g. Lev. 2, 6. Deut. 1, 16. Is. 5, 5. Ezek. 23, 46 sq.

v (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for

this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114. *r*), e. g. 1 Sam. 10, 8 עַד־בּוֹאִי אֵלֶיךָ וְהוֹדַעְתִּי לָךְ *till I come unto thee* (prop. until my coming) *and show thee*, &c.; Gen. 18, 25. 27, 45. Jud. 6, 18. Ezek. 39, 27; comp. 1 Ki. 2, 37. 42.

Rem. To the same class belong 1 Sam. 14, 24, where the idea of time precedes, *until it be evening and* until *I be avenged*, &c., and Is. 5, 8, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד־. *w*

4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, letters *d–v*) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used— *x*

(*a*) To announce *future* events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e. g. Gen. 41, 30 וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הִנֵּה with a following substantive (1 Sam. 9, 8), or a participial clause (comp. the analogous instances above, letter *t*), e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 31 *behold, the days come*, וְגָדַעְתִּי *that I will cut off*, &c.; Is. 39, 6. Amos 4, 2. 8, 11. 9, 13, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex. 17, 4. Is. 10, 25. 29, 17. Jer. 51, 33. Hos. 1, 4. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; comp. Is. 6, 7 *lo, this hath touched thy lips*, וְסָר *therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away*, &c., Gen. 20, 11. 26, 22. Jud. 13, 3 (here in an adversative sense); Hos. 8, 14. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex. 6, 6 sqq. Also in Amos 5, 26 וּנְשָׂאתֶם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up;* comp., however, below, letter *rr*.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached by means of וְהָיָה *and it shall come to pass* (comp. the analogous addition of a past by means of וַיְהִי, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gen. 9, 14. 12, 12 (וְהָיָה כִי = *if*, as in 46, 33. Ex. 1, 10. 22, 26 and frequently). 1 Ki. 18, 12. Is. 14, 3 sq. Amos 8, 9; or in the imperfect, Gen. 4, 14. Is. 2, 2. 3, 24. 4, 3. 7, 18. 21 sqq. (comp. 29, 8); or in the jussive, Lev. 14, 9. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and *y*

number with the following subject, as in Num. 5, 27. Jer. 42, 16 וְהָיְתָה (before הַחֶרֶב), and in Jer. 42, 17 וְהָיוּ (before כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים).

z 2. The jussive form וְיִהְיֶ֫ occurs (in the sense described in letter *y*) instead of וְהָיָה in 1 Sam. 10, 5. 2 Sam. 5, 24 (1 Chron. 14, 15). 1 Ki. 14, 5. Ruth 3, 4, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible as regards the meaning, and even in Ruth 3, 4 (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, letter *bb*). In 1 Ki. 14, 5, however, the form is merely a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וְיִהְיֶ֫. In the other passages ויהי (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109. *k*, except that in 1 Sam. 10, 5, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

aa (*b*) To introduce a command or wish: Deut. 10, 19 *love ye therefore the stranger;* 1 Sam. 6, 5. 24, 16. 1 Ki. 2, 6 (in Gen. 40, 14 the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of נָא). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, letter *x*), Gen. 45, 12 sq. 1 Ki. 2, 2 sq. Ruth 3, 3 sq. 3, 9. — In Gen. 17, 11 the perfect consecutive (וְנִמַלְתֶּם *and ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

bb Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under letter *y*, the connexion may be made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e. g. Gen. 46, 33. 47, 24. Jud. 4, 20. Comp. also Gen. 24, 14, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.

cc (*c*) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with another interrogative sentence (see above, letter *p*), e. g. Gen. 29, 15 *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, Surely thou art my brother), וַעֲבַדְתַּנִי *shouldest thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e. g. Ex. 5, 5 (וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם *will ye then make them rest?*); 1 Sam. 25, 11, perhaps also Ps. 50, 21 (וְהֹוכַחְתִּי).

dd (*d*) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, letter *e*), e. g. 1 Sam. 1, 3 (וְעָלָה of annual festival journeys); 13, 21 (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27, 9 (וְהִכָּה, i. e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יְחַיֶּה); 1 Ki. 5, 7 (וְכִלְכְּלוּ, parallel with a simple imperfect); 9, 25. Jer. 25, 4. Dan. 8, 4. — In Job 1, 4 sq. a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer. 6, 17 a similar

perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49. *h*), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (comp. the Rem. above, letters *y* and *bb*) is also very frequent in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gen. 30, 41 sq. (but in verse 42 *a*, where the verb is separated from the *Wāw* by an insertion, we find לֹא יָשִׂים *he used not to put them in*, according to § 107. *e*); Gen. 38, 9. Ex. 17, 11. 33, 7 sqq. (see above, letter *e*). Num. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3. 19, 30. 1 Sam. 16, 23 (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 Sam. 15, 5; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Jud. 2, 19. 2 Sam. 14, 26.—In Jud. 12, 5 והיה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 Sam. 13, 22 by וְלֹא with the perfect (instead of the imperfect). *ee*

5. Finally the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or what are equivalent to sentences) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Moreover, such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus— *ff*

(*a*) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences[1] (§ 159. *g*, *o*, *s*):

(*α*) After אִם with the imperfect, e. g. 2 Ki. 7, 4 *b* אִם־יְמִיתֵנוּ וָמָתְנוּ *if they kill us*, (well then) *we shall but die;* here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (נָחְיֶה) which immediately precedes; Gen. 18, 26. 24, 8. 41. 32, 9. Num. 30, 15. Jud. 4, 20. 1 Sam. 1, 11. 20, 6. 1 Ki. 3, 14. Nah. 3, 12. Eccles. 4, 11.

(*β*) After אִם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Num. 5, 27. 2 Ki. 5, 20. 7, 4 *a*. Is. 4, 4 sq.; as precative apodosis after אִם־נָא with the *perf. preteritum*, Gen. 33, 10; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after אִם with a perfect, Num. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3. Job 7, 4; after אִם with imperfect, Gen. 31, 8. *gg*

(*γ*) After כִּי (*in case, suppose that*) with the imperfect, Gen. 12, 12. Ex. 18, 16. Jud. 13, 17. Is. 58, 7. Ezek. 14, 13[2]. Frequentative with *hh*

[1] In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of והיה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, letters *y*, *bb*, *ee*.

[2] In 1 Sam. 24, 19 a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, *for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away?* Probably, however, with Klostermann, וּמִי should be read for וְכִי.

reference to the past, after כִּי with frequentative perfect, Jud. 2, 18. Job 7, 13 sq.

ii (δ) After אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect, Gen. 44, 9 וָמֵת . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ *with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die;* with the perfect, Ex. 21, 13 *and if a man lie not in wait*, &c.; Jud. 1, 12.

kk (ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e.g. Gen. 44, 29 וּלְקַחְתֶּם גַּם־אֶת־זֶה . . . וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם *and if ye take* (or *shall have taken*) *this one also . . . ye shall bring down*, &c.; comp. Gen. 33, 13. 42, 38. 44, 4. 22. 47, 30. Num. 30, 12. Ruth 2, 9, and probably also Ezek. 39, 28. — Also frequentative in reference to the past, e.g. 1 Sam. 17, 34 sq. וּבָא הָאַרְיֵה . . . וְיָצָאתִי *and when there came* (as sometimes happened) *a lion . . . I went out*, &c.; Ex. 33, 10. Num. 10, 17 sqq. 1 Ki. 18, 10. Jer. 20, 9 (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֹא with an imperfect[1]).

ll Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ezek. 14, 14 on account of הֵמָּה; 33, 4 on account of דָּמוֹ.—In 1 Sam. 14, 52 the imperfect consecutive, contrary to what might be expected, stands in the apodosis, *and when Saul saw any . . . valiant man, he took him unto him*, where וַיַּאַסְפֵהוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 Sam. 15, 2. Conversely, in 1 Sam. 2, 16. 17, 35 *b* an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

mm (ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gen. 17, 14 וְעָרֵל זָכָר . . . וְנִכְרְתָה וגו׳ *and the uncircumcised male* (in case such an one be found), *he shall be cut off*, &c.; comp. Gen. 30, 32. Ex. 12, 15. 2 Sam. 14, 10. Is. 6, 13, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 Sam. 7, 14; in a wider sense also Ex. 4, 21. 9, 19. 12, 44. Is. 9, 4.

nn (*b*) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; thus e.g. after יַעַן כִּי with the perfect, Is. 3, 16 sq.; after יַעַן אֲשֶׁר with perfect, 1 Ki. 20, 28; after עֵקֶב with perfect, Num. 14, 24; also after what

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[1] In all these examples (not only in the frequentative perfects consecutive) the original idea of the perfect, which also underlies the perfect consecutive, comes out very distinctly. Gen. 44, 29 (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye *have taken* this one also, then *ye have* thereby brought me down to Sheol.

are equivalent to causal clauses, e. g. Ps. 25, 11 (לְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ . . . וְסָלַחְתָּ *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*); Is. 37, 29 after יַעַן with an infinitive.

(*c*) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 15 בְּטֶרֶם יַקְטִרוּן אֶת־הַחֵלֶב . . . וּבָא נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן *before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came* (used to come), &c., hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex. 1, 19; also after participial clauses (§ 116. *w*), e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 sq. כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ זֶבַח . . . וּבָא *when*(ever) *any man offered sacrifice, then came*, &c. (so Jud. 19, 30. 2 Sam. 20, 12), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gen. 3, 5. Ex. 32, 34 (after בְּיוֹם with the infinitive), comp. also such examples as Num. 44, 30. Jud. 16, 2. Jos. 6, 10. 1 Sam. 1, 22. 16, 23 (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 Sam. 15, 5, see above, letter *ee*); 1 Sam. 20, 18. 2 Sam. 14, 26. 15, 10. Is. 18, 5; moreover, Ex. 17, 4. Is. 10, 25. 29, 17. 37, 26; even after single disconnected words, e. g. Ex. 16, 6 עֶרֶב וְיִדַעְתֶּם *at even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know;* comp. verse 7. Lev. 7, 16. 1 Ki. 13, 31. Prov. 24, 27. *oo*

6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt. In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. *pp*

(*a*) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with וְ as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des bibl. Aram.*, § 71. *b*), is certainly to be traced in *Qoheleth*, and sporadically in other very late Books [1], perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 Ki. 12, 32 וְהֶעֱמִיד; 2 Ki. 11, 1 *K^eth.* וּרְאֹתָה; 14, 14 וְלָקַח (in the parallel

[1] In the whole of *Qoheleth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1, 17 and 4, 1. 7. Several of the perfects with וְ can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1, 13. 2, 5. 9. 11. 13. 15. 5, 18 compared with 6, 2; but this is impossible in such passages as 9, 14 sqq. In Ezra, Driver reckons only five examples of historical perfects with וְ, in Nehemiah only six, and in Esther six or seven.

passage, 2 Chron. 25, 24, the word is wanting); 2 Ki. 23, 4 וְנָשָׂא, &c.; verse 10 וְטִמֵּא, &c.; verse 12 וְהִשְׁלִיךְ, &c.; verse 15 וְשָׂרַף, &c.[1] Cf. also Ezek. 37, 2. 7. 10.

qq (*b*) The text is certainly corrupt in Is. 40, 6 (read with the LXX and Vulgate וְאָמַר); Jer. 38, 28, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40, 3 (וַיהוָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Jud. 7, 13 וְנָפַל הָאֹהֶל is altogether redundant; in 1 Sam. 3, 13 read, with Klostermann, the 2nd *sing. masc.* instead of והגדתי; in 1 Ki. 21, 12 וְהוֹשִׁיבוּ is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

rr Of other questionable instances, (*a*) the following, at any rate, may also be explained as frequentatives, Ex. 36, 38. 38, 28. 39, 3. 1 Sam. 5, 7. 17, 20. 24, 11 (but even so וְאָמְרוּ would be expected); Is. 28, 26 (parallel with an imperfect); Amos 5, 26 (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, letter *x*); Ps. 26, 3. Ezra 8, 36.

ss (*β*) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented by the perfect with וְ (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with וְ), in Gen. 15, 6. 34, 5. Num. 21, 20; also, according to Driver, especially Jos. 15, 3–11. 16, 2–8 (ultimately parallel with an imperfect, as in 17, 9 and 18, 20); 18, 12–21. 19, 11–14. 22, 26–29. 34; moreover, 1 Sam. 1, 12. 25, 20 (both times וְהָיָה); Is. 22, 14. Jer. 3, 9.

tt (*γ*) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of expression: Gen. 21, 25. Ex. 36, 29 sq. Jud. 3, 23[2]. 16, 18. 1 Sam. 4, 19. 17, 38. 2 Sam. 16, 5. 19, 18 sq. (read צָלְחוּ and וַיַּעַבְרוּ). 1 Ki. 3, 11 (where ושאלת is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13, 3. 20, 21. 21, 12 (unless the imperative קְרָאוּ, &c., is intended); 2 Ki. 14, 7 (where, with Stade, וְאֶת־הַסֶּלַע תָּפַשׂ should be read); 14, 14. 18, 4 (where, at any rate, וְשִׁבֵּר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וכרת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with הוּא הֵסִיר); Jer. 37, 15 (where וְהִכּוּ, but not וְנָתְנוּ, might be frequentative); Ezek. 20, 22 (והשבתי *Mil'êl* before an imperfect consecutive); Amos 7, 4 (וְאָכְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Job 16, 12.

uu Finally, in 1 Sam. 10, 9. 17, 48. 2 Sam. 6, 16. 2 Ki. 3, 15. Jer. 37, 11. Amos 7, 2 וַיְהִי is to be read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gen. 38, 5 וְהִיא with the LXX.

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[1] According to Stade, *ZAW.* v. 291 sqq., where he discusses, in connexion with 2 Ki. 12, 12, a number of critically questionable perfects with וְ, the whole section, 2 Ki. 23, 4 from וְנָשָׂא to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with וְ never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. At the same time, the possibility of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, letters *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, does not appear to have been taken into account. In 2 Ki. 23, 5 also וְהִשְׁבִּית, verse 8 וְנָתַץ, and verse 14 שִׁבַּר may, at any rate, be understood as representing repeated actions.

[2] Or does ונעל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 Sam. 13, 18 also ונעל follows an imperfect consecutive.

B. The Infinitive and Participle.

§ 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Leipzig, 1889.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize the idea of the verb *in the abstract*, i. e. it speaks of an action (or condition) without any regard to the agent or to the conditions of time and mood under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense, may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive[1], see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition. *a*

Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute :— *b*

(*a*) As subject, Prov. 25, 27 אָכֹל דְּבַשׁ הַרְבּוֹת לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey;* Jer. 10, 5. Job 6, 25. Eccles. 4, 17; as an explanation of a demonstrative pronoun, Is. 58, 5 sq. Zech. 14, 12.

(*b*) As predicate, Is. 32, 17 *and the effect of righteousness* (is) הַשְׁקֵט וָבֶטַח *c* *quietness* (prop. *to find rest*) *and confidence.*

(*c*) As object, Is. 1, 17 לִמְדוּ הֵיטֵב *learn to do well;* Is. 7, 15. Prov. 15, 12; *d* according to the sense also Jer. 9, 23. 23, 14, as well as Is. 5, 5 (הָסֵר and פָּרֹץ virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in עֹשֶׂה); Is. 22, 13, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הִנֵּה, and 59, 13 (six infinitives governed by יְדַעְנוּם in verse 12); Deut. 28, 56 is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it[2], also Is. 42, 24, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer. 9, 4. Job 13, 3 the infinitive absolute *e* as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negatived by לֹא in Is. 57, 20. Jer. 49, 23), so also in Lam. 3, 45 where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

(*d*) As genitive, Is. 14, 23 בַּמַּטְאֲטֵא הַשְׁמֵד *with the besom of destruction;* *e* so perhaps also 4, 4 בְּרוּחַ בָּעֵר; comp. further, Prov. 1, 3. 21, 16. The infinitive

[1] The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

[2] Perhaps הַצֵּנֶא according to § 53. *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הַצָּנֵא.

absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions[1] (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by וְ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e.g. 1 Sam. 22, 13 בְּתִתְּךָ לוֹ לֶחֶם . . . וְשָׁאוֹל לוֹ בֵאלֹהִים *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him;* Ezek. 36, 3; 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 (after מִן); after לְ Ex. 32, 6. Jer. 7, 18. 44, 17.

f (*e*) Governing an accusative of the object, e.g. Is. 22, 13 הָרֹג בָּקָר וְשָׁחֹט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep;* comp. Ex. 20, 8. 23, 30. Deut. 5, 12. Is. 37, 19, and of the examples in *a–d*, Deut. 28, 56. Is. 5, 5. 58, 6 sq. Prov. 25, 27, &c.; followed by a preposition, e.g. Is. 7, 15 מָאוֹס בָּרָע וּבְחֹר בַּטּוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good;* Prov. 15, 12 (הוֹכֵחַ לוֹ).

g If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see above, note on letter *a*), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֵת (אֹת), e.g. Jer. 9, 23 וְיָדוֹעַ אֹתִי *and knoweth me;* Ezek. 36, 3.

h **2.** Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative of the object, mentioned in letter *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*[2] in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or condition has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e.g. Jer. 22, 19 סְחֹוב חֲמֹר הִסָּחֵב וְהֻשְׁלַךְ *a drawing and casting forth,* i.e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gen. 21, 16 (הַרְחֵק *a removing,* i.e. distant; comp. Ex. 33, 7. Jos. 3, 16); Gen. 30, 32. Ex. 30, 36. Num. 6, 5. 23. 15, 35 (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, letter *gg*); Jos. 3, 17. 1 Sam. 3, 12 (הָחֵל וְכַלֵּה *a beginning and ending,* i.e. from beginning to end); 2 Sam. 8, 2. Is. 7, 11 (הַעֲמֵק and הַגְבֵּהַּ, prop. *a making deep* . . ., and *a making high,* i.e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57, 17 (הַסְתֵּר *in hiding,* sc. my face); Jer. 3, 15 (דֵּעָה וְהַשְׂכִּיל *with knowledge and understanding*); Hab. 3, 13 (עָרוֹת comp. for the form § 75. *aa*); Zech. 7, 3. Ps. 35, 16 (חָרַק, to define more precisely קָרְעוּ verse 15); Job 15, 3[3].

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[1] ואחרי שָׁתֹה 1 Sam. 1, 9 is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

[2] That this *casus abverbialis* also was originally regarded as an accusative, may be seen from classical Arabic, where an infinitive of this kind expressly retains the accusative ending. In Latin the ablative of the gerund corresponds in many ways to this use of the infinitive absolute.

[3] Also in 2 Ki. 21, 13 for מָחָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann מָחֹה וְהָפֵךְ

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or condition), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e. g. Is. 20, 2 *and he did so* הָלֹךְ עָרוֹם וְיָחֵף *walking naked and barefoot*, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is. 30, 14 *a breaking in pieces* (acc. to the reading כָּתוֹת; the Masora requires כְּתִתוֹת) *without sparing*. *i*

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'îl, have, through frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הַרְבֵּה (comp. § 75. *ff*) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e. g. Deut. 13, 15); in Deut. 9, 21. 27, 8 it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon. 4, 9 it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הַשְׁכֵּם *mane faciendo*, i. e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 Sam. 17, 16 joined with the infinitive absolute וְהַעֲרֵב a denominative from עֶרֶב *evening* (*morning and evening*, i. e. *early and late*), elsewhere (with the exception of Prov. 27, 14) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e. g. Jer. 11, 7 *for I earnestly protested* (הָעֵד הַעִדֹתִי) *unto your fathers* . . . הַשְׁכֵּם וְהָעֵד *rising early and protesting*, i. e. with earnest protestation; Jer. 25, 3. 26, 5 (where וְ should be omitted before ה'); Jer. 29, 19. 32, 33. 2 Chron. 16, 15. *k*

3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways *to define more accurately* or *to strengthen the idea of the verb*[1]. *l*

These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117. *p*, i. e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; comp. e. g. Ex. 22, 22 אִם־צָעֹק יִצְעַק אֵלַי *if* it actually happens that *he cries to me*, with Gen. 27, 34 (as it were, *he cried*, so that *a great cry* was heard). *m*

We must further distinguish—

(*a*) The infinitive absolute used *before* the verb to strengthen the verbal idea, i. e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by *n*

[1] Comp. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. desselben Stammes im Hebr.*, Leipz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam, qua infin. abs. cum verbo fin. eiusdem radicis coniungitur, planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finiter und infiniter Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e. g. Gen. 2, 17 מוֹת תָּמוּת *thou shalt surely die*, comp. 18, 10. 18. 22, 17. 28, 22. 1 Sam. 9, 6 (*cometh surely to pass*); 24, 21. Am. 5, 5. 7, 17. Hab. 2, 3. Zech. 11, 17; with the infinitive strengthened by אַךְ Gen. 44, 28 (but 27, 30 *and Jacob was yet scarce gone out*, &c.); Gen. 43, 3 הָעֵד הֵעִד בָּנוּ *he did solemnly protest unto us;* 1 Sam. 20, 6 (נִשְׁאֹל נִשְׁאַל *David earnestly asked leave of me*); Jos. 17, 13, Jud. 1, 28 וְהוֹרֵישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוֹ *and did not utterly drive them out;* especially typical instances are Am. 9, 8 *I will destroy it from off the face of the earth* אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא הַשְׁמֵיד אַשְׁמִיד וגו׳ *saving that I will not utterly destroy*, &c.; Jer. 30, 11 *and will in no wise leave thee unpunished;* comp. further Gen. 20, 18. 1 Ki. 3, 26. Joel 1, 7. Job 13, 5.

o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 20, 6. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, letter *n*, on Gen. 43, 3. 1 Sam. 20, 6; also Gen. 3, 16. 26, 28. 32, 17. 1 Sam. 14, 28. 20, 3. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135. *a*), as in Gen. 15, 13. 43, 7. 20. Jud. 9, 8. 1 Sam. 10, 16. 23, 10. 2 Sam. 1, 6. 20, 18.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the condition on which some consequence depends, e. g. Ex. 15, 26 *if thou wilt diligently hearken*, &c., Ex. 19, 5. 21, 5. 22, 3. 11 sq. 16. 22 (see above, letter *m*); 23, 22. Num. 21, 2. 1 Sam. 1, 11. 12, 25; after לוּ 1 Sam. 14, 30.

p The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e. g. 2 Sam. 24, 24 *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנוֹ אֶקְנֶה) *it of thee*, &c. (not receive it as a gift); Jud. 15, 13 *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee;* comp. further Gen. 31, 30 (thou art indeed gone =) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. *esto*), *because thou sore longedst*, &c.; Ps. 118, 13. 18. 126, 6 (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, letter *r*—comes *after* the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gen. 2, 16 sq. אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל *thou mayest freely eat, but*, &c. (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 Sam. 2, 30 *I said indeed . . .*, 14, 43.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and *q* especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e. g. Gen. 37, 8 הֲמָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gen. 37, 10. 43, 7. Jud. 11, 25. 1 Sam. 2, 27. 2 Sam. 19, 43. Jer. 3, 1. 13, 12. Ezek. 28, 9. Amos 3, 5. Zech. 7, 5; but comp. also Gen. 24, 5 *must I needs bring again?*

(*b*) The infinitive absolute *after the verb*, sometimes (as in letter *n*) *r* to intensify[1] the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e. g. Num. 11, 15. Job 13, 17. 21, 2. 37, 2 שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *hearken ye attentively;* Jer. 22, 10; after participles, e. g. Is. 22, 17, also elsewhere, e. g. Num. 23, 11. 24, 10 *thou hast altogether blessed them;* Jos. 24, 10. 2 Ki. 5, 11. Dan. 11, 10, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of גַּם Gen. 31, 15. 46, 4. Num. 16, 13); sometimes to express the long *continuance* of an action; here again after an imperative, Is. 6, 9 שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *hear ye continually;* after a perfect, Jer. 6, 29; after a participle, Jer. 23, 17; after an imperfect consecutive, Gen. 19, 9. Num. 11, 32.

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second *s* infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e. g. 1 Sam. 6, 12 הָלְכוּ הָלוֹךְ וְגָעוֹ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos. 6, 13 *b* *Qᵉrê*); Gen. 8, 7 *it went forth to and fro*[2]; Is. 19, 22 *smiting and* (i. e. but also) *healing again;* Joel 2, 26 (see above, letter *m*).

Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes *t* found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6, 13 *a* and 2 Sam. 13, 19, in both places as perfect frequentative; Is. 31, 5 referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהַצִּיל and וְהַמְלִיט), or an imperfect consecutive (1 Sam. 19, 23. 2 Sam. 16, 13) or participle (2 Sam. 16, 5); comp. also letter *u*.

2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb הָלַךְ *u* *to go*, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (*to go, to walk*, as in the examples given above, Jos. 6, 13. 1 Sam. 6, 12. 2 Sam. 13, 19; comp. also, Is. 3, 16, where both infinitives stand *before* the verb, and Ps. 126, 6, where הָלוֹךְ precedes),

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[1] In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands *after* the verb, but in Syriac *before* the verb.

[2] Also in Ezek. 1, 14 for the involved form רצוא read simply יָצוֹא וָשׁוֹב.

but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of *to go on, to continue*, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, letter *t*) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gen. 8, 3 וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הָלוֹךְ וְשׁוֹב *and the waters returned . . . continually;* Gen. 8, 5. 12, 9. Jud. 14, 9. 2 Ki. 2, 11; with a participle following, Jer. 41, 6 (unless we read וּבָכֹה, as in 2 Sam. 3, 16); with an adjective following, Gen. 26, 13. Jud. 4, 24. 1 Sam. 14, 19. 2 Sam. 5, 10 (1 Chron. 11, 9). 2 Sam. 18, 25[1].

On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 17, 41 the participle הֹלֵךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute; of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הֹלֵךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex. 19, 19. 1 Sam. 2, 26. 2 Sam. 3, 1. 15, 12. Est. 9, 4. 2 Chron. 17, 12) or participle (1 Sam. 17, 12. Jon. 1, 11. Prov. 4, 18).

v 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb[2], e. g. Ex. 5, 23 וְהַצֵּל לֹא־הִצַּלְתָּ אֶת־עַמֶּךָ *neither hast thou delivered thy people at all*, Jud. 15, 13. Jer. 13, 12. 30, 11; comp. Mic. 1, 10 (אַל). Exceptions are Gen. 3, 4 (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2, 17 is expressed in the same form of words); Amos 9, 8. Ps. 49, 8.

w 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the *same* conjugation may be connected (Gen. 28, 22 Pi'ēl; 17, 13. Ex. 22, 3. Ezek. 14, 3 Niph'al; Gen. 40, 15 Pu'al; Hos. 4, 18 Hiph'îl; Ezek. 16, 4 Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Pi'ēl and Hiph'îl; see Driver on 2 Sam. 20, 18) that of *Qal* as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 Sam. 20, 18 (with Pi'ēl), Gen. 44, 28 (with Pu'al; but in Gen. 37, 33 טֹרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52. *e*); 46, 4 (with Hiph'îl); Ex. 19, 13. 21, 20. 2 Sam. 23, 7. Is. 40, 30. Jer. 10, 5. Job 6, 2 (with Niph'al); Is. 24, 19 (with Hithpo'ēl; רֹעָה in the same verse must, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67. *o*), and so always מוֹת יוּמַת *he shall surely be put to death.* Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lev. 19, 20. 2 Ki. 3, 23 (Hoph'al for Niph'al); 1 Sam. 2, 16 (Pi'ēl for Hiph'îl, unless יְקַטְּרוּן is to be read); Ezek. 16, 4 (Hoph'al for Pu'al)[3]. Finally, the infinitive absolute may equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem[4], 1 Sam. 1, 6. Is. 24, 16. 22. 35, 2 (אַף־גִּיל֫ת); Jer. 46, 5. Ezek. 25, 15.

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[1] Comp. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, '*continually increases and becomes worse and worse.*'

[2] Comp. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes* לֹא *et* אַל, *coniunctio* גַּם, *particula* נָא, *cum coniuncta leguntur cum infin., quem absolutum grammatici vocant, verbo finito eiusdem radicis addito* (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 sqq.).

[3] In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem kindred in sound occurs; but in Is. 28, 28 אָדוֹשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for דּוֹשׁ, and in Jer. 8, 13, according to § 72. *aa*, we should read אָסֹפֵם, and in Zeph. 1, 2 אָסֵף.

[4] On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, letter *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117. *p*.

27, 35. Mic. 4, 9. Hab. 3, 9. Job 27, 12.—In Is. 29, 14 the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite verb, *x* an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73. *d*), in Num. 23, 25 (גַּם קֹב; comp. Ruth 2, 16 גַּם שֹׁל); Jer. 50, 34 (רִיב יָרִיב); Prov. 23, 1 (בִּין תָּבִין). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51. *k* and note.—Cf. also 2 Ki. 3, 24 וַיָּבֹאוּ בֹא וְהַכּוֹת אֶת־מוֹאָב (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in Ps. 50, 21. Neh. 1, 7 (חָבֹל), all in rapid style; after the verb, Jos. 7, 7, unless הַעֲבֵיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute frequently appears as *a substitute* *y* *for the finite verb*, either when it is sufficient to mention simply the verbal idea (see letter *z*), or when the hurrying or otherwise excited discourse intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see letter *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later Books especially it frequently happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (but sometimes several) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dan. 9, 5 (comp. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law,* וְסוֹר *and have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect, Ex. 36, 7 (?). 1 Sam. 2, 28. Is. 37, 19. Jer. 14, 5. 19, 13. Hag. 1, 6 (four infinitives). Zech. 3, 4. 7, 5. Eccles. 8, 9. 9, 11. Est. 3, 13. 9, 6. 12, 6 sqq. Neh. 9, 8. 13. 1 Chron. 5, 20. 2 Chron. 28, 19[1]; after the perfect consecutive, Zech. 12, 10; after the perfect frequentative, 1 Ki. 9, 25 (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lev. 25, 14. Num. 30, 3. Jer. 32, 44 (three infinitives). 36, 23. 1 Chron. 21, 24; after the imperfect consecutive, Gen. 41, 43 (as a continuation of וַיִּרְכִּב); Ex. 8, 11. Jud. 7, 19. Jer. 37, 21. Neh. 8, 8. 1 Chron. 16, 36. 2 Chron. 7, 3; with אוֹ *or* after the jussive, Deut. 14, 21. Est. 2, 2. 6, 9; after the imperative, Is. 37, 30 *b*. Amos 4, 4 sq.; after the participle, Hab. 2, 15 (strengthened by אַף, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est. 8, 8.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa*

[1] In Ezek. 7, 14 a perfect is continued by means of an infinitive construct; it is, however, plain that the text is wholly corrupt; Cornill reads תִּקְעוּ תָּקוֹעַ הָכִינוּ הָכֵן.

of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.[1]:—

bb (*α*) For an emphatic imperative, e. g. שָׁמוֹר (thou shalt, ye shall) *observe* Deut. 5, 12; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) *remember* Ex. 13, 3. 20, 8 (the full form of expression occurs in Deut. 6, 17 שָׁמוֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן; 7, 18 זָכֹר תִּזְכֹּר); Lev. 2, 6. Num. 4, 2. 25, 17. Deut. 1, 16. 2 Ki. 5, 10. Is. 38, 5. Jer. 2, 2, followed by a perfect consecutive; Jos. 1, 13. 2 Ki. 3, 16. Is. 7, 4. 14, 31 (parallel with an imperative; in Nah. 2, 2 three imperatives follow). But הַבִּיט Ps. 142, 5 may be only an incorrect spelling of הַבֵּט imperative[2].

cc (*β*) For the jussive, Lev. 6, 7. Num. 6, 5. 2 Ki. 11, 15. Ezek. 23, 46; comp. also Prov. 17, 12 (*let it* rather *meet*).

dd (*γ*) For the cohortative, 1 Ki. 22, 30 (2 Chron. 18, 29), I will *disguise myself, and go into the battle;* Is. 22, 13 *b* אָכוֹל וְשָׁתוֹ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ezek. 21, 31. 23, 30. 46; perhaps also Jer. 31, 2 (הָלוֹךְ). Jos. 9, 20, co-ordinated by means of וְ with a cohortative[3].

ee (*δ*) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e. g. 2 Ki. 4, 43 ye shall *eat and leave thereof;* 19, 29 (Is. 37, 30). 2 Chron. 31, 10; also in indignant questions, Job 40, 2 *shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty*[4]*?* (on the addition of the subject comp. the Rem. below); Jer. 3, 1 *and thinkest thou to return again to me?* Jer. 7, 9 sqq. (six infinitives, continued by means of the perfect consecutive; comp. § 112. *o*).

ff (*ε*) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking

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[1] Comp. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser . . ., se méfier des voleurs!*

[2] In Ezek. 21, 31, for the infinitives construct הָסִיר, הָרִים, הַשְׁפִּיל (beside הַגְבֵּהַּ) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הָסֵר, &c. The K^e^thîbh probably intends הָסֵיר, &c.

[3] In 2 Sam. 3, 18 the infinitive construct appears instead of the cohortative, but אוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ.

[4] In Job 34, 18 in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הָאָמֹר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle הָאֹמֵר is to be read.

place in present time, e. g. Hos. 4, 2 *swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery* (in these they are busied); 10, 4 (after a perfect); Is. 21, 5. 59, 4. Jer. 8, 15. 14, 19. Job 15, 35; comp. further Jer. 32, 33. Eccles. 4, 2.—In Ezek. 23, 30. Prov. 12, 7. 15, 22 and 25, 4, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e. g. Lev. 6, 7. Deut. 15, 2. Prov. 17, 12. Job 40, 2. Eccles. 4, 2. Est. 9, 1 (so, probably, also in Gen. 17, 10. Ex. 12, 48, although here כָּל־זָכָר according to § 121. *a* might also be taken as *an object* with a passive verb; comp. Est. 3, 13); the subject follows an adverbial infinitive absolute in Num. 15, 35 (see above, letter *h*) and Ps. 17, 5; and in 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 it follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, letter *e*. *gg*

§ 114. *The Infinitive Construct.*

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45. *a*), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (comp. § 113. *a*). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus, *a*

(*a*) As the nominative of the subject, e. g. Gen. 2, 18 לֹא־טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation;* Gen. 30, 15. 1 Sam. 23, 20. Is. 7, 13. Prov. 17, 26. 25, 7. 24 (but comp. 21, 9 טוֹב לָשֶׁבֶת in the same statement); Ps. 32, 9, prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 Sam. 18, 23. Jer. 2, 17.

(*b*) As genitive, e. g. Eccles. 3, 4 עֵת סְפוֹד וְעֵת רְקוֹד *a time of mourning and a time of dancing;* Gen. 2, 17. 29, 7. Neh. 12, 46. 2 Chron. 24, 14. This equally includes, according to § 101. *a*, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, letter *d*). *b*

(*c*) As accusative of the object, e. g. 1 Ki. 3, 7 לֹא אֵדַע צֵאת וָבֹא *I know not the going out or the coming in* (*I know not* how *to go out and come in*); Gen. 21, 6. 31, 28. Num. 20, 21. Is. 1, 14. 37, 28 (even with אֶת). Jer. 6, 15. Job 15, 22 (comp. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113. *f*); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is. 11, 9. *c*

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d*

ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Num. 35, 19 בְּפִגְעוֹ־בוֹ *in his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gen. 27, 45 (עַד־שׁוּב); Is. 30, 12 יַעַן מָאַסְכֶם *because ye despise;* Jer. 2, 35 עַל־אָמְרֵךְ *because thou sayest;* Gen. 27, 1 *and his eyes were dim* מֵרְאוֹת *from seeing*, i. e. so that he could not see.

e This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with בְּ or כְּ to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with יַעַן or עַל־ is resolved into a causal clause), especially after וַיְהִי (see the examples, § 111. *g*), e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 27 בִּהְיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם *when they were in Egypt;* Gen. 24, 30 וַיְהִי כִרְאֹת אֶת־הַנֶּזֶם . . . וּכְשָׁמְעוֹ וג׳ *and it came to pass, when he saw* (prop. in the seeing) *the ring . . ., and when he heard* (prop. in his hearing), &c.

f But by far the most frequent is the connexion of the infinitive construct with לְ[1]. Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i. e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113. *h*, and the Latin gerund in *-ndo*) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e. g. Gen. 11, 5 *and the Lord came down,* לִרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר *to see the city;* also with a change of subject, e. g. 2 Sam. 12, 10 *and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite* לִהְיוֹת לְךָ לְאִשָּׁה *to be* (i. e. that she may be) *thy wife;* comp. Gen. 28, 4. Jer. 38, 26 (לָמוּת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e. g. Gen. 42, 9. 47, 4. Num. 22, 20. Jos. 2, 3. 1 Sam. 16, 2 (cf. Driver on the passage) with בּוֹא; Jud. 15, 10. 1 Sam. 17, 25 with עֲלֹה.

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[1] Comp. § 45. *g*, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לִכְתֹּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to בִּכְתֹּב, כִּכְתֹּב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gen. 24, 63 לִפְנוֹת עֶרֶב *at the eventide* (prop. at the time of the return of evening); comp. Deut. 23, 12; Ex. 14, 27. Jud. 19, 26; 2 Sam. 18, 29 *when Joab sent the king's servant.*

2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה *to be*, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (*a*) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do* something, or (*b*) *he* or it *was appointed* or *compelled*, &c., to do the action in question. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, comp. also the English *I am to give*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted. *h*

Examples of (*a*) Gen. 15, 12 וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא *and when the sun was going down* (just about to set); 2 Chron. 26, 5 וַיְהִי לִדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים *and he set himself to seek God* (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is. 38, 20, יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי *the Lord* is ready *to save me;* 1 Sam. 14, 21 (?). Jer. 51, 49. Ps. 25, 14 (*et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis*); Prov. 18, 24 (?). 19, 8 (לְמֹצֵא *consecuturus est*); 20, 25. Eccles. 3, 15 אֲשֶׁר לִהְיוֹת *quod futurum est;* 2 Chron. 11, 22. 12, 12 (in a negative statement); in a question, Est. 7, 8 (*will he even . . .?*). Comp. also 1 Sam. 4, 19. *i*

Of (*b*) Jos. 2, 5 וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסָגוֹר *and the gate was to be shut* (had to be shut); Is. 37, 26. Ps. 109, 13[1]. Mostly with the omission of הָיָה, e.g. 2 Ki. 4, 13 מֶה לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ וגו׳ *what is to be done for thee?* (הֲיֵשׁ לְדַבֶּר־לָךְ) *wouldest thou be* (lit. is it to be) *spoken for to the king*, &c.? 2 Ki. 13, 19 לְהַכּוֹת *it was to smite* equivalent to *thou shouldest have smitten;* Is. 5, 4. 10, 32. Ps. 32, 9. 68, 19 (?). Job 30, 6 (*habitandum est iis*). 1 Chron. 9, 25. 22, 5. 2 Chron. 8, 13 (?). 36, 19 (?). Hos. 9, 13. Hab. 1, 17. In a question 2 Chron. 19, 2. *k*

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with לְ depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 Sam. 18, 11 עָלַי לָתֶת לְךָ וגו׳ it was *upon me*, i.e. it would have been *my duty to give thee*, &c.[2]; comp. Mic. 3, 1 (2 Chron. 13, 5) *is it not for you to* (i.e. are ye not bound to)[3]? with a negative, 2 Chron. 26, 18 לֹא לְךָ וגו׳ *it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but* only *to the priests;* also אֵין לְ with an infinitive expresses *it is not permitted* (nefas est), *may not*, e.g. Est. 4, 2 כִּי אֵין לָבוֹא *for none might enter;* 8, 8. 1 Chron. 15, 2[4]; אֵין לְ with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to *it is not* *l*

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[1] Somewhat different are the cases where הָיָה לְ with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies *to become something*, i.e. to meet with a particular fate, as Num. 24, 22 (comp. Is. 5, 5. 6, 13) לְבָע�ֵר *for wasting*, for which elsewhere frequently לְשַׁמָּה and the like; probably also לְבַלּוֹת Ps. 49, 15 is to be explained in this way, the הָיָה being omitted.

[2] 2 Sam. 4, 10 (*cui dandum erat mihi*) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

[3] But in 1 Sam. 23, 20 after וְלָנוּ *and our part shall be* the infinitive without לְ stands as the subject of the sentence.

[4] Quite different of course are such cases as Is. 37, 3 וְכֹחַ אַיִן לְלֶדֶת *and there is not strength to bring forth;* comp. Num. 20, 5. Ruth 4, 4.

feasible, not possible, e. g. in Ps. 40, 6. Eccles. 3, 14. 2 Chron. 5, 11[1].—With either meaning לֹא can be used instead of אֵין, e. g. Amos 6, 10 לֹא לְהַזְכִּיר *nefas est, to make mention* of the name of the Lord: but Jud. 1, 19 *for it was not possible to drive out*, &c., perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in Jos. 17, 12 לֹא יָכְלוּ לָהּ; 1 Chron. 15, 2.

m 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with לְ is used as the object[2] of a governing verb (hence, again, *the direction* which an action takes). The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with לְ and the infinitive are: הֵחֵל (with an infinitive without לְ, e. g. Deut. 2, 25. 31. Jos. 3, 7), הוֹאִיל *to begin*, הוֹסִיף, יָסַף (prop. *to add*) *to continue*, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without לְ, as Gen. 4, 12. 8, 10. 12. 37, 5. 1 Sam. 3, 8. Job 27, 1, &c.; חָדַל *to cease from, to desist*; כָּלָה *to complete, to make an end of*; תָּמַם *to be finished*; הִקְרִיב *to come near to*, Gen. 12, 11; מִהַר *to hasten* (with an infinitive without לְ Ex. 2, 18); אָבָה *to be willing* (with an infinitive without לְ Is. 28, 12. 30, 9. Job 39, 9); חָפֵץ *to will, to desire*; מֵאֵן *to refuse* (*to be unwilling*); בִּקֵּשׁ *to seek*; יָכֹל *to be able* (with an infinitive without לְ, e. g. Gen. 24, 50. 37, 4. Ex. 18, 23. Job 4, 2); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of *to give up some one, to cause, to permit* something to be done, e. g. Gen. 20, 6. Ps. 16, 11 (with an infinitive without לְ Job 9, 18), יָדַע *to understand* how to do something (in Job 3, 8 עֹרֵר יוֹם is analogous); לָמַד *to learn*; קִוָּה *to expect* (with a change of subject, e. g. Is. 5, 2 *and he looked that it should bring forth grapes*).

n We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'îl (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (comp. § 53. *f*), as הִגְדִּיל *to do greatly*, הִשְׁפִּיל *to make* (it) *low*, הִגְבִּיהַּ *to make* (it) *high*, הֶעֱמִיק *to make* (it) *deep*, הִרְחִיק *to make* (it) *far, distant*, הֵיטִיב *to make* (it) *good* (with an infinitive without לְ Ps. 33, 3, but 1 Sam. 16, 17, in the same combination, with לְ); הִשְׁכִּים *to do* anything *early* (Ps. 127, 2, along with its opposite אִחַר *to do* something *late*, with an infinitive without לְ); הִרְבָּה *to make* (it) *much*, הִפְלָא *to make* (it) *wonderful* (even with a passive infinitive 2 Chron. 26, 15)[3], &c.

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[1] In 2 Sam. 14, 19 אֵשׁ (=יֵשׁ *it is, there is*) is used in a similar sense after אִם, the negative particle of asseveration, *of a truth it is not* possible *to turn to the right hand or to the left.*

[2] This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the לְ may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, letter *c*). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with לְ; thus לֹא אָבוּ שְׁמוֹעַ Is. 28, 12 is equivalent to *they desired not obeying;* but לֹא אָבוּ לִשְׁמֹעַ Ezek. 20, 8 rather expresses *they could not make up their mind as to hearkening.* When connected with לְ, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

[3] In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate

4. Finally, the infinitive with לְ is very frequently used in a much looser connexion to state motives, accompanying circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e. g. 1 Sam. 12, 17 לִשְׁאֹל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ *in asking you a king;* 14, 33. Gen. 3, 22. 34, 7. 15. Ex. 23, 2. Lev. 5, 4. 22. 26. 8, 15. Num. 14, 36. 1 Sam. 19, 5. 20, 36. 1 Ki. 2, 3 sq. 14, 8. Ps. 63, 3. 78, 18. 101, 8. 103, 20. 104, 14 sq. 111, 6. Prov. 2, 8. 8, 34. 18, 5. Neh. 13, 18. Sometimes the infinitive with לְ is used in this way simply by itself, e. g. 1 Chron. 12, 8 *as the roes upon the mountains* לְמַהֵר (as regards hasting) *in swiftness;* Gen. 2, 3. 2 Sam. 14, 25 (לְהַלֵּל); Is. 21, 1 (לְחֲלוֹף); Joel 2, 26. Prov. 2, 2. 26, 2 and so very frequently the infinitive לֵאמֹר *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus, as follows*). *o*

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later Books—the infin. constr. with לְ appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113. *z*), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident, that the infinitive with לְ virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (*and that too*); thus e. g. Ex. 32, 29 (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i. e. that ye may be blessed; comp. 1 Sam. 25, 31 (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113. *e*); Ps. 104, 21[1]. Job 34, 8. Eccles. 9, 1. Neh. 8, 13. 2 Chron. 7, 17.—In Lev. 10, 10 sq. וּלְהַבְדִּיל might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 *b* (=this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Chron. 30, 9 וְלָשׁוּב depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמִים. On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 8, 12 it is sufficient to explain *and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands* (sc. he will take them). In Is. 44, 28 translate *and he* (Cyrus) *shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem*, &c. *p*

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adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e. g. Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that thou hast found it so quickly?* (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gen. 31, 27 *wherefore didst thou flee secretly?* So frequently with הַרְבֵּה (=*often, abundantly*), Ex. 36, 5. 1 Sam. 1, 12. 2 Ki. 21, 6. Is. 55, 7. Am. 4, 4. Ps. 78, 38, &c.; with שׁוּב (=*again*), Deut. 30, 9. 1 Ki. 13, 17. Hos. 11, 9. Ezra 9, 14; cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 4. Jer. 1, 12. Jon. 4, 2 and the analogous instances in § 120. *g;* also 2 Ki. 2, 10 *thou hast asked a hard thing.*

[1] When Delitzsch on Ps. 104, 21, referring to Hab. 1, 17, explains the infinitive with לְ as an elliptical mode of expressing the *coniugatio periphrastica* (equivalent to *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum suum*), this is, in point of fact, certainly true in this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with וְלְ follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under letter *h*, where the infinitive with לְ *without Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniugatio periphrastica.*

q **3.** The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or the character of the subordinate tenses; comp. e. g. Gen. 2, 4 *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth,* בְּהִבָּרְאָם *when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Jud. 6, 18 עַד־בֹּאִי וגו׳ *until I come unto thee, and bring forth,* &c. Cf. 1 Sam. 18, 19 (= *when she should have been given*); 2 Ki. 2, 1. Hos. 7, 1.

r Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above in letter *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb *we* regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לֹא), Jer. 9, 12 *because they have forsaken* (עַל־עָזְבָם) *my law . . . and have not obeyed my voice;* Gen. 39, 10. 1 Sam. 24, 12. Amos 1, 9; without לֹא Job 28, 25; by a perfect with וְ (comp. § 112. *i* and *v*) Amos 1, 11 עַל־רָדְפוֹ וגו׳ *because he did pursue his brother with the sword,* וְשִׁחֵת *and did cast off* continually *all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gen. 27, 45. Jud. 6, 18. 1 Sam. 10, 8. 2 Ki. 18, 32 [Is. 36, 17], always after עַד־בֹּאִי *until I come*); by a simple imperfect, e. g. Prov. 1, 27 (after בְּ); Is. 30, 26 (after בְּיוֹם *in the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is. 5, 24 (after כְּ). 10, 2. 13, 9. 14, 25. 45, 1. 49, 5. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Prov. 2, 8. 5, 2. 8, 21 (always after לְ)[1]; by an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Gen. 39, 18 *and it came to pass,* בַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וָאֶקְרָא *as I lifted up my voice and cried, that . . .;* 1 Ki. 10, 9. Job 38, 13 (after לְ); 1 Ki. 18, 18. Is. 38, 9. Job 38, 7. 9 sqq. (after בְּ); Is. 30, 12. Jer. 7, 13. Ezek. 34, 8 (after יַעַן).

s The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בִּלְתִּי, which has come to be used as a preposition, *without*, Num. 35, 23. Prov. 19, 2), but by בְּלִתִּי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לְ prefixed (comp., however, Num. 14, 16 מִבְּלִתִּי), e. g. Gen. 3, 11 לְבִלְתִּי אֲכָל־מִמֶּנּוּ *not to eat of it;* in a final sense, 4, 15 *lest any finding him should smite him;* only in 2 Ki. 23, 10 is לְ repeated before the infinitive. In Ps. 32, 9 (if the text be right) בַּל negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

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[1] The great frequency of examples of this kind, especially in the poetical Books, is due to a striving after what is called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in the two halves of the verse, i. e. in the instances given, the finite verb *at the end* of the second (co-ordinate) clause is parallel with the infinitive *at the beginning* of the first. In this way the verbal form necessarily became separated from the וְ, and consequently the imperfect had to be used instead of the perfect consecutive. Such a parallelism of the *external* and *internal* members of a verse is frequent also in other cases, and was evidently felt to be an elegancy of elevated—poetic or prophetic—style.

§ 115. *Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.*

1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113. *a*), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal* noun is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs[1] *the accusative of the object*, e. g. Num. 9, 15 בְּיוֹם הָקִים אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן *on the day the tabernacle was reared up;* 1 Sam. 19, 1 לְהָמִית אֶת־דָּוִד *that they should slay David;* Gen. 14, 17. 19, 29. Ex. 38, 27. 1 Ki. 12, 15. 15, 4; with a negative, e. g. Lev. 26, 15 לְבִלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתָי *so that ye will not do all my commandments;* with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e. g. Deut. 29, 12 לְמַעַן הָקִים־אֹתְךָ *that he may establish thee;* Gen. 25, 26. Jer. 24, 7; with a verbal suffix, e. g. Ex. 2, 14 לְהָרְגֵנִי *to kill me;* Jer. 38, 26 לְבִלְתִּי הֲשִׁיבֵנִי *that he would not cause me to return* (on the suffix, cf. letter *c*). In Is. 49, 6 the object even precedes the infinitive with לְ; on this order cf. the note on § 114. *r*.—If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e. g. Gen. 41, 39 אַחֲרֵי הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אוֹתְךָ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת *forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this;* Deut. 21, 16. *a*

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples), by the *nota accusativi* אֶת־, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e. g. Prov. 21, 15 עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט *to do judgement*. Against regarding it as a genitive, which is in itself possible, (*the doing, the executing of judgement*,) is the fact (*a*) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (*b*) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as רְאֹה for (פָּנֶיךָ) רְאֹת Gen. 48, 11 (comp. Ps. 101, 3. Prov. 16, 16), would be unintelligible; (*c*) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qameṣ without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i. e. with real genitives; comp. § 33. *c*), this Qameṣ necessarily becomes vocal *Šᵉwâ;* e. g. Gen. 18, 25 לְהָמִית צַדִּיק *to slay the righteous* (never as לַהֲמִית; comp., on the other hand, above, הֲשִׁיבֵנִי); 2 Ki. 21, 8. Ezek. 44, 30. Similarly in such cases as Is. 3, 13 (Ps. 50, 4) instead of לָדִין עַמִּים we should rather expect לָדִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עַמִּים as the genitive. Hence also in cases like Is. 58, 9 (שְׁלַח for שִׁלַּח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction. *b*

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of לְהוֹצִיאֵהוּ Jer. 39, 14) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples comp. also 1 Sam. 5, 10. 27, 1. 28, 9. Ruth 2, 10. 1 Chron. 12, 17, &c.) and plural; e. g. לְהַשְׁמִידֵנוּ *to destroy us*, Deut. 1, 27 (immediately after לָתֵת אֹתָנוּ, so that *c*

[1] For examples of the accus. of the object with a pass. infin., see § 121. *c*.

נוּ__ is doubtless a *verbal* not a *noun*-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמִיתֵנוּ Num. 16, 13. Jud. 13, 23 (after חָפֵץ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gen. 25, 26 בְּלֶדֶת אֹתָם prop. *in the bearing them;* לָדַעַת אֹתִי *to know me*, Jer. 24, 7) or in the form of a noun-suffix (as genitive of the object). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e.g. 1 Sam. 20, 33 לְהַכֹּתוֹ (prop. for his smiting) *to smite him*, not, as the form might also mean, *in order that he might smite;* comp. 1 Ki. 20, 35; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Num. 22, 25; of the 3rd plur. Jos. 10, 20. 2 Sam. 21, 2, &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַכֹּתְךָ Jer. 40, 14, comp. Mic. 6, 13, and even גַּדְּלֵךְ *to magnify thee*, Jos. 3, 7, must certainly be regarded as *nominal* not *verbal* suffixes. The connexion of the noun-suffix, as genitive of the object, with the infinitive was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases, as Gen. 37, 4 לֹא יָכְלוּ דַבְּרוֹ לְשָׁלֹם *they could not speak to him peaceably*, comp. Zech. 3, 1 לְשִׂטְנוֹ *to be an adversary to him*, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Num. 22, 13 לָתֵתִי *to give me leave*, [Deut. 25, 7 לֹא אָבָה יַבְמִי *he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me;* 1 Chron. 4, 10 לְבִלְתִּי עָצְבִּי *that it may not grieve me!*]

d 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e.g. Is. 11, 9 דֵּעָה אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the Lord) *the knowledge of the Lord;* לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי *to fear me*, Deut. 4, 10. 5, 26. 10, 12; an accusative follows לְאַהֲבָה Deut. 10, 12. 15. Is. 56, 6 (comp. also Hos. 3, 1); לְהַנָּפָה Is. 30, 28; בִּשְׂנַאַת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ Deut. 1, 27; after verbal nouns formed by prefixing מ (comp. § 45. *e*), Num. 10, 2. Is. 13, 19. Amos 4, 11. Ezek. 17, 9. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e.g. Gen. 2, 9. Jer. 22, 16, or a suffix, e.g. Gen. 5, 4, &c., 28, 4. 6. 29, 19 sq. 30, 15. 38, 5. 2 Sam. 3, 11. Is. 29, 13.

e **2.** The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately[1] after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33. *c*) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see letter *f*); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a nominative, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and accordin

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[1] In Gen. 24, 30 the subject of כִּרְאֹת is wanting (but כִּשְׁמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly כִּרְאֹתוֹ, and the text is now in a state of confusion verse 30 *a* should come before verse 29 *b*. In Gen. 25, 26. Ex. 9, 16. 1 Sa 18, 19. Ps. 42, 4 the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from t context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

to certain indications (see letter *g*) very probably also in many other instances.

f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form, are Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׂנְאַת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ prop. *in the Lord's hating us;* comp. 7, 8. Gen. 19, 16. 1 Ki. 10, 9. Is. 13, 19. 47, 9. Hos. 3, 1. Am. 4, 11. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex. 17, 1 *and there was no water* לִשְׁתּוֹת הָעָם *for the people to drink* (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gen. 16, 16 (בְּלֶדֶת הָגָר); Gen. 16, 3. Ex. 19, 1. Num. 20, 3. 4. 33, 38. 1 Ki. 6, 1. Ps. 133, 1. 2 Chron. 7, 3, &c.

g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a nominative, are Job 34, 22 לְהִסָּתֵר שָׁם פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן *that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there* (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gen. 34, 15. Num. 35, 6. Deut. 19, 3. Jud. 9, 2. 2 Sam. 24, 13. Ps. 76, 10, and below, letter *i*. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic Qameṣ (comp. letter *b* above), e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשׁוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ לְאֶל־לִבּוֹ, since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לְשׂוּם according to § 102. *f*. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative, is again (see above, letter *b*) probable, since in such forms as הָנִיחַ Deut. 25, 19. Is. 14, 3, הָמִיר Ps. 46, 3, &c. the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הֲנִיחִי Ezek. 24, 13, הֲקִימוֹ Jer. 23, 20, &c., we should expect הֲנִיחַ, הֲמִיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings[1], a distinction between the genitival and nominatival constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e. g. in unchangeable forms like קָטֹל, קוּם, &c.

h **3.** When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in letter *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e. g. Gen. 39, 18 בְּהָרִימִי קוֹלִי *as I lifted up my voice* (comp. 1 Ki. 13, 21, and the examples, Gen. 5, 4, &c., enumerated above, under letter *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Deut. 1, 27, &c.; see above, letters *d* and *f*.

[1] In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) *'Amran* (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing 'Amr*, or *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) *'Amran* (acc. of obj.).

i On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the nominative in such cases as Is. 10, 15 כְּהָנִיף שֵׁבֶט אֶת־מְרִימָיו *as if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מרימיו comp. § 124. *k*), not כְּהָנִיף, as would be expected (see letter *g* above), if שֵׁבֶט were in the genitive; comp. Job 33, 17. And so probably also in other cases, as Gen. 5, 1. 13, 10. Jos. 14, 7. 1 Ki. 13, 4. 2 Ki. 23, 10. Is. 32, 7. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see letter *g* above), e. g. in Jer. 21, 1.

k Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is. 20, 1 בְּשָׁלְחַ אֹתוֹ סַרְגוֹן *when Sargon sent him;* Gen. 4, 15. Jos. 14, 11. 2 Sam. 18, 29. Is. 5, 24. Ps. 56, 1. Prov. 25, 8. In Num. 24, 23 the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

§ 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 sqq., and Kahan, p. 11 sqq.

a **1.** Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns, and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or condition), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a *condition* which has been brought about by external *actions*.

b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a stat implying action (or effected by external action) and a mere passive condition is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the simpl stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭēl* (כָּבֵד, מָלֵא, &c.) or *qāṭō* (גָּבֹהַּ, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא *to hate*, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *E*), nevertheless forms a participle activ שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שָׂנוּא (comp. the feminine שְׂנוּאָה).—In cases wher the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no mean synonomous. When the Assyrians are called in Is. 28, 11 לַעֲגֵי שָׂפָה *men of stammer ing lips*, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with the personality. On the other hand בֵּלַהּ לֹעֵג לִי Jer. 20, 7, describes those about th prophet as continually engaged in throwing ridicule upon him. Cf. also Ps. 9, 1 (שִׂבְחִי) with 50, 22 (שֹׁכְחֵי).

On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, comp. what has been stated above in § 107. *d*. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later Books, comp. e. g. Neh. 6, 17. 2 Chron. 17, 11—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2. *d* and *e*), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew. *c*

2. The period of time indicated by (*a*) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מֵת may mean either *moriens* (Zech. 11, 9), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמֵּת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Deut. 4, 22); בָּא *coming, come* Gen. 18, 11 and elsewhere, *venturus* 1 Sam. 2, 31 and elsewhere; נֹפֵל *falling*, but also *fallen*, 1 Sam. 5, 3, and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is. 30, 13. Amos 9, 11). For other examples of perfect participles see Gen. 27, 33. 43, 18 (הַשָּׁב *that was returned;* comp. Ezra 6, 21 and elsewhere, הַשָּׁבִים *which were come again* out of captivity); Gen. 35, 3. Ex. 11, 5. Zech. 12, 1. Ps. 137, 7. Prov. 8, 9. Job 12, 4 (קֹרֵא), and letter *m* below. For future participles see Gen. 41, 25. 1 Ki. 18, 9. Is. 5, 5. Jon. 1, 3, &c., probably also לָקְחֵי Gen. 19, 14. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הִנֵּה) see letter *p* below. *d*

(*b*) Of the passive participles, the participle *Qal* (e. g. כָּתוּב *scriptus*) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niph'al*, sometimes to a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נוֹרָא *metuendus, to be feared*, Ps. 76, 8 and elsewhere; נֶחְמָד *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gen. 3, 6. Ps. 19, 11, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* Ps. 102, 19; נוֹלָד, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיּוּלָּד Jud. 13, 8) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 Ki. 13, 2. Ps. 22, 32; נֶעֱרָץ *terribilis* Ps. 89, 8; נִתְעָב *abominable* Job 15, 16; נֶחְשָׁב *aestimandus* Is. 2, 22; הַנֶּאֱכָלֶת *that may be eaten* (an animal) Lev. 11, 47. In *Pu'al*, מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, who is worthy to be praised* Ps. 18, 4. In *Hoph'al*, 2 Sam. 20, 1 מֻשְׁלָךְ; 1 Sam. 19, 11. 2 Ki. 11, 2 הַמּוּמָתִים; Is. 12, 5 *Q'rê* מוּדַעַת[1]. *e*

[1] Such examples as נוֹרָא, נֶחְמָד, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired*, or *praised* at all times, is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable*, or *praiseworthy*, and therefore also *to be feared*, &c. From such examples this use then appears to have been extended to other cases.

f **3.** The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 Sam. 18, 29 אֹיֵב אֶת־דָּוִד prop. *one hating David;* Gen. 42, 29; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עֹשַׂנִי *that made me* Job 31, 15; מִי רֹאָנוּ *who seeth us?* Is. 29, 15 (in Is. 47, 10 רֹאָנִי is abnormal); רֹדֵם *ruling them* Ps. 68, 28 (also with the article, e. g. 2 Sam. 22, 33 [= Ps. 18, 33] הַמְאַזְּרֵנִי *that girdeth me*, LXX ὁ κραταιῶν με); Deut. 20, 1. 2 Sam. 1, 24. Is. 9, 12. 63, 11. Ps. 103, 4. 1 Ki. 9, 23 הָרֹדִים בָּעָם *which bare rule over the people;* 2 Ki. 20, 5 הִנְנִי רֹפֵא לָךְ *behold, I will heal thee*[1].

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 sqq., shows that the participle when construed as a *verb* expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a *noun* (see letter *g*) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Deut. 34, 9 מָלֵא רוּחַ *full of the spirit;* 1 Ki. 9, 23; Ps. 5, 5 חָפֵץ רֶשַׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness.*

g As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89. *a;* comp. also § 128. *x*), e. g. Ps. 5, 12 אֹהֲבֵי שְׁמֶךָ *that love thy name;* comp. Ps. 19, 8 sq.; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gen. 22, 12 יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing God*, and Hab. 2, 15; with an infinitive, Ps. 127, 2; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33. *c*, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gen. 4, 14 כָּל־מֹצְאִי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; comp עֹשִׂי *my maker*); 12, 3 מְבָרְכֶיךָ *that bless thee*, מְקַלְלְךָ *that curseth thee*, 27, 29. 1 Sam. 2, 30. Is. 63, 13. Jer. 33, 2. Ps. 18, 49[2].

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[1] On the other hand, in Is. 11, 9 *as the waters* לַיָּם מְכַסִּים *covering the sea* the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle; [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 135, 7 *Obs.*] Comp. Hab. 2, 14.

[2] When, as in Job 40, 19, the participle with the noun-suffix הָעֹשׂוֹ *he that made him*, also has the article (comp. § 127. *i*), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined

Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles בָּא *iniens* and יֹצֵא *egrediens*, since the verbs בּוֹא and יָצָא, in the sense of *ingredi, egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e.g. Gen. 23, 10. 18 בָּאֵי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ *that went in at the gate of his city;* Lam. 1, 4; after וְיֹצְאֵי Gen. 9, 10. 34, 24. 46, 26, and elsewhere.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; comp. Is. 38, 18, and frequently, יוֹרְדֵי־בוֹר *they that go down into the pit* (the grave); Ps. 88, 6 שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *that lie in the grave;* Deut. 32, 24 (Mic. 7, 17); 1 Ki. 2, 7. 2 Ki. 11, 5. 7. 9 *those that came in* (or *went out*) *on the sabbath*, Prov. 2, 7. 1 Chron. 5, 18, and elsewhere; instead of the construction with מִן־, e.g. Is. 59, 20 (*those who turn from transgression*). Mic. 2, 8. *h*

These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e.g. Ps. 18, 40. 49 קָמַי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me;* comp. Ex. 15, 7. 32, 25. Deut. 33, 11. Ps. 44, 6. 53, 6 (חֹנָךְ); 102, 9. Prov. 2, 19 כָּל־בָּאֶיהָ *all that go unto her;* the construction is especially bold in Is. 29, 7 כָּל־צֹבְיָהּ וּמְצֻדָתָהּ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for כָּל־הַצֹּבְאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מ׳).—In Is. 1, 30 *as a terebinth* נֹבֶלֶת עָלֶהָ *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether נֹבֶלֶת is in the absolute state, and consequently עָלֶהָ in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עָלֶהָ as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Prov. 14, 2 (see letter *k*). *i*

4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative[1], or may be connected with it in the construct state, e.g. Jud. 18, 11. 1 Sam. 2, 18. Ezek. 9, 2 לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים *clothed in linen*, comp. verse 3 הַלָּבֻשׁ הַבַּדִּים; (even with a suffix קָרוּעַ בָּתֻּנְתּוֹ *rent as regards his coat* 2 Sam. 15, 32; with the participle following in Jud. 1, 7); but Ezek. 9, 11 לְבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים *the one clothed with linen;* 2 Sam. 13, 31 קְרֵעֵי בְגָדִים *rent in respect of clothes*, *k*

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by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer. 33, 22 מְשָׁרְתִי אֹתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מְשָׁרְתַי in verse 21) and Amos 4, 13 where an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, עֹשֵׂה שַׁחַר עֵיפָה *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer. 2, 17 בְּעֵת מוֹלְכֵךְ is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee;* perhaps the perfect (הוֹלִיךְ) should be read as in 6, 15. In Ezek. 27, 34, the ancient versions read עַתָּה(ה) נִשְׁבַּרְתְּ *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult עֵת נִשְׁבֶּרֶת. In 1 Ki. 20, 40 read עֹשֶׂה before הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה.

[1] On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive construction comp. below, § 117. *cc*, &c., and § 121. *c*. So also Neh. 4, 12 is to be understood, *and the builders* were אִישׁ חַרְבּוֹ אֲסוּרִים עַל־מָתְנָיו *girded every one with his sword on his side, and building.*

equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (comp. Jer. 41, 5); Num. 24, 4. Deut. 25, 10. Is. 3, 3. 33, 24. Joel 1, 8. Ps. 32, 1 (נְשׂוּי־פֶשַׁע *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כְּסוּי חֲטָאָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Prov. 14, 2 נִלְוֹז דְּרָכָיו *he that is perverse in his ways.*

l Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the *cause*, e. g. in Is. 1, 7 שְׂרֻפוֹת אֵשׁ *burnt with fire;* comp. Gen. 41, 6. Ex. 28, 11. Deut. 32, 24; before a genitive denoting the *author*, e. g. Gen. 24, 31 בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but Ps. 115, 15 בְּרוּכִים לַיהוָה, see § 121. *f*); comp. Is. 53, 4. Ps. 22, 7. Job 14, 1 (15, 14. 25, 4); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Prov. 9, 18 קְרֻאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i. e. those invited by her; comp. 7, 26. Ps. 37, 22.

m **5.** The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-clauses (which, according to § 140. *e*, describe established facts and conditions), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, letter *d*) be inferred from the context. Thus:

n (*a*) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e. g. Eccles. 1, 4 דּוֹר הֹלֵךְ וְדוֹר בָּא *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh; and the earth abideth* (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever;* comp. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gen. 3, 5. 16, 8 (*I am fleeing*); 32, 12. Ex. 9, 17. 1 Sam. 16, 15. 23, 1. 2 Ki. 7, 9. Is. 1, 7; also when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100. *o* and § 105. *b*), e. g. Gen. 16, 11 הִנָּךְ הָרָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27, 42; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), comp. § 141. *e*, e. g. Gen. 15, 2, and elsewhere.

o (*b*) To represent *past* actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-clauses, e. g. Ex. 20, 18 וְכָל־הָעָם רֹאִים אֶת־הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunderings*, &c.; 1 Ki. 1, 5; in negative statements, e. g. Gen. 39, 23 *a;* sometimes in relative clauses, e. g. Gen. 39, 23 *b*. Deut. 3, 2, (comp. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e. g. Gen. 32, 10 הָאֹמֵר *which saidst;* 12, 7. 16, 13. 35, 1. 3. 36, 35. 48, 16. 2 Sam. 15, 31, &c.); sometimes again (see letter *n*) in *circumstantial* clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e. g. Gen. 19, 1 *and the two angels came to Sodom* וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *and Lot sat*, &c.; 18, 1. 8. 16. 22. 25, 26. Jud. 13, 9. 2 Chron. 22, 9; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה Gen. 37, 7. 41, 17. (On הֹלֵךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113. *u*.)

p (*c*) To announce *future* actions or events, e. g. 1 Ki. 2, 2. 2 Ki. 4, 16, *at this season when the time cometh round*, אַתְּ חֹבֶקֶת בֵּן *thou shalt embrace a son;* so after a specification of time, Gen. 7, 4. 15, 14. 17, 19. 19, 13. Is. 23, 15 (where, however, after וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive; Qimḥi therefore explains וְנִשְׁכַּחַת as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect), Hag. 2, 6; or in relative clauses, Gen. 41, 25. Is. 5, 5 *what I am doing*, i. e. am in the act of doing in a deliberative question, Gen. 37, 30; but especially often when the subject

is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנֵּנִי, הִנְּךָ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e. g. Gen. 6, 17. 15, 3. 20, 3. 24, 13 sq. 48, 21. 50, 5. Ex. 3, 13. 8, 25. 9, 3. 34, 10. Jos. 2, 18. Jud. 7, 17. 9, 33. 1 Sam. 3, 11. 2 Ki. 7, 2. Is. 3, 1. 7, 14. 17, 1. Jer. 30, 10. Zech. 2, 13. 3, 8; with a participle passive, 2 Sam. 20, 21: comp. also § 112. *t*.

Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e. g. Gen. 37, 7) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e. g. Jud. 6, 36 אִם־יֶשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ *if thou wilt save;* Gen. 43, 5 אִם־אֵינְךָ *if thou wilt not send;* 1 Sam. 19, 11.—In such cases as Is. 14, 27 יָדוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה *the stretched out hand is his*, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9, 11. 16, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; comp. Gen. 2, 11. 45, 12. Is. 66, 9. Ezek. 20, 29. Zech. 7, 6 (cf. § 126. *k*), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Num. 7, 2. Deut. 3, 21. 4, 3, &c., and 1 Sam. 4, 16, where it refers to the past. In 1 Ki. 12, 8 and 21, 11 even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר. *q*

2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יִהְיֶה (or the jussive יְהִי, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e. g. Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the oxen* (cows) *were plowing;* Gen. 37, 2. 39, 22. Ex. 3, 1. Deut. 9, 24. Jud. 1, 7. 1 Sam. 2, 11. 2 Sam. 3, 6; the same occurs with a passive participle, e. g. Jos. 5, 5. Zech. 3, 3; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e. g. in Is. 2, 2; the jussive in Gen. 1, 6. Ps. 109, 12[1]; and ויהי with a participle in Jud. 16, 21. Neh. 1, 4. *r*

3. The *personal pronoun* which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, comp. Is. 26, 3. Ps. 16, 8. Job 9, 32) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e. g. Gen. 24, 30. 37, 15. 38, 24. 41, 1. 1 Sam. 10, 11. 15, 12. Is. 29, 8 (the participle always after הִנֵּה); comp., moreover, Gen. 32, 7. Deut. 33, 3. 1 Sam. 17, 25. 20, 1. Is. 33, 5. 40, 19. Ps. 22, 29. 33, 5. 55, 20. Job 12, 17. 19 sqq. 25, 2. 26, 7; הִיא is omitted in Lev. 18, 28; הֵמָּה in 1 Ki. 5, 1. Is. 32, 12. Ezek. 8, 12. Neh. 9, 3; in a relative clause, Gen. 39, 22. Is. 24, 2.—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hab. 2, 10; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gen. 20, 16 (where, however, for the participle וְנֹכַחַת the 2nd fem. perf. is really intended); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hab. 1, 5. Zech. 9, 12. Mal. 2, 16; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 Sam. 2, 24 (if the text be right), 6, 3. Ezek. 13, 7 (?). *s*

[1] A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בָּרוּךְ *blessed be* . . . Gen. 9, 26 and elsewhere; אָרוּר *cursed art thou* . . . 3, 14 and elsewhere.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is. 21, 11 אֵלַי קֹרֵא *there is one calling unto me* (= one calleth; § 144. *d*); comp. Is. 30, 24. 33, 4.—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex. 5, 16 (אֹמְרִים sc. the taskmasters); Jer. 33, 5. 38, 23. Ezek. 13, 7 (?). 36, 13. 37, 11 (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

u 4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by וְ); e.g. Gen. 29, 9. Job 1, 16 sq. עוֹד זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא *he was yet speaking, and* (= *when*) *another came*, &c.[1]; comp. 1 Sam. 9, 11. 27. 20, 36. 1 Ki. 14, 17 *she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died;* 2 Ki. 2, 23. 4, 5. Dan. 9, 20 sq.; also in Jud. 19, 22. 1 Sam. 9, 14. 17, 23. 1 Ki. 1, 42. Job 1, 18 sq., in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהִנֵּה.—On the other hand, in 1 Ki. 1, 14 the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending[2]. Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וַיְהִי (comp. § 111. *g*), and the apodosis by וְהִנֵּה, Gen. 42, 35. 2 Ki. 2, 11. 13, 21; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 Sam. 7, 10. 2 Ki. 19, 37 (Is. 37, 38).

v *Participles active*, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and also *participles passive*, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e. g. Gen. 38, 25 הִיא מוּצֵאת וְהִיא שָׁלְחָה *she was being brought forth, when she sent*, &c.; comp. Gen. 50, 24; [see further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166–169.]

w 5. Different from the examples treated in letters *u* and *v* are the instances in which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a *compound noun-clause*, see § 143. *c*) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e.g. Gen. 9, 6 שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁפֵךְ *shedding man's blood*, i. e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, *by man shall his blood be shed;* Ex. 21, 12. Ps. 75, 4. Prov. 17, 14. Job 41, 18; so especially if כָּל־ *every* precedes the participle, Gen. 4, 15. 1 Sam. 3, 11 (2 Ki. 21, 12). The apodosis is generally introduced by וְ (*wāw apodosis*), e.g. Ex. 12, 15 (with a following perfect consecutive), Num. 35, 30; 1 Sam. 2, 13 כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ זֶבַח וּבָא נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן *when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came*, &c.; 2 Sam. 14, 10 (participle with article); 22, 41 (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with Ps. 18, 41); 2 Sam. 23, 3 sq. Prov. 23, 24 *K^eth.;*

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[1] The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e.g. וַיְהִי בְדַבְּרוֹ). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when . . .* As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

[2] At the same time the preceding עוֹד *still* shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event *contemporaneous* with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112. *t*, where הִנֵּה refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

29, 9.—As in the instances discussed under letter *u*, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וַיְהִי, comp. 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11. 2 Sam. 2, 23 וַיְהִי כָּל־הַבָּא *and it came to pass, that as many as came*, &c.—On the other hand, וְהַנִּשְׁבֶּרֶת Dan. 8, 22 is a mere catchword (equivalent to *and as for that which was broken*) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ comp. § 113. *u*.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like the infinitival construction according to § 114. *r*) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without וְ, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus, continued by means of a perfect, Is. 14, 17 שָׂם תֵּבֵל כַּמִּדְבָּר וְעָרָיו הָרַס *that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof*[1]; 43, 7. Ezek. 22, 3. Ps. 136, 13 sqq. Prov. 2, 17; by a perfect without *Wāw*, Gen. 49, 11; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is. 5, 23. 46, 6. Prov. 7, 8. Job 12, 17. 19 sqq. 24, 21; by an imperfect without *Wāw*, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Is. 5, 8. Prov. 2, 14. 19, 26; by an imperfect consecutive, Gen. 27, 33. 35, 3. 1 Sam. 2, 6. Jer. 13, 10 (after several participles); Ps. 18, 33. 136, 10 sq. *x*

C. The Government of the Verb.

§ 117. *The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.*

1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb[2]. In the absence of case-endings[3], this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֵת־ (אֶת, before *a*

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[1] On the parallelism between the *external* and *internal* members, which appears here and in many other examples of this kind, see the note on § 114. *r*.

[2] The verb in question may either have been originally transitive, or only have become transitive by a modification of its original meaning. Thus the vocalization shows that חָפֵץ (*to have pleasure*, usually with בְּ) *to desire*, מָלֵא (*to be full* of something, also transitive) *to fill*, were originally intransitive. Comp. also such cases as בָּכָה *to weep* (generally with אֶל־, עַל־ or לְ), but also *to bewail* with an accusative; יָשַׁב *to dwell* (usually with בְּ), but also *to inhabit* with an accusative (comp. further, letter *u* below).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בּוֹא *intrare*, also *aggredi*, יָצָא *egredi* (comp. § 116. *h* above), שׁוּב *redire*, Is. 52, 8, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בּוֹא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בּוֹא אֶל־ in prose).

[3] On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in *a*, cf. § 90. *c* above.

suffixes also אֹת, אוֹת)[1] prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi* is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, letter *c*), e. g. Gen. 4, 1 *and she bare* אֶת־קַיִן *Cain;* 6, 10. 1, 1 *God created* אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ *the heaven and the earth* (but 2, 4 אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם); 1, 25 *and God made* אֶת־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ *the beast of the earth;* 2, 24.

b Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex. 15, 2–18. Deut. 32. Jud. 5. 1 Sam. 2, &c.; on the other hand, it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (comp. § 2. *q*) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the אֵת would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed *before* the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names[2]. Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by אֵת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under letter *e* can be assigned

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[1] אֶת־ (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and אֵת (with a tone-long *ē*, אֵתֵּ֫ only in Job 41, 26), אֹת or אוֹת before the light suffixes according to § 103. *b*, Phoenician איתּ i. e. probably *iyyāth* (for the Phoenician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 sq.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed *t*, Arabic, before suffixes, *'iyyâ*, Aram. יָת, was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth;* on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אוֹת, Syriac *'āthā*, Arabic *'āyat, a sign*, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse, αὐτός.* [In later Assyrian the pronominal suffixes are attached to the substantive *at-tu, essence*, and the two together form an emphatic repetition of a preceding suffix, e. g. *zir-ya at-tū-a, my own race,* prop. *my race* (which is) *mine*, G.W.C.] In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֵת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ, αὐτόν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (comp. *αὐτὴν Χρυσηΐδα*, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם *τὸν οὐρανόν.*

[2] Thus, in Deut. 33, אֵת occurs only in verse 9 (twice with an object preceding the verb), in Gen. 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of אֵת in the Mêša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

for it; comp. Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 258 sqq., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים Gen. 6, 22 in the *Priestly Code*, beside כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּהוּ יְהוָה 7, 5 in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

c 2. As accusatives determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by כֹּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כֹּל includes a determinative sense, comp. e. g. Gen. 1, 21. 30. 8, 21. Deut. 2, 34. 2 Ki. 25, 9. אֶת־כֹּל is used absolutely in Gen. 9, 3, comp. 39, 23; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֶת־מִי *quem?* e. g. Is. 6, 8. 37, 23 and elsewhere, but never אֶת־מָה *quid?* so also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 3, or *id quod*, Gen. 9, 24 and elsewhere. Comp. also such examples as Jos. 2, 10. 1 Sam. 24, 19, where אֵת אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֵת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted (which according to § 126. *h* is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style); thus Lev. 26, 5. Is. 41, 7. 50, 4. Ezek. 13, 20. 43, 10. Prov. 13, 21 (where the צַדִּיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Job 13, 25; also Eccles. 7, 7 may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

d On the other hand אֵת occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 Sam. 24, 6 כָּזֶה is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 Sam. 4, 11 אִישׁ צַדִּיק refers to Ishbosheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); also in 13, 17 זֹאת refers to a definite person, and in 1 Ki. 6, 16 עֶשְׂרִים אַמָּה to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex. 21, 28 (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the אֶת־ is used in order to avoid the combination שׁוֹר אִישׁ (as in Num. 21, 9 to avoid the cacophony אִישׁ כִּי נָשַׁךְ הַנָּחָשׁ?); in Lev. 7, 8 and 20, 10 the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Num. 16, 15 אֶת־אַחַד מֵהֶם probably means *even a single one* (and then *eo ipso* a definite one) *of them*, as also in 1 Sam. 9, 3 אֶת־אַחַד מִהַנְּעָרִים may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gen. 21, 30 we should read אֶת־שֶׁבַע הַכְּבָשֹׂת as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; and in Ex. 2, 1 the original reading probably was אִשָּׁה מִבְּנוֹת לֵ; in Ex. 28, 9 read הַשֹּׁהַם with the Samaritan; in Lev. 20, 14 אֶת־אִשָּׁה is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת־אִמָּה; in 1 Sam. 26, 20 read נַפְשִׁי with the LXX for פַּרְעֹשׁ אֶחָד; in 2 Sam. 5, 24 read הָעֲרָה according to 1 Chron. 14, 15; in 2 Sam. 15, 16 the אֶת־ is incorrectly inserted from 20, 3, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 Sam. 18, 18 read הַמַּצֵּבָת, or omit both אֶת־ and אֲשֶׁר with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 Ki. 12, 31 and Est. 2, 3 omit אֶת־; in 2 Ki. 23, 20 probably אֶת־עַצְמוֹתָם is to be read; in 2 Ki. 25, 9 the text is obviously corrupt. In Ezek. 16, 32 אֶת־זָרִים might refer to *the strangers in question;* see however, Smend on the passage.

e 3. The pronominal object *must* be represented by אֵת with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (*a*) it precedes the verb, e. g. Num. 22, 33 אֹתְךָ הָרָגְתִּי *I had slain thee and saved her alive;* Gen. 7, 1. Lev. 22, 28. 1 Sam. 8, 7. Is. 43, 22. 57, 11. Jer. 4, 17. 22. 7, 19; (*b*) when a suffix is already

attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with וְ follows, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 25 וְהֶרְאַנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will show me it;* Ex. 17, 3 לְהָמִית אֹתִי *to kill us and our children;* Num. 16, 32. 1 Sam. 5, 11. 2 Sam. 14, 16 (but cf. also Deut. 11, 6. 15, 16, &c., and Driver on 1 Sam. 5, 10); (*c*) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113. *a* note; (*d*) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e. g. Gen. 41, 39, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e. g. Gen. 4, 15 לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ *lest one should smite him,* &c., where לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹתוֹ might also mean *lest he should smite.*

f 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (שָׁמַע) and *dicendi*, e. g. Gen. 9, 22, &c., וַיַּגֶּד *and he told* (it); also after נָתַן *to give*, Gen. 18, 7. 24, 11 and elsewhere, לָקַח *to take*, הֵבִיא *to bring*, שִׂים *to lay*, Gen. 9, 23 and elsewhere, מָצָא *to find*, Gen. 31, 33, and others. A personal object is omitted, e. g. in Gen. 12, 19. 24, 51 (after לָקַח).—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gen. 37, 17 שָׁמַעְתִּי אֹמְרִים[1] *I heard* them *saying;* perhaps, however, we should read שֹׁמְעִים with the Samaritan Pentateuch.

g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted (an elliptical expression); thus e. g. כָּרַת 1 Sam. 20, 16 and elsewhere (see the Lexicon) stands for כָּרַת בְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָטַר *to keep* (sc. אַף *anger*) equivalent to *to be resentful*, Ps. 103, 9 and elsewhere; so also שָׁמַר Jer. 3, 5 (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא קוֹל *to lift up the voice*, Is. 3, 7; נָשָׂא לְ for נָשָׂא עָוֹן לְ *to take away any one's sin* (to forgive), Gen. 18, 24. 26. Is. 2, 9; שָׁלַח *to put forth* (sc. יָד *the hand*) equivalent to *to reach after something*, 2 Sam. 6, 6. Ps. 18, 17.

h 6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or condition in which the object is perceived, e. g. Num. 11, 10 וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הָעָם בֹּכֶה *and Moses heard the people weeping;* Gen. 7, 1 אֹתְךָ רָאִיתִי צַדִּיק *thee have I seen righteous.* Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה *to see*, e. g. Gen. 1, 4 *and God saw the light, that it was good;* Gen. 6, 2. 12, 14. 13, 10. 49, 15. Ex. 2, 2. Ps. 25, 19. Prov. 23, 31. Job 22, 12. Eccles. 2, 24. 8, 17; so with יָדַע *to know*, Ex. 32, 22. 2 Sam. 3, 25. 17, 8 (with two objects); 1 Ki. 5, 17.

i 7. In certain instances אֵת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantival meaning of the אֵת, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אֵת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אֵת generally as a defining particle

[1] According to the ordinary rules of syntax (comp. § 116. *t*) we should translate, *I heard men who said*, &c.

irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna[1] (see above, § 3. *a*) אֹתוֹ and אֹתָהּ are prefixed to a nominative even without any special emphasis.

k Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which את is not the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on את *with*, comp. § 103. *a*), e. g. Is. 57, 15. 1 Sam. 17, 34 (וְאֶת־הַדֹּוב *and that, with a bear*; אֶת־ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanted); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121. *c*) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos. 22, 17 and Neh. 9, 32, see below, letter *z*. In Ezek. 43, 17 סָבִיב *about* governs like a verb, being followed by אוֹתָהּ.

l Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in the accusative (Ezek. 14, 22. Hag. 2, 5. Zech, 8, 17) or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Num. 3, 26 (the verbal idea contained in ומשמרת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos. 17, 11 ויהי לְ implies *it was given up* or *they gave him*; 1 Sam. 26, 16 *see, where* is equivalent to *search now for*; in 2 Sam. 11, 25 אל־ירע בעיניך is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*[2]; Jer. 36, 33 *and* he had *the brazier before him*; in Eccles. 4, 3 a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אֵת אֲשֶׁר. On Jos. 22, 17. Neh. 9, 32, see below, letter *aa*.—Aposiopesis occurs in Deut. 11, 2 *for not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zech. 7, 7, where either שְׁמַעְתֶּם or תִּשְׁמְעוּ (תֵּעָשׂוּ) is to be supplied.

m Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages[3] there still remain the following examples, in which אֶת־ in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Num. 3, 46. 5, 10. 35, 6. Jud. 20, 44. 46. Ezek. 17, 21. 20, 16. 35, 10. 44, 3. Neh. 9, 19. 34. Dan. 9, 13. 2 Chron. 31, 17.—In Ezek. 47, 17–19 (comp. also 43, 7) it is easy to emend זֹאת for אֶת־, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have ταῦτα only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than את; consequently in all these passages את must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43, 7 ἑώρακας), and 47, 17 sqq. as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

n 8. Among the solecisms of a later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes

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[1] Comp. Weiss, משפט לשון המשנה (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

[2] So also in 1 Sam. 20, 13 the Qal (ייטב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'îl.

[3] Thus 1 Sam. 26, 10, where וְאֵי is to be read for וְאֶת; 1 Ki. 11, 25, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 Ki. 6, 5 the את is probably derived from a text which read the Hiph'îl instead of נָפַל. In Jer. 23, 33 instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמַּשָּׂא *ye are the burden*. In Ezek. 10, 22 מַרְאֵיהֶם וְאוֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37, 19 read with Hitzig אֶל־ for את; in Hag. 2, 17 read with the LXX שְׁבֶכֶם for אתכם.

in Ethiopic[1] and very commonly in Aramaic[2]. Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אָכַל Lam. 4, 5, אֹפֵף Num. 10, 25, זָקֵף Ps. 145, 14 (but cf. 146, 8), צָרַר Num. 25, 18, הִשְׁנִיא and שָׁטַח Job 12, 23; *before* the participle Is. 11, 9.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Job 5, 2 (comp. also Dan. 11, 38); also *after* אָהַב Lev. 19, 18. 34; הֵאֱרִיךְ Ps. 129, 3; הִבְהִיל Ezra 8, 24. 2 Chron. 25, 10; הֵבִין Job 9, 11; בֵּרַךְ 1 Chron. 29, 20 (immediately before with an accusative); הִגְלָה 1 Chron. 5, 26; דָּרַשׁ Ezra 6, 21. 1 Chron. 22, 19. 2 Chron. 17, 13; הִלֵּל 1 Chron. 16, 36. 2 Chron. 5, 13; הָרַג 2 Sam. 3, 30. Ps. 135, 11 (verse 10 with accusative), 136, 19; חָבַשׁ (*to bind up*) Is. 61, 1 (Ezek. 34, 4 *before* the verb); יָדַע Ps. 69, 6; לָקַח Jer. 40, 2; הִמְלִיךְ and מָשַׁח 1 Chron. 29, 22; נָהַל 2 Chron. 28, 15; סָמַךְ Ps. 145, 14; עָזַב 1 Chron. 16, 37; הֶעֱלָה Ezek. 26, 3; פִּתַּח Ps. 116, 16; רָדַף Job 19, 28; הִצְדִּיק Is. 53, 11; שָׂבַר 2 Chron. 24, 12 (previously accusatives); שִׂים 1 Sam. 22, 7 (but probably וְכִלְכֶּם is to be read); הֵשִׁיב (in the connexion הֵשִׁיב דָּבָר לְ) 2 Chron. 10, 6 (but verse 9 and 1 Ki. 12, 9 with an accusative); שִׁחֵת Num. 32, 15. 1 Sam. 23, 10; שִׁית Ps. 73, 18; שָׁלַח Ezra 8, 16. 2 Chron. 17, 7; שָׁמַר 2 Chron. 5, 11.

o 9. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e. g. Is. 14, 17 אֲסִירָיו לֹא־פָתַח בֵּיתָה *his prisoners he let not loose* nor sent them back *to their home*. Comp. Ps. 74, 15 and on this *constructio praegnans* in general, see § 119. *ff*.

p **2.** With the proper accusatives of the object may also be classed what is called the *internal* or *absolute object* (also named *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*), i. e. the addition of an object in the form of a noun derived from the same stem[3], e. g. Ps. 14, 5 פָּחֲדוּ פָּחַד *they feared a fear* (i. e. they were in great fear) Prov. 15, 27; also with the object preceding, e. g. Lam. 1, 8 חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַם *Jerusalem hath sinned a sin;* with a double accusative (see below, letter *cc*), e. g. 1 Ki. 1, 12 אִיעָצְךָ נָא עֵצָה *let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel;* 1 Sam. 1, 6[4].

q Rem. (*a*) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive

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[1] Dillmann, *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

[2] With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl. Aram.*, p. 151 sq. In other ways, also, a tendency may be observed in later Hebrew to make use of the looser connexion by means of prepositions instead of the closer subordination of the noun in the accusative.

[3] On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113. *w*.

[4] Comp. *βουλὰς βουλεύειν*, Il. x. 147.

absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man*[1]*!* Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e. g. Gen. 27, 34 וַיִּצְעַק צְעָקָה גְּדֹלָה וּמָרָה עַד־מְאֹד *he cried* (with) *an exceeding great and bitter cry;* comp. the Greek *νοσεῖν νόσον κακήν*, *ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Mat. 2, 10); *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere*, &c.

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex. 22, 5. 2 Sam. 12, 16. Is. 42, 17. Ezek. 26, 15. Zech. 1, 2. Prov. 21, 26; with an intensifying attribute, Gen. 27, 33. Ex. 32, 31. Jud. 15, 8. 2 Sam. 13, 36. 1 Ki. 1, 40 (comp. Jon. 4, 6. 1 Chron. 29, 9); Is. 21, 7. 45, 17. Jon. 1, 10. Zech. 1, 14. 8, 2 *a*. Dan. 11, 3; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gen. 12, 17. 2 Sam. 13, 15; comp. also Is. 14, 6. Jon. 4, 1.—An internal object with an attribute is found *before* the verb, in Jer. 14, 17. Zech. 1, 15 (comp. also Gen. 30, 8. Jer. 22, 19. 30, 14. Ps. 139, 22). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Zech. 8, 2.

(*b*) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include *r* cases in which the denominative verb is connected with the noun from which it is derived, e. g. Gen. 1, 11. 9, 14. 11, 3. 37, 7. Ezek. 18, 2. Ps. 144, 6, probably also Mic. 2, 4, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e. g. Gen. 30, 37. Num. 25, 11. 2 Ki. 4, 13. 13, 14. Is. 45, 17. Lam. 3, 58[2], and, determinate at least in sense, Jer. 22, 16; or precedes it as in 2 Ki. 2, 16. Is. 8, 12. 62, 5. Zech. 3, 7; comp. also Ex. 3, 9. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any external *s* act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated above, letter *p*, which also, according to letter *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144. *l*.

Examples of the accusative following the verb are וְאֶזְעַק קוֹל־גָּדוֹל *and I cried* *t* *a loud voice* i. e. with a loud voice, Ezek. 11, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 23 (after the proper

[1] The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the *Qorân* usually explain such cases by prefixing *and what kind of . . .!* see § 125. *b*.

[2] Also in Ps. 13, 4 *lest I sleep the* sleep of *death*, הַמָּוֶת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת (comp. Jer. 51, 39), as צְדָקוֹת Is. 33, 15 for דֶּרֶךְ צְדָקוֹת.

object, Deut. 5, 19. 1 Ki. 8, 55); Ps. 109, 2 *they have spoken unto me* לְשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר *a tongue of deceit*, i. e. with a lying tongue; Prov. 10, 4 *he* becometh *poor* עֹשֶׂה כַף־רְמִיָּה *dealing a slack hand*, i. e. who dealeth with a slack hand; comp. the German *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice, *eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen*, to smite a trusty sword, *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates (i. e. to skate), and our *to write a good hand, to play ball*, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שִׂפְתֵי רְנָנוֹת יְהַלֶּל־פִּי *my mouth shall praise* (*thee*) with *joyful lips*, Ps. 63, 6; comp. Ps. 12, 3, where a *casus instrumenti* with בְּ follows the accusative.

u **4.** Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see above, letter *a*, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; comp. e. g. רִיב *to strive*, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is. 1, 17, &c.; elsewhere with לְ of the person for whom one strives); יָכֹל absolutely *to be able*, with an accusative *to prevail over* any one; חָפֵץ *to be inclined* and רָצָה *to have pleasure* (usually with בְּ), with an accusative *to wish for some one* or *something*; שָׂכַב *cubare*, then in the sense of *concumbere*, originally always joined with עִם *cum*, but in later Hebrew also with the accusative, Gen. 34, 2, equivalent to *comprimere* (*feminam*), &c.

v Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally *transitive*, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear *intransitive*[1]. In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e. g. perhaps לָבַשׁ *to be clothed* along with לָבַשׁ *to put on* (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, letter *y*.

w 2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident when even reflexive conjugations (*Niph'al, Hithpa'ēl*, &c.) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 3); e. g. נִבָּא *to prophesy*, Jer. 25, 13; נָסַב (prop. *to put oneself round*) *to surround*, Jud. 19, 22; נִלְחַם *to fight*, Ps. 109, 3 (where, however, the *Qal* וַיִּלָּחֲמוּנִי should be read; comp. Ps. 35, 1); also הִתְגַּלַּח *to shave* (something) *for oneself*, Num. 6, 19; הִתְנַחֵל

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[1] Thus e. g. עָנָה *to reply to* (ἀμείβεσθαί τινα), *to answer any one*; צִוָּה *to command* (iubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קִוָּה (also with לְ) *to wait for any one* (to expect any one); בִּשֵּׂר *to bring glad tidings to any one* (see the Lexicon); נָאַף and אִוֶּף *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַד *to serve* (colere); עָרַב *to become surety for . . .*, and many others.

to take some one *for oneself as a possession*, Is. 14, 2; הִתְנַכֵּל *to make* some one *an object of craft*, Gen. 37, 18; הִתְנַצֵּל *to strip* a thing *off oneself*, Ex. 33, 6; הִתְעַבֵּר *to bring on oneself the anger* of any one, *to anger* him; הִתְבּוֹנֵן *to consider* something, Job 37, 14. Cf. § 54. *f*.

x 3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of a verb (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by לְ) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e. g. Zech. 7, 5 הֲצוֹם צַמְתֶּנִי אָנִי *did ye fast at all unto me, even to me?* as though to say, have ye *be-fasted* me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Job 31, 18 גִּדְּלַנִי כְאָב *he* (the orphan) *grew up to me as to a father;* comp. Is. 27, 4. 65, 5. Jer. 31, 3, and in Aramaic Dan. 5, 6; but אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב נְתַתָּנִי Jos. 15, 19 is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of *giving*. In Is. 44, 21, instead of the Niph'al, read תִּנָּשֵׁנִי; in Ezek. 29, 3 either עָשִׂיתִי is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יְאֹרִי) with Smend; in Ps. 42, 5 אֶדַּדֵּה or אֲדַדֵּם.

y 4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to letter *v* above, are regarded as *transitive*, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—

(*a*) Verba *induendi* and *exuendi*, as לָבַשׁ *to put on*, פָּשַׁט *to put off* a garment, עָדָה *to put on* ornaments, *to adorn oneself with* (cf. also מְשֻׁבָּצִים זָהָב *enclosed in gold*, Ex. 28, 20). Also in poetic expressions such as Ps. 65, 14 לָבְשׁוּ כָרִים הַצֹּאן *the pastures are clothed with flocks*, comp. Ps. 109, 29; 104, 2 (עָטָה); 65, 14 *b* (עָטַף), &c.[1]

z (*b*) Verba *copiae* and *inopiae* (also called verba *abundandi* and *deficiendi*), as מָלֵא *to be full* of something, Ex. 8, 17; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אֶת־, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gen. 6, 13; with a personal object, Ex. 15, 9 *my lust shall be satisfied upon them;* with an accusative *preceding* the verb for the sake of emphasis, e. g. Is. 1, 15 *your hands* דָּמִים מָלְאוּ *are full of blood*, comp. Is. 22, 2; so also the *Niph.* נִמְלָא *to fill oneself with* something, e. g. Gen. 6, 11. Ex. 1, 7 (where the object is connected by את); Is. 2, 7 sq. 6, 4. Prov. 3, 10; נִזְרַע *to be fructified with*, Num. 5, 28; שָׁרַץ *to swarm with*, Gen. 1, 20. 21. Ex. 7, 28; שָׂבַע (שָׂבֵעַ) *to be full of*, Is. 1, 11. Joel 2, 19. Prov. 12, 11; גָּבַר *to become strong, to wax mighty in* something, Job 21, 7; פָּרַץ *to overflow with* something, Prov. 3, 10 (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. *to descend*, poetically also *to pour down, to overflow with* something (comp. in Greek προρρεῖν ὕδωρ, δάκρυα στάζειν), e. g. Lam. 3, 48 פַּלְגֵי מַיִם תֵּרַד עֵינִי *mine eye runneth down with rivers of water;* 1, 16. Jer. 9, 17. 13, 17. Ps. 119, 136; so also הָלַךְ *to run over with, to flow with*, Joel 4, 18; נָזַל *to gush out with*, Jer. 9, 17; נָטַף *to drop, to overflow with*, Jud. 5, 4. Joel 4, 18 *a;* פָּרַח *to break forth*, Ex. 9, 9; שָׁטַף *to overflow, to pour forth*, but also (transitively) *to overflow with*, Is. 10, 22; נוּב *to bud with*, Prov. 10, 31; so perhaps also עָבַר *to pass over, to overflow with*,

[1] From the idea of *covering oneself with* something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex. 30, 20 יִרְחֲצוּ מַיִם *they shall wash themselves with water;* but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בַּמַּיִם.

Jer. 5, 28; יָצָא *to go forth* with, Amos 5, 3.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is. 5, 6, where it is said of a vineyard וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת *but it shall come up* (it shall be overgrown) *with briers and thorns;* comp. Prov. 24, 31, and still more boldly, Is. 34, 13.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסֵר *to be in want of, to lack*, Gen. 18, 28; שָׁכַל *to be bereaved of* (as though it were *to lose*), Gen. 27, 45.—In Jos. 22, 17 even הַמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. *was there too little for us of . . .?*) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (=had we too little of . . .?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh. 9, 32.

bb (*c*) Several verbs of *dwelling;* the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing *at* which or *with* which any one tarries; thus Gen. 4, 20 after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118. *g;* Jud. 5, 17. Is. 33, 14 after גּוּר; Is. 33, 16 with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as Ps. 5, 5. 120, 5 after גּוּר.

cc **5.** *Two accusatives* (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(*a*) The causative conjugations (*Pi'ēl, Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e. g. כִּלְכֵּל Gen. 47, 12 and elsewhere) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (comp. above, letters *a* and *u*, and also *y*, *z*), e. g. Ex. 33, 18 הַרְאֵנִי נָא אֶת־כְּבֹדֶךָ *show me, I pray thee, thy glory.* Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ *to cause* some one *to know* something; לִמֵּד *docere aliquem aliquid*, &c.; comp. further, Gen. 41, 42 וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ בִּגְדֵי־שֵׁשׁ *and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen* (*he arrayed him in vestures*, &c.); comp. in the opposite sense, Gen. 37, 23 (both accusatives after הַפְּשִׁיט introduced by את); so with מִלֵּא *to fill, to fill up* with something, Gen. 21, 19. 26, 15. Ex. 28, 3; אָזַר *to gird* some one with something, Ps. 18, 33; עִטֵּר *to crown*, Ps. 8, 6 and elsewhere; חִסֵּר *to cause* some one *to lack* something, Ps. 8, 6; הֶאֱכִיל *to feed* some one with something, Ex. 16, 32; הִשְׁקָה *to make* some one *drink* something, Gen. 19, 32 sqq.

dd (*b*) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (*α*) Verbs which express *covering, clothing, overlaying*, חָגַר Ex. 29, 9, צָפָה Ex. 26, 29 and elsewhere, טוּחַ Ezek. 13, 10 sqq., עָטַר Ps. 5, 13; comp. also רָגַם אֶבֶן Jos. 7, 25 and elsewhere; hence also verbs which express *sowing* (זָרַע Jud. 9, 45. Is. 17, 10. 30, 23), *planting* (Is. 5, 2), *anointing* (Ps. 45, 8) *with* anything.

ff (*β*) Expressions of *giving*, thus נָתַן Jos. 15, 19 where the accusative of the thing precedes; *endowing*, זָבַד Gen. 30, 20; and its opposite *taking away*, as קָבַע Prov. 22, 23; בֵּרַךְ *to bless some one with something*, Gen. 49, 25. Deut. 15, 14

to give graciously, חָנַן Gen. 33, 5; *to sustain* (i. e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) *with* anything, e. g. Gen. 27, 37. Ps. 51, 14 (סָמַךְ); Jud. 19, 5 (עָזַר); *to do something to one,* גָּמַל Gen. 50, 15. 17. 1 Sam. 24, 18; comp. also קִדֵּם *to come to meet any one with* something, Ps. 21, 4, שִׁלַּם *to repay some one* with something (with two accusatives, Ps. 35, 12. Prov. 13, 21), and for the accusative of the person comp. εὖ, κακῶς πράττειν τινά. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as *they hunt every man his brother with a net,* Mic. 7, 2; *to shoot at one with arrows,* Ps. 64, 8 (though this is against the accents), &c.

(γ) Expressions of *asking* some one *for* something, *desiring* something *from* some one (שָׁאַל Deut. 14, 26. Ps. 137, 3); *answering* any one anything (עָנָה Mic. 6, 5 and elsewhere; comp. in the other conjugations הֵשִׁיב דָּבָר prop. *verbum reddere* with an accusative of the person, 1 Ki. 12, 6 and elsewhere, also in the sense of *announcing;* sometimes also הִגִּיד *to declare* something *to* some one, Job 26, 4 and elsewhere, for הִגִּיד לְ); צִוָּה *to enjoin a person* something, Ex. 34, 32. Deut. 1, 18. 32, 46. Jer. 7, 23. *gg*

(δ) Expressions which mean *to make, to build, to form something out of* something; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e. g. Gen. 2, 7 וַיִּיצֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה *and Yahweh God formed man of the dust of the ground;* so with יָצַר also in 1 Ki. 7, 15; further Ex. 38, 3 כָּל־כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת *all the vessels thereof made he of brass* (for another explanation of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת, linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, letter *ii* with *kk*); comp. Ex. 25, 18. 28. 26, 1. 14 sq. 29. 27, 1. 36, 8. 1 Ki. 7, 27; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex. 25, 29. 29, 2. Deut. 27, 6 אַבְנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת־מִזְבַּח יְהוָה *of unhewn stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord.* *hh*

(*c*) Verbs which express *making, preparing, forming into* anything, along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e. g. Gen. 27, 9 אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מַטְעַמִּים *I will make them* (the kids) into *savoury meat;* comp. Gen. 6, 14. 16. Ex. 26, 1 *b.* 30, 25. 32, 4. Is. 44, 15. Hos. 8, 4. 1 Ki. 18, 32 וַיִּבֶן אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *and he built the stones* (into) *an altar;* so also אָפָה, with two accusatives, *to bake* something *into* something, Ex. 12, 39. Lev. 25, 4; שִׂים (prop. *to set up for* something, comp. Gen. 27, 37. 28, 18. Ps. 39, 9, and הֵרִים Gen. 31, 45) *to change into* something, Jos. 8, 28. Is. 50, 2. 51, 10. Mic. 1, 7. 4, 13[1]; with two accusatives of the person (*to appoint, promote* any one to the position of a . . .), Is. 3, 7; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gen. 17, 5, and שִׁית 1 Ki. 11, 34; as a rule, however, the description of the position, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ *to,* § 119. *t;* also *ii*

[1 This occurs also in Syriac, see Knös, *Chrest.*, p. 87, 15; and still more extensively in such languages as the Dyak. The Semitic languages dislike adjectival formations to indicate the material.—G. W. C.]

שִׁית *to make a thing so and so* (Is. 5, 6. 26, 1; with a personal object, Ps. 21, 7[1]. 91, 9); הֶחְשִׁיךְ *to make dark*, Am. 5, 8. Of the same class also are instances like Job 28, 2 אֶבֶן יָצוּק נְחוּשָׁה *a stone they smelt into brass;* 1 Ki. 11, 30 וַיִּקְרָעֵהָ שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר קְרָעִים *and rent it* (the garment) *into twelve pieces;* cf. Is. 37, 26, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁאוֹת *to lay waste*. On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע *to know* something *to be* something, Eccles. 7, 25; רָאָה *to see, find to be*, Gen. 7, 1; חָשַׁב *to esteem* one *to be* something, Is. 53, 4, elsewhere always construed with לְ or כְּ), cf. letter *h*.

kk Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under letter *hh;* thus it is possible, e. g. in 1 Ki. 18, 32, by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar,* to explain כְּמוֹבֵחַ as the nearer object and אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Deut. 27, 6. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex. 20, 25 *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) גָּזִית as *hewn stones*, comp. also Gen. 1, 27. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 Ki. 18, 32 the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Deut. 27, 6 the case is reversed.

ll (*d*) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action[2], e. g. Ps. 3, 8 *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* לֶחִי (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone;* comp. Gen. 37, 21 *let us not smite him* נֶפֶשׁ in *the life*, i. e. let us not kill him; Deut. 22, 26. 2 Sam. 3, 27; also with שׂוּף Gen. 3, 15; with רָעָה Jer. 2, 16; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Deut. 33, 11 (with מָחַץ).

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[1] Comp. the very pregnant expression of the same character in Ps. 21, 13 כִּי תְשִׁיתֵמוֹ שֶׁכֶם *for thou shalt make them* (as) *a neck*, i. e. *thou shalt cause them to turn their necks* (backs) *to me;* similarly Ps. 18, 41 (2 Sam. 22, 41. Ex. 23, 27); אֹיְבַי נָתַתָּה לִּי עֹרֶף *thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back;* comp. Jer. 18, 17.

[2] Analogous to this is the *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος* in Greek epic poetry, e. g. *ποιόν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ὀδόντων*.

§ 118. *The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.*

1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place*, *time*, *measure*, *cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it. *a*

Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives*, is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (אֵת) may be prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of the *casus loci* a termination (ה֫_) is employed, in which (according to § 90. *c*) the old accusatival ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition. *b*

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e. g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*. *c*

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. loci*), either (*a*) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion[1], or (*b*) in answer to the question *where?* after verbs of *being*, *dwelling*, *resting*, &c. (but also after transitive verbs, see the examples), or finally (*c*) to define more precisely the *extent* in space, in answer to the question *how far? how high? how much?* &c. *d*

Instead of the simple accusative, the locative (see above, § 90. *c*)[2] is frequently found in the cases mentioned under letter *f* (sometimes also in those under letter *g*) or the preposition אֶל־[3], especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or בְּ, usually to express being *at* a place. *e*

Examples of (*a*): נֵצְאָה הַשָּׂדֶה *let us go out into the field*, 1 Sam. 20, 11; comp. Gen. 27, 3. 31, 4. Job 29, 7; לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ *to go to Tarshish*, 2 Chron. 20, 36; *f*

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[1] So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e. g. Il. i. 317 *κνίσσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἷκεν*: in Latin, e. g. *rus ire*, *Romam proficisci*.

[2] Hence e. g. in 1 Sam. 9, 26 the Masora requires הַגָּגָה instead of the *K'eth.* הַגַּג.

[3] So in Jud. 19, 18 for אֶת־בֵּית י׳ the better reading is אֶל־ב׳.

comp. Gen. 10, 11. 13, 9. 24, 27. 26, 33. 31, 21. Ex. 4, 9. 17, 10. Jud. 1, 26. 2 Ki. 11, 19. Nah. 1, 8 (?). Ps. 134, 2; with נָתַן Jos. 6, 24; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 5, 8), 1 Ki. 2, 26. Is. 23, 12. Jer. 2, 10. 20, 6. 32, 5; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggredi* equivalent to בּוֹא עַל־, comp. § 117. *a*, note 2) the *personal* aim also is poetically added in the accusative, Ezek. 32, 11. 38, 11. Prov. 10, 24. 28, 22. Job 15, 21. 20, 22; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (comp. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Num. 10, 36 (where שׁוּב can hardly be transitive); Jud. 11, 29. 1 Sam. 13, 20.—Finally, comp. also the use of אֲשֶׁר for שָׁמָּה . . . אֲשֶׁר *whither*, Num. 13, 27.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e. g. Gen. 12, 15.

g Examples of (*b*): Gen. 38, 11 *remain a widow* בֵּית אָבִיךְ *in thy father's house*; comp. Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 15. 2 Sam. 2, 32. Is. 3, 6. Hos. 12, 5. Mic. 6, 10. 2 Chron. 33, 20; פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל *in the tent door*, Gen. 18, 1. 10. 19, 11 and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 Sam. 2, 29, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. Is. 16, 2. 2 Chron. 33, 20) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with בְּ for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בְּבֵ׳ and בְּפֵ׳; comp., moreover, Gen. 2, 14. 4, 16. Ex. 18, 5. Lev. 6, 8 (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחָה Ex. 29, 13 &c.); Deut. 1, 2. 19[1]. 2 Sam. 17, 26. 1 Ki. 7, 8. Prov. 8, 3. 9, 14. On Is. 1, 30 see § 116. *i*; on יָשַׁב, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117. *bb*. On the other hand, in Deut. 6, 3, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אֶרֶץ.

h Examples of (*c*): Gen. 7, 20 *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gen. 31, 23. 41, 40 רַק הַכִּסֵּא אֶגְדַּל מִמֶּךָּ *only in the throne will I be greater than thou*; Deut. 1, 19 *we went* (through) *all that great and terrible wilderness*; comp. Job 29, 3. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex. 16, 16 (*according to the number of your persons*, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפַּר־ is used); 1 Sam. 6, 4 (with the accus. preceding); 6, 18. 2 Sam. 21, 20. Job 1, 5.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 Sam. 14, 26.

i **3.** The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time* (*accus. temporis*), (*a*) in answer to the question *when?* e. g. הַיּוֹם *the day*, i. e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i. e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב *at evening*, לַיְלָה *noctu*, בֹּקֶר *in the morning*, *early*, Ps. 5, 4 and elsewhere, צָהֳרַיִם *at noonday*, Ps. 91, 6; comp. also יוֹם אֶחָד *on one and the same day*, Gen. 27, 45; also שְׁנָא *in sleep*, Ps. 127, 2; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעֹרִים (*Qᵉrê* בְּתְּ׳) *at the beginning of barley harvest*, 2 Sam. 21, 9; in stating a date, Gen. 11, 10. 14, 4 *in the thirteenth year*.

k (*b*) In answer to the question *how long?* e. g. Gen. 3, 14 and

[1] In Ps. 2, 12 דֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (*on the way*), but as an *accus. of respect* (*with regard to the way*); see below, letter *m*.

elsewhere, כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *all the days of thy life;* 7, 4 *forty days and forty nights;* 7, 24. 14, 4. 15, 13. 21, 34. 29, 18. Ex. 20, 9 (*for six days*); 23, 15. 31, 17; עוֹלָמִים *for ever,* 1 Ki. 8, 13; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex. 13, 7 אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים *throughout the seven days* in question, mentioned immediately before; comp. Jud. 14, 17. Deut. 9, 25.

l **4.** The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e. g. Is. 7, 25 *thou shalt not come thither* יִרְאַת שָׁמִיר *for fear of briers.*

m **5.** Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or condition takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in, with, as, in the form* or *manner of . . ., according to, in relation to, with regard to.* For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

n (*a*) Adjectives expressing *condition*, placed *after* the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external state, e. g. Is. 20, 2 *walking* עָרוֹם וְיָחֵף *naked and barefoot;* comp. verse 3. 8, 21. Gen. 15, 2. 33, 18 (שָׁלֵם). Jud. 8, 4. Mic. 1, 8. Ps. 15, 2 (unless תָּמִים be a substantive and directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = *he that walketh* in *uprightness*); 107, 5. Job 30, 28; after an accusative, e. g. Deut. 15, 18; to specify some mental state, e. g. Gen. 37, 35 (אָבֵל).—*Before* the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am. 2, 16. Job 1, 21. Eccles. 5, 14; Lev. 20, 20. Job 19, 25. 27, 19. 31, 26 (unless יָקָר be a substantive); Ruth 1, 21 (מְלֵאָה parallel with the adverb רֵיקָם). In Mic. 2, 7 the text is clearly corrupt.

o Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing condition, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e. g. Job 24, 10 עָרוֹם הָלְכוּ *naked,* i. e. in the condition of one naked, *they go about;* comp. verse 7; in 12, 17 and Is. 20, 4 the singular occurs *after* a plural object. This construction clearly proves that the term expressing the condition is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

p (*b*) Participles, again either *after* the verb, Gen. 49, 11. Num. 16, 27. 1 Sam. 2, 18. Jer. 2, 27. 43, 2. Ps. 7, 3. Job 24, 5. Cant. 2, 8, or *before* it, Ex. 3, 18. Is. 57, 19. Ezek. 36, 35. Ps. 56, 2. 92, 14. Prov. 20, 14; comp. also the substantival use of the participles Niph'al נוֹרָאוֹת *in a fearful manner* (Ps. 139, 14) and נִפְלָאוֹת *in a wonderful manner,* Job 37, 5. Dan. 8, 24.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מִתְהַלֵּךְ Gen. 3, 8 (comp. also בָּאָה 1 Ki. 14, 6), are to be regarded as expressing a condition and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 Sam. 13, 20. 1 Ki. 7, 7 and Hab. 2, 10 the *explicative Wāw* (equivalent to the German *und zwar*) is also prefixed to the participle. In Ps. 69, 4 for מְיַחֵל read מִיַּחֵל.

q (*c*) Substantives[1] in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external

[1] Comp. above, § 100. *c*, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113. *h* and *k* on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

condition, e.g. Mic. 2, 3 וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוֹמָה *neither shall ye walk haughtily* (as opposed to שְׁחוֹחַ Is. 60, 14); Lev. 6, 9 (accus. before the verb = as *unleavened cakes*), Deut. 2, 9. 4, 11. Jud. 5, 21. Is. 57, 2. Prov. 7, 10. Job 31, 26. Lam. 1, 9; as stating the position of a disease, 1 Ki. 15, 23 *he was diseased* אֶת־רַגְלָיו in *his feet* (2 Chron. 16, 12 בְּרַגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117. *ll* and § 121. *d* (*d*); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral condition, e.g. Num. 32, 14. Jos. 9, 2 (פֶּה אֶחָד *with one accord*, 1 Ki. 22, 13; comp. Ex. 24, 3. Zeph. 3, 9), 1 Sam. 15, 32. 2 Sam. 23, 3. Jer. 31, 7. Hos. 12, 15. 14, 5. Ps. 56, 3. 58, 2. 75, 3. Prov. 31, 9. Job 16, 9. Lam. 1, 9; Lev. 19, 16, &c., in the expression הָלַךְ רָכִיל *to go up and down* as *a tale-bearer;* also בֶּטַח *unawares*, Gen. 34, 25. Ezek. 30, 9; מֵישָׁרִים *uprightly*, Ps. 58, 2. 75, 3 (in both places *before* the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 Sam. 2, 33 (if the text be right) יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים *they shall die* as *men*, i.e. when they be men; comp. 1 Sam. 2, 18 (נַעַר). Is. 65, 20, and Gen. 15, 16; as specifying the number more accurately, e.g. Jer. 13, 19 שְׁלוֹמִים *wholly;* comp. Deut. 4, 27. 2 Ki. 5, 2. Jer. 31, 8; as stating the consequence of the action, Lev. 15, 18, &c.

r The description of the external or internal condition may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is. 21, 8 וַיִּקְרָא אַרְיֵה *and he cried* as *a lion;* comp. Ps. 22, 14. Is. 22, 18 (כַּדּוּר *like a ball*); Is. 24, 22. Zech. 2, 8. Ps. 11, 1 (unless צִפּוֹר be vocative); 58, 9 *b* (unless the force of the preceding כְּ is carried on, as in Ps. 90, 4); Ps. 144, 12. Job 24, 5 (פֶּרָאִים, before the verb); 41, 7 *shut up together* as with *a close seal*[1].

s **6.** To the expressions describing condition belong finally those nouns which are introduced by the comparative particle כְּ[2], since the כְּ is to be regarded as originally a substantive[3] in the sense of *amount, kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that כְּ is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the כְּ. From this, which is the proper meaning of the כְּ, may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English

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[1] It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurtata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle כְּ, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see letter *s*), has actually dropped out.

[2] On the use of כְּ as a prefix, cf. § 102. *c*.

[3] Schwabe (כְּ *nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt*, Halle, 1883) has recently again contested this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places כְּ as a preposition on the same footing as בְּ and לְ, and believes it to be probably connected with the stem כוּן as well as with כִּי and כֵּן. The above view of כְּ as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On כְּ in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

can only be rendered by the help of prepositions[1]. Thus the comparison may refer to—

(*a*) The *place*, e.g. Is. 5, 17 כִּדְבָרָם *after the manner of*, i.e. *as in their pasture*; 23, 15 *as* (it is said) *in the song of the harlot*; 28, 21. 29, 7 כַּחֲלוֹם *as in a dream*. *t*

(*b*) The *time*, especially in the connexion כְּיוֹם *after the manner of the day*, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is. 9, 3. Hos. 2, 5; כִּימֵי *as in the days* . . ., Is. 51, 9. Hos. 2, 17. 9, 9. 12, 10. Am. 9, 11; comp., moreover, Lev. 22, 13. Is. 17, 6. Job 5, 14. 29, 2, and the expressions כְּיוֹם בְּיוֹם *as day by day* = *as in former days*, 1 Sam. 18, 10; כְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם *as at other times*, 1 Sam. 3, 10, &c.; כְּשָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *as in former years*, 2 Ki. 17, 4; cf. § 123. *c*. Of a different character is the use of כְּ as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gen. 18, 10 כָּעֵת חַיָּה *at this time* (not *about the time*), when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year; כָּעֵת מָחָר *to-morrow at this time*; comp. Is. 23, 5, and the frequent connexion of כְּ with the infinitive construct to express a definite time, Gen. 12, 14. 27, 34. Ex. 9, 29, &c. *u*

(*c*) The *person*, e.g. Gen. 34, 31 *should he deal with our sister as* with *a harlot?* *v*

(*d*) The *thing*, e.g. Is. 10, 14. Ps. 33, 7. Job 28, 5 כָּמוֹ־אֵשׁ *as a fire*, i.e. *as it were by fire* (comp. Is. 1, 25 כַּבֹּר *as* with *lye*); Job 29, 23 כַּמָּטָר *as* for *the rain* (they waited for me); Job 38, 14 (*as* in *a garment*); 38, 30 כְּאֶבֶן *as* to *stone* (the waters are contracted in freezing). *w*

Rem. According to the earlier grammarians, כְּ is sometimes used pleonastically, i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lev. 14, 35 *as it were*, i.e. *something like*), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh. 7, 2 *for he was* כְּאִישׁ אֱמֶת *a faithful man*; cf. 1 Sam. 20, 3 כְּפֶשַׁע, Lam. 1, 20 כַּמָּוֶת. Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At the most a *Kaph veritatis* can only be admitted in the sense that the comparison is sometimes introduced by כְּ with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus כְּאִישׁ אֱמֶת in Neh. 7, 2 means simply *of the nature of a faithful man*, i.e. as only a faithful man can be; comp. Num. 11, 1. Is. 1, 7. 13, 6. Hos. 4, 4. 5, 10. Ob. 11. Job 24, 14. 27, 7. Lam. 1, 20. 2, 4; also כִּמְעַט in such passages as Ps. 105, 12 *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is. 1, 9 *only just, a very small* . . . *x*

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate *a*

[1] It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note on letter *r*) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is. 1, 26 (כְּבָרִאשֹׁנָה and כְּבַתְּחִלָּה), Lev. 26, 37 (כְּמִפְּנֵי) are to be explained from the fact that here the preposition and substantive had already become simply *one* word before the כְּ was prefixed. We find also כְּעַל Is. 59, 18. 63, 7. Ps. 119, 14, and 2 Chron. 32, 19; cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 14, 14 (כְּבַחֲצִי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, comp. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Comp. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

b **2.** A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which may either precede or follow the action. In the former case מִן־, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אֶל־ occurs before other prepositions of place; comp. e.g. Amos 7, 15 *the Lord took me* מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן *from behind the flock;* 2 Ki. 9, 18 *turn thee* אֶל־אַחֲרָי *to behind me*, i.e. *turn thee behind me;* מֵעִם־, מֵאֵת *from with* . . ., as in French *de chez, d'auprès, quelqu'un*[1]. For further examples, see letter *c*.

c Rem. 1. We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense either those *substantives* which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לְפָנַי *before*, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן *on account of* (but e.g. מִלִּפְנֵי *from before* Gen. 4, 16, &c., is such a compound); nor *adverbs*, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מִחוּץ *without*, מִתַּחַת in the sense of *below*[2], מֵעַל *above*

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[1] In other cases French, as well as English and German, can only emphasize *one* of the two combined ideas; thus, such expressions as *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, German and English *er nimmt den Hut vom Tisch, he takes his hat from the table*, all regard the action from one point of view only; the Hebrew here brings out both aspects of it by means of מֵעַל־ *from upon*, comp. e.g. Is. 6,

[2] Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת *from under*, in such examples as Prov. 22, 27, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן־ was *originally* by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place *from beneath* which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן־, however, has become much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common abverbs as מֵעַל־, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e.g. in מִלְּבַד, מִבַּלְעֲדֵי *without*, comp. also such examples as מִבְּלִי, מִמּוּל, מִנֶּגֶד, מִשָּׁם (*there*), &c. Since a מִן־ is usually repeated after מִלְּבַד, it appears as if מִלְּבַד by a transposition of the ל stood for the usual לְבַד מִן־. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְּבַד has a purely adverbial meaning = *ta*

(so also in Gen. 27, 39. 49, 25, not *from above*). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. מִחוּץ לְ *outside as regards* . . ., i.e. *outside of something*; מִתַּחַת לְ *below as regards* . . ., i.e. *under something* (cf. עַד־מִתַּחַת לְ *until they came under* . . ., 1 Sam. 7, 11), מֵעַל לְ *over something*, &c.; לְבַד prop. *in separation* לְבַד מִן־ *in separation from*, i.e. *apart from, besides*. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Job 26, 5 מִתַּחַת מַיִם *beneath* the *waters*; Neh. 3, 28 (מֵעַל־).

2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur— *d*

(*a*) With מִן־, in מֵאַחֲרֵי, מֵעִם (see above) *from behind* something; מֵאֵת and מֵעִם *from with* (see above); מִבֵּין or מִבֵּינוֹת *from between* something (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gen. 49, 10); מִלִּפְנֵי *from before* (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lev. 5, 8 and elsewhere; מֵעַל־ *from upon*, i.e. *up from*; מִתַּחַת *away from under* (see foot-note 2, on p. 396).

(*β*) With אֶל־, in אֶל־אַחֲרֵי *to behind*, אֶל־בֵּינוֹת *to between*; אֶל־מִבֵּית לְ *forth* *e*
between, 2 Ki. 11, 15; אֶל־מִחוּץ לְ *forth without*, i.e. *out in front of*, Num. 5, 3; אֶל־תַּחַת *down under*[1].—In Job 5, 5 the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל־מִצִּנִּים (he goes thither and takes it) *out of the thorns*, i.e. he taketh it *even out of the thorns*.

3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes *f*
of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions[2].

(*a*) אֶל־ (אֵלַי)[3] *towards*, properly an expression of *motion* or at least *direction* *g*
towards something (either in the sense of *up to* = עַד, or *into* = אֶל־תּוֹךְ), is used after verbs not only in answer to the question *whither?* but by a specially pregnant construction, in answer to the question *where?* e.g. Jer. 41, 12 *they found him* אֶל־מַיִם רַבִּים *by the great waters*; comp. Deut. 16, 6. 1 Ki. 13, 20, and a still more remarkable instance in 8, 30 אֶל־מָקוֹם שִׁבְתְּךָ אֶל־הַשָּׁמָיִם. This combination of *two* different ideas, of motion *to* a place and being or acting *in* the place (very plainly seen in Deut. 16, 6 *but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose* . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and *there shalt thou sacrifice*, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς, ἐς for ἐν, the Latin *in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere* (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, and elsewhere); cf. also the common German expressions *zu* Hause, *zu* Leipzig sein, *zu* Bette liegen, &c.

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by itself, like מִמַּעַל (Syriac *men le'ēl*) *above* (adv.), as distinguished from מִמַּעַל לְ or מֵעַל־לְ (Syriac *le'ēl men*) *over, upon something*.—Also לְמִן *from* . . . *onward* is not for מִן־לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque* in *usque a, usque ad, usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point in question, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

[1] Also in 1 Sam. 21, 5 אֶל־תַּחַת by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵין־.

[2] A summary of *all* the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

[3] Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition *el*,' in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, p. 143 sqq.

h (*b*) בְּ[1]. Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time, or else the idea of *fastening on* something, *close connexion with* something (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e. g. the advice or command of some one, or in a comparison), or finally the idea of *relying* or *depending* upon . . ., or even of merely *striking* or *touching* something.

i Thus the use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e. g. Mic. 7, 2 יָשָׁר בָּאָדָם אָיִן *there is none upright among men;* in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e. g. Gen. 7, 21 *and all flesh died . . . in* (= consisting of) *fowl*, &c. Also after ideas of *appearing*, *manifesting oneself*, *representing*, *being*, in the sense of *as*, *in the capacity of* (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of . . .*, *tanquam*, the בְּ *essentiae* of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek ἐν, the Latin *in*[2], and the French *en*, e. g. Ex. 6, 3 *I appeared unto Abraham . . .* בְּאֵל שַׁדָּי *as El Shaddai;* Ps. 68, 5 בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ *his name is Jah* (comp. Is. 26, 4); Job 23, 13 וְהוּא בְּאֶחָד *but he is* (manifests himself as) *one*, i. e. he remains always the same; Deut. 26, 5. 28, 62 בִּמְתֵי מְעָט *in the condition of being few;* Is. 40, 10. Ps. 39, 7. 55, 19.—Comp. also such examples as Ex. 18, 4 (Ps. 35, 2. 146, 5) בְּעֶזְרִי *as my help;* Prov. 3, 26, perhaps also Ps. 31, 22. 37, 20 (102, 4). For the origin of all these forms of expression Ps. 54, 6 is especially instructive, since אֲדֹנָי בְּסֹמְכֵי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the סֹמְכִים, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i. e. *the Lord is one who upholds my soul;* so also Ps. 118, 7. Jud. 11, 35 [the plur. as in § 124. *g-i*].—Comp. Gesenius, *Thes. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 sq., and Delitzsch on Ps. 35, 2.

k (2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching*, *striking*, *reaching to* (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at*, *on*, &c., and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e. g. *anfassen* = אָחַז בְּ, *anrühren* = נָגַע בְּ, &c. To the same category belong also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* (רָדָה, נָגַשׂ, מָשַׁל, מָלַךְ, the last prop. *to tread on . . .*) with בְּ, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by בְּ after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending *to* some one or something; e. g. קָרָא בְּ to call *on* some one, שָׁבַע בְּ *iurare per aliquem*, שָׁאַל בְּ *to enquire of* some one. Again, רָאָה בְּ *to look upon*, שָׁמַע בְּ *to hearken to* (but cf. also letter *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence רָאָה בְּ *to see his desire on any one in anything;* comp. however, Gen. 21, 16 *let me not look upon the death of the child*, 1 Sam. 6, 19 *because they had looked* [irreverently] *at the ark of the Lord.*

Closely related to this is the use of בְּ:

l (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a *mental* a-

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[1] Comp. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr.* בְּ *indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

[2] E. g. *res in praeda captae*, i. e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123, 4.

e. g. בֶּאֱמִין בְּ *to trust in* (to cleave trustingly *to*) somebody or something; שָׂמַח בְּ *to rejoice in* or *at* something, &c.; דִּבֶּר בְּ, בָּטַח בְּ *to have confidence in . . .*; *to speak of* (*about*) some one or something, Deut. 6, 7. 1 Sam. 19, 3 sq. &c.

(4) The idea of an action as extending *to* something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation *in* something, underlies finally the *partitive* use of בְּ, e. g. אָכַל בְּ *to share in eating* something, Ex. 12, 43 sqq. Lev. 22, 11; also simply *to eat, to taste of* something, Jud. 13, 16. Job 21, 25; so also לָחַם בְּ *to eat of*, and שָׁתָה בְּ[1] *to drink of* something, Prov. 9, 5; שָׁמַע בְּ *to hear* a whisper *of something*, Job 26, 14; נָשָׂא בְּ *to bear a share of* something, Num. 11, 17. Ezek. 18, 20. Job 7, 13. Comp. also חָלַק בְּ *to give a share of* something, Job 39, 17; בָּנָה בְּ *to do building to*, Neh. 4, 4. *m*

(5) With the idea of *touching, striking against anything* is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity *near*, and further that of association *with* something; comp. Gen. 9, 4 בְּנַפְשׁוֹ *with the life thereof;* 15, 14. 32, 11 בְּמַקְלִי *with my staff.* Sometimes בְּ combined with a verb of motion (*to come with* something) expresses the idea of *bringing*, e. g. Jud. 15, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid*, i. e. he brought her a kid; Deut. 23, 5. 1 Chron. 15, 19 sqq. 16, 6. *n*

(6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see letter *n*), is developed, finally, the *instrumental* use of בְּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something *with which* one has associated himself in order to perform an action; comp. Mic. 4, 14 בַּשֵּׁבֶט *they smite with the rod;* Is. 10, 24; Ps. 18, 30 בְּךָ *by thee* (so also 44, 6, parallel with בִּשְׁמְךָ); Is. 10, 34. Hos. 1, 7. 12, 14; comp. also עָבַד בְּ *to labour by means of* some one, i. e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex. 1, 14 and elsewhere. On בְּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121. *f*. *o*

A variety of the בְּ *instrumenti* is בְּ *pretii* (the price being considered as the *means* of acquiring a thing), comp. Gen. 23, 9. 29, 18 (בְּרָחֵל); 30, 16. 33, 19. 34, 15 (בְּזֹאת *on this* condition); 37, 28; also, in a wider sense, Gen. 18, 28 בְּ *for the sake of;* 29, 18. 1 Sam. 3, 13. *p*

Rem. The use of בְּ *instrumenti* to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as Ps. 44, 20 *and thou coveredst over us* בְּצַלְמָוֶת *with the shadow of death;* Job 16, 10 פָּעֲרוּ עָלַי בְּפִיהֶם *they have opened wide their mouth against me* (prop. *have made an opening with their mouth*); comp. Ps. 22, 8. Ex. 7, 20 *he lifted up* בַּמַּטֶּה *the rod;* Jos. 8, 18. Lam. 1, 17. Analogous to some English expressions we find both *to gnash the teeth*, Ps. 35, 16, and *to gnash with the teeth*, Job 16, 9; *to wink the eye*, Prov. 10, 10, and *to wink with the eye*, Prov. 6, 13; so *to shake the head*, Ps. 22, 8, and *to shake with the head*, Jer. 18, 16. Job 16, 4.—In all these instances the verb (intransitive) construed with בְּ has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by בְּ is used rather as a merely adverbial *q*

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[1] To be distinguished from שָׁתָה בְּ = *to drink from* (a cup, &c., Gen. 44, 5. Amos 6, 6), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dan. 5, 2). Comp. also ἐν ποτηρίοις (Xen. Anab. 6, 1, 4), ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνειν (3 Ezra 3, 6), *in ossibus bibere* in Florus, and the French *boire dans une tasse.*

complement. An instructive example of this is נָתַן קוֹל *vocem emittere, to utter a voice,* also *to thunder,* while in נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ Ps. 46, 7 (68, 34. Jer. 12, 8), נָתַן has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i. e. mightily).

r (*c*) לְ[1] *to,* a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied *relations* of an action or condition with regard to a person or thing. On the use of לְ as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on לְ with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121. *f;* on לְ in a purely local sense (e. g. לִימִינְךָ *at thy right hand,* prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e. g. לָעֶרֶב *at evening,* &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of לְ properly belong to the government of the verb:

s (1) As a *nota dativi*[2] to introduce the remoter object; also

(2) To introduce the *dativus commodi.* This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi,* e. g. Ezek. 37, 11) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with לְ, as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus,* with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question *for* a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form[3]. By far the most frequent use of this לְ is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e. g. לֶךְ־לְךָ *go, get thee away,* Gen. 12, 1. 22, 2. Deut. 2, 13 (also in the feminine, Cant. 2, 10. 13); נְטֵה לְךָ *turn thee aside,* 2 Sam. 2, 21; סְעוּ לָכֶם *take your journey,* Deut. 1, 7; עֲלִי־לָךְ עִבְרוּ לָכֶם *pass ye over;* בְּרַח־לְךָ *flee!* (to save thyself), Gen. 27, 43; *get thee up,* Is. 40, 9; פְּנוּ לָכֶם *turn you,* Deut. 1, 40; שׁוּבוּ לָכֶם *return ye,* Deut. 5, 27; קוּמִי לָךְ *rise up,* Cant. 2, 10; שְׁבוּ לָכֶם *abide ye,* Gen. 22, 5; חֲדַל לְךָ *forbear thee,* 2 Chron. 35, 21 (in the plural, Is. 2, 22); הָבוּ לָכֶם *take you,* Deut. 1, 13. Jos. 18, 4. Jud. 20, 7. 2 Sam. 16, 20, and so almost regularly הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ (see above, § 51. *n*) *cave tibi!* and הִשָּׁמְרוּ לָכֶם *take heed to yourselves;* דְּמֵה לְךָ *be thou like,* Cant. 2, 17 (cf. verse 9). 8, 14, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 Ki. 17, 3. 1 Sam. 22, 5; after an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Is. 36, 9 וַתִּבְטַח לְךָ *and puttest thy trust.*—In the 3rd person, e. g. וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ *and sat her down* Gen. 21, 16; comp. Ex. 18, 26. Ps. 120, 6. 123, 4. Job 6, 19; even after a participle, Hos. 8, 9.—In the 1st person plural, Ezek. 37, 11.

t (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, appointing *to* something, esteeming *as* something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117. *ii,* a second *accusative* may also be used.

u (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to, with regard to* . . . (§ 143. *e*); so after a *verbum dicendi,* Gen. 20, 13; after a circumstantial expression, 1 Ki. 10, 23; comp. Is. 36, 9; even before the verb, Jer. 9, 2.—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable

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[1] Comp. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed,* Halle, 1876.

[2] Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a,* before vowels *ad,* French *à,* Spanish *á*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by לְ, cf. § 117. *n.*

[3] Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet, but me no buts,* and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is. 8, 1 *write upon it* ... (the words) מַהֵר שָׁלָל וגו׳ (comp. verse 3, where the לְ naturally is not used); Ezek. 37, 16.

(*d*) מִן, originally (according to § 101. *a*) prop. *separation*[1], represents both *v* the idea of *distance, separation* or *remoteness from* something, and that of *motion away from* something, hence also *descent, origin from* a place, Amos 1, 1.

(1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense *w* of (*taken*) *from among* ..., *e numero*, e.g. Gen. 3, 1 *subtil as none other of the beasts*, &c.; comp. 3, 14. Deut. 33, 24. 1 Sam. 15, 33. Jud. 5, 24 (so especially after the idea of choosing *out of*[2] a larger class, 1 Sam. 2, 28; comp. Ex. 19, 5 and elsewhere), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from ...), e.g. Is. 22, 3 מִקֶּשֶׁת אָפְרוּ *without the bow* (i.e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners;* comp. Jer. 48, 45 מִכֹּחַ *without strength;* Mic. 3, 6. Job 11, 15. 19, 26. 21, 9, also such examples as Num. 15, 24 *far from the eyes*, i.e. unobserved by the congregation; Prov. 20, 3.

Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, x refusing to* any one, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e.g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 *he hath rejected thee* מִמָּלְכָךְ *away from* (being) *king*, instead of מִ׳ תִּהְיוֹת (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king;* comp. 1 Ki. 15, 13. Is. 17, 1 מֵעִיר *so that it is no longer a city;* Jer. 17, 16. Job 28, 11 *he bindeth the streams* מִבְּכִי *that they trickle not;* Gen. 16, 2. 23, 6 מִקְּבֹר *that thou shouldst not bury thy dead;* Is. 24, 10.

The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of *y* precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e.g. Gen. 27, 1 *his eyes were dim* מֵרְאֹת *away from seeing* i.e. *so that he could not see;* Is. 7, 8 *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מֵעָם *that it be not a people* (just as in Is. 23, 1. Jer. 48, 2. 42. Ps. 83, 5); Lev. 26, 13. Is. 5, 6. 49, 15. 54, 9.

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[1] Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen* min *i Bibelhebreisken*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep.* min, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

[2] All the *partitive* uses of מִן come under this idea of separation *out of* a larger class. Thus מִן is used in the sense of *some, something*, and even *one*, in such expressions as *and he slew* ... *also* מִשָּׂרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*divers*) *of the princes of Israel*, 2 Chron. 21, 4; מִכָּל־ Lev. 4, 2; 1 Ki. 18, 5; מִדַּם הַפָּר *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex. 29, 12 and elsewhere; Job 27, 6 *my heart doth not reproach me* מִיָּמַי *for any*, i.e. for one, *of my days;* 38, 12 מִיָּמֶיךָ *one of thy days*, i.e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 Ki. 1, 6; comp. also 1 Sam. 14, 45. 25, 28). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אֶחָד, אַחַת is equivalent to *ullus;* e.g. Lev. 4, 2 *and shall do* מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה *any one of these things;* 5, 13. Deut. 15, 7. Ezek. 18, 10.— מִן־ is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *nin* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e.g. in Gen. 7, 22 *of all that was*, i.e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gen. 6, 2 (= *whomsoever they chose*).

Ezra 2, 62[1] (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, letter *ff*); on מִבְּלִי and מֵאֵין *without*, cf. § 152. *y*.

z (2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מִן after such ideas as *to go away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (comp. καλύπτω ἀπό, *custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e. g. Is. 33, 15. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מִן *on account of, in consequence of* (comp. our *that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e. g. מֵרֹב *for multitude*, 1 Ki. 8, 3.

aa (*e*) עַל־[2]. The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon* (ἐπί)[3] and *over* (ὑπέρ, *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of עַל־ after ideas of *commanding, commissioning* (פָּקַד עַל־), &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c. is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of *to lie, rest, lean, rely, press upon* something; comp. also, for the last, such examples as Is. 1, 14. Job 7, 20. 23, 2 and especially 2 Sam. 18, 11 וְעָלַי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

bb (2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of עַל־ after ideas of *covering, protecting, guarding* גָּנַן עַל־, כָּסָה עַל־; also the combinations רִחַם עַל־ *to have compassion upon . . .*, חוּס עַל־, חָמַל עַל־ *to spare* some one, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Comp. also נִלְחַם עַל־ Jud. 9, 17 = *to fight for* some one, i. e. in his defence.

cc (3) Moreover עַל־ is used after verbs of *standing* and *going*, to express a towering *over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by, with, before, near*), e. g. Gen. 41, 1 and elsewhere, *Pharaoh . . . stood* עַל־הַיְאֹר *by the Nile* (above the water level; comp. Ps. 1, 3), and so especially עָמַד עַל in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Zech. 4, 14 (comp. Is. 6, 2, where מִמַּעַל לְ is used for עַל־); הִתְיַצֵּב עַל־ *to present oneself* by command *before* some one, Job 1, 6 and elsewhere. Comp. also עַל־יַד, עַל־יְדֵי (Job 1, 14) *near, at* (*on*) *the side* of some one or something.

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[1] On the use of מִן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from . . .*, comp. below, § 133. *a*; on מִן as expressing the distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e. g. Ps. 73, 20 מֵהָקִיץ *after awaking* (comp. ἐξ ἀρίστου, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gen. 38, 24. Hos. 6, 2, and very frequently מִקֵּץ *from the end of* i. e. *after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of מִן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

[2] Comp. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos.* '*Al* (עַל), Halle, 1882.

[3] Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, עַל־ also implies *in addition to* something, comp. Gen. 28, 9 (31, 50); 30, 40. 32, 12 (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Deut. 22, 6. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e. g. Job 10, 7 *although thou knowest*, prop. *in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on to* something, *at* something) there arise finally all the various constructions with עַל־ in the sense of *towards, against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailer endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to *over*power him; comp. especially קוּם עַל־ to rise up *over* i.e. *against* some one, then with a transference of thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, נִלְחַם עַל־ *to fight against* . . ., חָנָה עַל־ *to encamp against* . . ., נֶאֱסַף עַל־ *to be gathered together, to assemble against* (Mic. 4, 11; comp. Ps. 2, 2), &c.; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. חָשַׁב רָעָה עַל־ *to imagine evil against* any one, &c. *dd*

4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb. *ee*

Various examples of this *constructio praegnans* have been already noticed above in letters *x* and *y* under מִן־; for מִן־ comp. also Ps. 22, 22 וּמִקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים עֲנִיתָנִי *and thou hast answered* and saved *me from the horns of the wild oxen* (in Is. 38, 17, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved* and delivered *my soul from the pit*, read חָשַׁכְתָּ with the LXX); Gen. 25, 23. 2 Sam. 18, 19. Job 28, 12; comp. also זָנָה מִן־ Ps. 73, 27 *to go a whoring from* any one i.e. *to be unfaithful to him*; רָשַׁע מִן־ Ps. 18, 22 = *to depart wickedly from God*; חָרַשׁ מִן־ Ps. 28, 1 *to be silent from* one (to turn away in silence); comp. Job 13, 13. *ff*

Pregnant constructions with אַחֲרֵי: Num. 14, 24 equivalent to וַיְמַלֵּא לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי *and he made full to walk* i.e. walked fully *after me*; 1 Sam. 13, 7 חָרְדוּ אַחֲרָיו *they trembled after him* i.e. *went after him trembling*; with אֶל־ Gen. 43, 33 תָּמַהּ אֶל־ *to turn in astonishment to* some one (comp. Is. 13, 8); דָּרַשׁ אֶל־ Is. 11, 10 and elsewhere, *to turn inquiringly to* some one; הֶחֱרִישׁ אֶל־ Is. 41, 1 *to turn in silence to* some one; חָרַד אֶל־ Gen. 42, 28 *to turn trembling to* some one (comp. חָרַד לִקְרַאת *to come trembling to meet*, 1 Sam. 21, 2); comp. further Jer. 41, 7. Ps. 7, 7. 2 Chron. 32, 1; with בְּ Ps. 55, 19 *he hath redeemed* and hath put *my soul in peace*, exactly like Ps. 118, 5; with לְ Ps. 74, 7 *they have profaned* and cast . . . *even to the ground*; comp. 89, 40. *gg*

5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member[1]; e.g. בְּ Is. 40, 19. 48, 14 *he shall perform his pleasure* בְּבָבֶל *on Babylon, and his arm* shall be בַּשְׂדִּים (for בְּבַשְׂדִּים) *on the Chaldaeans*; Job 15, 3; לְ Is. 28, 6. Ezek. 39, 4. Job 34, 10 (perhaps also Gen. *hh*

[1] Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152. *z*.

45, 8; מִשֶּׁל may, however, be regarded here as a second accusative according to § 117. *ii*); לְמַעַן Is. 48, 9; מִן Is. 58, 13. Ps. 141, 9; עַד Is. 15, 8; תַּחַת Is. 61, 7.

ii **6.** Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. אֶל־חִנָּם *in vain*, Ezek. 6, 10; אַחֲרֵי־כֵן *after this*; בְּכֵן (Eccles. 8, 10. Est. 4, 16) *then*; לָכֵן and עַל־כֵּן *therefore*; עַד־כֵּן *hitherto*.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb. Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.*

a **1.** When a *relative* verb (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without לְ), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; comp. letters *d* and *g* below, and § 114. *n*, note 3.

b (*a*) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114. *c*, and the numerous examples given in § 114. *m*; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113. *d*.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is. 33, 1 כַּהֲתַמְּךָ שׁוֹדֵד (comp. for the form, § 67. *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler*, i.e. to spoil; Jer. 22, 30 לֹא יִצְלַח . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting*, i.e. so as to sit, &c.; Jon. 1, 6 *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i.e. that thou sleepest[1]; by a verbal adjective, 1 Sam. 3, 2 *now his eyes* הֵחֵלּוּ כֵהוֹת *had begun as dim*, i.e. to wax dim.

c (*b*) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the imperfect[2] (in English usually rendered by *to, in order to* or *that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is. 42, 21 יְהוָה חָפֵץ . . . יַגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify*, &c.; Job 32, 22 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֲכַבֶּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 Sam. 20, 19 (where for תִּרַד we should read with the LXX תִּפָּקֵד); after an imperfect, Ps. 88, 11. 102, 14

[1] In יֹדֵעַ מְנַגֵּן 1 Sam. 16, 16, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יֹדֵעַ לְנַגֵּן and the simple מְנַגֵּן.

[2] This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (comp. e.g. the Peshiṭṭâ, Luke 18, 13); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Comp., moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence *volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were; I thought he would go*.

Job 19, 3. 24, 14.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lev. 9, 6 *this is the thing* אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה תַּעֲשׂוּ *which the Lord commanded* (that) *ye should do;* a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in Lam. 1, 10; after the imperfect, Is. 47, 1 (5) כִּי לֹא תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד יִקָּרְאוּ־לָךְ *for thou shalt no more continue* (that) *they call thee*, i. e. thou shalt no longer be called, &c.; Num. 22, 6 *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) *we may smite them, and* (that) *I may drive them out of the land* (אוּכַל may, however, be a scribal error for נוּכַל, due to the preceding אוּלַי, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle, 2 Sam. 21, 4.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in Lam. 1, 10; but the explanation of בָּאוּ as a relative clause is preferable.

2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in letters *a–c*), *d* the *co-ordination* of the complementary verbal idea in the form of a finite verb (cf. above, letter *c*) frequently occurs, either—

(*a*) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, letter *e*) by means of וְ (וַ, וָ)[1]. As a rule, here also (see above, letter *a*) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially שׁוּב, יָסַף[2], הוֹסִיף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e. g. Gen. 26, 18 וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר *and he returned and digged*, i. e. he digged again; 2 Ki. 1, 11. 13; in the perfect consecutive, Is. 6, 13; with הוֹסִיף, e. g. Gen. 25, 1 *and Abraham added and took a wife*, i. e. again took a wife; Gen. 38, 5 and frequently; with הֵחֵל Gen. 9, 20; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Job 6, 9; in the imperative (comp. § 110. *h*), Jud. 19, 6 הוֹאֶל־נָא וְלִין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night* (comp. the English *he was persuaded, and remained* for *to remain*); 2 Sam. 7, 29; with מָהַר Gen. 24, 18. 20 and elsewhere; with חָמַד Cant. 2, 3.

Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other *e* combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (comp. § 112. *d*), e. g. Deut. 31, 12 *that they* יִלְמְדוּ וְיָרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה *may learn, and fear the Lord*, i. e. *to fear the Lord;* Is. 1, 19. Hos. 2, 11. Est. 8, 6. Dan. 9, 25 *b;* perfect and imperfect, Job 23, 3 (*O that I knew how I might find him*); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos. 7, 7. Eccles. 4, 1. 7; jussive and imperative, Job 17, 10; comp., finally, Gen. 47, 6 וְאִם־יָדַעְתָּ וְיֶשׁ־בָּם *and if thou knowest and there are among them*, &c., i. e. that there are among them.

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[1] Comp. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it.*

[2] Of a different kind are the cases in which יָסַף with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Num. 11, 25 *they prophesied and added not*, sc. *to prophesy*, i. e. *but they did so no more;* Deut. 5, 19. Job 27, 19 (reading וְלֹא יֹאסִיף).

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e.g. Gen. 42, 25 *then Joseph commanded and they filled*[1] (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . .; comp. the full form of expression in Gen. 50, 2); a further command is then added by means of לְ and the infinitive; Ex. 36, 6; another instance of the same kind is Gen. 30, 27 *I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me*, &c., i. e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (*b*) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached *without the copula*[2] in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110. *h*) the imperatives קוּם (קוּמִי, קוּמָה, &c.) and לֵךְ (לְכִי, לְכָה, &c.) are exceedingly common in the form of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e. g. קוּם הִתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gen. 13, 17. 19, 15. 27, 43; in the plural, Gen. 19, 14; Ex. 19, 24 לֵךְ־רֵד *go, get thee down;* 1 Sam. 3, 9; with a following cohortative, 1 Sam. 9, 10 לְכָה נֵלְכָה *come, let us go;* Gen. 31, 44 and frequently.—Also with הוֹסִיף, Hos. 1, 6 לֹא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם *I will not add further* and *have mercy*, i.e. will no longer have mercy; Is. 52, 1. Prov. 23, 35; שׁוּב (likewise a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zech. 8, 15; in the imperfect, Mic. 7, 19. Ps. 7, 13. 59, 7. 71, 20; in the jussive, Job 10, 16; in the cohortative, Gen. 30, 31; in the imperative, Jos. 5, 2. 1 Sam. 3, 5 *lie down again;* הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Deut. 1, 5. Hos. 5, 11; in the imperative, Job 6, 28; הִרְבָּה=*much*, 1 Sam. 2, 3 אַל־תַּרְבּוּ תְדַבְּרוּ עָתָק *do not multiply* and *talk*, i.e. talk not so much *arrogancy;* in the imperative, Ps. 51, 4; הֵחֵל, Deut. 2, 24 הָחֵל רָשׁ *begin, possess;* יָכַל, Lam. 4, 14 בְּלֹא יוּכְלוּ יִגְּעוּ *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; מִהֵר=*quickly*, in the perfect, Ps. 106, 13; in the imperative, Gen. 19, 22. Jud. 9, 48. Est. 6, 10.—Other examples are: Hos. 9, 9 הֶעֱמִיק=*deeply, radically;* Zeph. 3, 7 הִשְׁכִּים=*early* (even in the participle, Hos. 6, 4. 13, 3); Is. 29, 4 שָׁפֵל=*low*, comp. Jer. 13, 18; Jos. 3, 16 תָּמַם=*wholly;* Ps. 112, 9 פִּזַּר=*plentifully*.

h Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (comp. e. g. Is. 52, 1. Hos. 1, 6, with Gen. 25, 1, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הָלַךְ Gen. 30, 31. Deut. 1, 5. 2, 24. Jos. 3, 16. 1 Sam. 3, 5) cf. also Neh. 3, 20.

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[1] Comp. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

[2] To be distinguished, of course, from the cases in which two equally important and independent verbs are used together without the copula in vigorous poetic imagery, e. g. Ex. 15, 9. Job 29, 8, and elsewhere.

1 Chron. 13, 2. For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is. 53, 11 יִרְאֶה יִשְׂבָּע *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer. 4, 5 קִרְאוּ מָלְאוּ *cry, fill*, i. e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

§ 121. *Construction of Passive Verbs.*

a **1.** Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of nearer definition; comp. § 117. *a, p, u*) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e. g. Gen. 35, 19 וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקָּבֶר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is very frequently used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Deut. 21, 3 sq. Ezek. 16, 34 (with a dative added, 2 Sam. 17, 16. Is. 53, 5. Lam. 5, 5), or with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative[1], e. g. Gen. 27, 42 וַיֻּגַּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i. e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau;* 2 Sam. 21, 11. 1 Ki. 18, 13.

b Other examples are: after Niph., Gen. 4, 18 וַיִּוָּלֶד לַחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד *and unto Enoch was born Irad* (comp. Num. 26, 60, and after an infinitive, Gen. 21, 5); Gen. 17, 5. 21, 8 (after an infinitive); 29, 27. Ex. 21, 28. 25, 28. Lev. 6, 13. Num. 7, 10 (after an infinitive); 26, 55 (comp. verse 53); Num. 16, 29. Deut. 20, 8 (where, however, for יִמַּס the Hiph. יַמֵּס should be read, according to 1, 28); Jos. 7, 15; with the object preceding, Ex. 13, 7. Lev. 2, 8. 19, 20. Is. 16, 10. Dan. 9, 24[2].—Also after Pu'al, Jer. 50, 20; *before* Pu'al, Is. 14, 3 (אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבֹדָה = *which they have caused to be performed by thee*); Job 22, 9; according to the Masoretic text also Gen. 46, 22, where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יֻלְּדָה for יֻלַּד; the Samaritan in Gen. 35, 26 and 46, 27 also reads יֻלְּדוּ, and this (or יֻלַּד) should certainly be read instead of יֻלְּדוּ in 2 Sam. 21, 22.—After Hoph., Ex. 10, 8. 27, 7. Lev. 10, 18. 16, 27. Num. 32, 5. 1 Ki. 2, 21. Job 30, 15; after the infinitive Hoph., Gen. 40, 20. Ezek. 16, 4 sq.; *before* Hoph., Is. 17, 1. 21, 2. Hos. 10, 6. Zech. 13, 6. Ps. 87, 3; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lev. 13, 55 sq.

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[1] When this is not recognizable either by the *nota accusativi*, or by its disagreement with the passive form in gender, number, and person, it naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a *concealed agent* is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (comp. § 144. *g*) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

[2] In 2 Ki. 18, 30 יִתֵּן is to be read or אֶת־ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is. 36, 15.

c **2.** Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (according to § 117. *cc*) retain in the passive construction at least *one* accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אַרְאֶךָּ *which I will show thee* (Gen. 12, 1) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה מָרְאָה (Ex. 25, 40) *which thou hast been shown*, i. e. which has been shown to thee; comp. Ex. 26, 30 (but in Lev. 13, 49 with an accusative of the person); Job 7, 3. In Ps. 22, 16 מָדְבַּק מַלְקוֹחָי depends on an assumed transitive הִדְבִּיק governing two accusatives (= *my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws*); also in Is. 1, 20, חֶרֶב תְּאֻכְּלוּ *ye shall be devoured with the sword*, חֶרֶב is not an *accus. instrumenti*, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction [1].

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(*a*) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117. *cc*), Ps. 80, 11 כָּסּוּ הָרִים צִלָּהּ *the mountains were covered with the shadow of it* (the vine); Prov. 19, 23. So also some of the examples in § 116. *k* of passive participles of these verbs, Jud. 18, 11. 1 Sam. 2, 18. 17, 5. 1 Ki. 22, 10. Ezek. 9, 2. 3[2]; with the accusative preceding, Neh. 4, 12.—(*b*) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex. 1, 7. Is. 38, 10 (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is. 40, 20.—(*c*) an accusative of the result (§ 117. *ii*) with the passive, Is. 6, 11. Zech. 14, 4. Job 28, 2; with the accusative preceding, Is. 24, 12. Mic. 3, 12 (Jer. 26, 18). Job 15, 7. 22, 16[3]. Also in Ezek. 40, 17 and 46, 23, the accusative preceding (in 41, 18 following) עֲשׂוּי can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עֲשׂוּי.—(*d*) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117. *ll*), Gen. 17, 11. 14. 24. Jud. 1, 7 (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 Sam. 15, 32 (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

e 2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of a *verbum implendi* in Num. 14, 21; instead, however, of the *Niph.* וְיִמָּלֵא the

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[1] In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, letter *c*, this would become in the passive, *the sword* (nom.) *shall be made to devour you* (acc.). Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, *to cause one to devour the sword* (remoter object), i. e. to give him over to it.

[2] Analogous to הַלָּבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים *who was clothed in linen*, Ezek. 9, 3, would be וְנוֹחָר וְהַנּוֹחָר אֶת־הַהָמוֹן הַזֶּה 2 Chron. 31, 10; but we must certainly read there with the LXX.—Still less can Ps. 87, 3 be so explained, נִכְבָּדוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שָׁלוּחַ 1 Ki. 14, 6 may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with* something, so that, like צִוָּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

[3] In reality וַיִּרַם Ex. 16, 20. 26 (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which תּוֹלָעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

Qal (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in Ps. 72, 19, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gen. 25, 21 וַיֵּעָתֶר לוֹ יְהוָה *Yahweh let himself be intreated by him;* comp. 14, 19. Lev. 26, 23. 2 Sam. 2, 5 (Ps. 115, 15). Ps. 73, 10; *before* the verb, Prov. 14, 20 and frequently. Less commonly by מִן (called מִן of origin = *coming from*), e. g. Gen. 9, 11. Job 28, 4; *before* the verb, Ps. 37, 23. Job 24, 1; by בְּ (בְּ *instrumenti*), Gen. 9, 6 (בָּאָדָם *by man*); Num. 36, 2. Is. 14, 3. Hos. 14, 4, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116. *l*. *f*

II. Syntax of the Noun.

§ 122. *Indication of the Gender of the Noun.*

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 sqq., and 1896, p. 61 sqq.

1. According to § 80. *a*, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate the latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80. *b* and § 87. *i*) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87. *p*), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; comp. § 87. *r*. The employment of these special endings is most natural, when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e. g. אָח *brother*, אָחוֹת *sister;* עֶלֶם *a young man*, עַלְמָה *a young woman, maid;* פַּר *iuvencus*, פָּרָה *iuvenca;* עֵגֶל *vitulus*, עֶגְלָה *vitula.* On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, letter *p*, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not restricted to the use of the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see letter *b*), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see letter *h*). *a*

2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine ending, (*a*) by the employment of words of different stems for the *b*

masculine and feminine; (*b*) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (*c*) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

c Examples of (*a*) are: אָב *father*, אֵם *mother*; אַיִל *ram*, רָחֵל *ewe*; תַּיִשׁ *he-goat*, עֵז *she-goat*; חֲמוֹר *he-ass*, אָתוֹן *she-ass*; אַרְיֵה *lion*, לָבִיא *lioness*. Sometimes with the additional feminine ending, e. g. עֶבֶד *male slave, man-servant*, אָמָה or שִׁפְחָה *female slave, maid*; חָתָן *bridegroom*, כַּלָּה *bride*.

d Of (*b*): גָּמָל *camel*. Plur. גְּמַלִּים construed as masculine, Gen. 24, 63; as feminine, Gen. 32, 16; בָּקָר collect. *oxen*, Ex. 21, 37, construed as masculine, but Gen. 33, 13. Job 1, 14 as feminine. In Jer. 2, 24 the construction of פֶּרֶה *wild ass*, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Comp. in Greek ὁ, ἡ *παῖς*· ὁ, ἡ *βοῦς*.

e Of (*c*): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; comp. ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδών, and the German *der* Löwe, *der* Tiger, *der* Panther, *der* Wolf, *der* Adler, &c., but *die* Katze, *die* Taube, *die* Biene, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. אַלּוּף *ox* (Ps. 144, 14 even referring to cows in calf), דֹּב *bear*, Hos. 13, 8 דּוֹב שַׁכּוּל (*a bear that is bereaved of her whelps*; comp., however, 2 Ki. 2, 24. Is. 11, 7), זְאֵב *wolf*, כֶּלֶב *dog*, all masculine; but אַרְנֶבֶת *hare*, יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, דְּבוֹרָה *bee*, נְמָלָה *ant*, &c., feminine.

f Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, חֲמוֹר *ass*, 2 Sam. 19, 27 for אָתוֹן; אַיָּל *hart*, Ps. 42, 2 for אַיָּלָה. In Gen. 23, 4 sqq. מֵת *a dead body*, refers more especially to the body of a woman; אֱלֹהִים *god*, is used of a goddess, 1 Ki. 11, 5, elsewhere always masculine; אָמוֹן *a master workman*, in Prov. 8, 30 refers to wisdom (חָכְמָה feminine, comp. Plin. 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; and our use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*[1] stands also for *Gemahlin*, &c.).

g 2. Of words denoting persons נַעַר *παῖς*, according to the commonly received opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2. *n*). The use of the plural נְעָרִים in Job 1, 19 and Ruth 2, 21 in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases

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[1] So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zauǵ* (conjux) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; *'arūs* for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (*at*). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *ḥāmil, bāṭin* (gravida), and the like, which from the meaning of the word can only be used of females. Thus also אֹמֶן, at least in Num. 11, 12 (Is. 49, 23?), probably means *nurse* (for אֹמֶנֶת 2 Sam. 4, 4, &c.), not *nursing father*.

(comp. e. g. אֹתָם Gen. 1, 27 and אֹתָהֶם 32, 1) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine[1].

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine[2], although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending[3]: *h*

(*a*) Names of *countries* and *towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers[4] and nurses of the inhabitants; e. g. אַשּׁוּר *Assyria*, אֱדֹם *Idumaea*, צֹר *Tyre*; comp. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל, בַּת צִיּוֹן *daughter of Babylon, daughter of Zion*, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine; thus יְהוּדָה masc. Is. 3, 8, and elsewhere, *Judaei*; but Is. 7, 6, fem., *Judaea*; אֱדֹם masc., *Idumaei*, Num. 20, 20; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer. 49, 17. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (like our expression *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יְהוּדָה Lam. 1, 3; comp. Gen. 41, 8. Ex. 10, 7. 12, 33. 1 Sam. 17, 21. 2 Sam. 8, 2. 24, 9. Is. 7, 2. 21, 2. 42, 11. Jer. 50, 10. Job 1, 15. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see below, note 4) as female beings, e. g. Is. 50, 1. 54, 1 sqq., and the transference of the expressions בַּת בָּבֶל Is. 47, 1 sqq., בַּת צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) from the town to the inhabitants. *i*

(*b*) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, תֵּבֵל *world*, שְׁאוֹל *the abode of the dead*, כִּכָּר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תֵּימָן *the south*. *k*

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[1] The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e. g. *'el-'abawāni*, the two fathers, i. e. *parentes*) *taghlîb* or *the making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Comp. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

[2] The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful...; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, ... subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZAW.* 1896, p. 120 sq.).

[3] When, on the other hand, words *with* a feminine-ending, such as נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, קֶשֶׁת *a bow* (stem קֹשׁ), עֵת *time* (see the Lexicon), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ת of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

[4] Comp. *a city and a mother* (אֵם) *in Israel*, 2 Sam. 20, 19. In the same way, אֵם (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phoenician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, Ps. 149, 2; *sons of Babylon*, Ezek. 23, 15, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e. g. Jos. 15, 45 sqq., and elsewhere.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e. g. Ezek. 16. Lam. 1, 1, and elsewhere.

l In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e.g. אֹרַח and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), גַּיְא (גַּי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gen. 2, 15, unless לְעָבְדָהּ, &c., is to be read), הֵיכָל *palace, temple*, חָצֵר *court*, כֶּרֶם *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*[1], &c.; also מָקוֹם *place*, at least in Gen. 18, 24 (referring to Sodom), Job 20, 9, and 2 Sam. 17, 12 *K^e thîbh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 sq.).

m (*c*) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members* and *parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

n Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יָתֵד *tent-peg*, דַּד *bucket*, כּוֹס *cup*, נַעַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׂ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אָרוֹן *chest, ark*, תַּנּוּר *oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c. p. 89.)—Also אֹזֶן *ear*, אֶצְבַּע *finger* (and so probably בֹּהֶן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יָמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בֶּרֶךְ *knee*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, כָּתֵף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*; כָּנָף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, עֶצֶם *bone*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוֹעַ *arm* (masc. Is. 17, 5 and elsewhere), לָשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. Ps. 22, 16 and elsewhere), עַיִן *eye* (masc. Zech. 3, 9 and elsewhere), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex. 29, 27)[2].

o (*d*) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 sqq.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also *masc.*, Ps. 19, 6. 104, 19); אֵשׁ (Eth. *'ĕsât*) *fire* (rarely *masc.*); נֹגַהּ *brightness*, אֶבֶן *a stone*, as a rule also רוּחַ *wind, spirit*; נֶפֶשׁ *breath, soul*; also אוֹר *light* in Jer. 13, 16. Job 36, 32, and others.

p **4.** The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as feminine in Hebrew (see above, letter *h*), are usually indicated by the feminine form, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see letters *r* and *s*):

q (*a*) Abstracts[3] (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same stem as נְקָמָה *vengeance*, as well as נָקָם, עֶזְרָה *help*, as well as עֵזֶר), e.g. אֱמוּנָה *firmness*

[1] מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the person in a camp.

[2] אַף *nose*, זָנָב *tail*, מֵצַח *forehead*, עָקֵב *heel*, עֹרֶף *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, צַוָּאר *neck*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer. 20, 17, are invariably construed as masculine.

[3] Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1894, p. 111 sqq.

faithfulness, גְּבוּרָה *strength*, גְּדוּלָה *greatness*, מְלֹאָה *fullness*, מֶמְשָׁלָה *dominion*, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantivally in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e. g. נְכוֹנָה *stedfastness*, Ps. 5, 10, טוֹבָה *goodness*, רָעָה *evil*, Gen. 50, 20, נְקֵלָה *a light thing* (i.e. a trifling thing), Jer. 6, 14; so especially in the plural, e. g. גְּדֹלוֹת *great things*, Ps. 12, 4; הַנְּהֶרָסוֹת *the ruined places*, Ezek. 36, 36, along with הַנְּשַׁמָּה *that which was desolate*, טֹבוֹת *kindnesses*, 2 Ki. 25, 28, נְכֹחוֹת *uprightness, honesty*, Is. 26, 10, נְעִימוֹת *amoena*, Ps. 16, 11 (but in verse 6 in the same sense נְעִימִים), נִפְלָאוֹת *wonderful things*, Ex. 34, 10 and frequently, קָשׁוֹת *hard things, roughly*, Gen. 42, 7. 30 (but cf. also רֵיקִים *vain things*, Prov. 12, 11. 28, 19). Comp. moreover, the very frequent use of זֹאת, הִיא (as well as זֶה and הוּא), Jud. 14, 4. Ps. 118, 23 and elsewhere, in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also הֵנָּה equivalent to *illa*, Is. 51, 19); also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is. 7, 7 לֹא תָקוּם וְלֹא תִהְיֶה *it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass;* Jud. 14, 41. Jer. 10, 7; so too the suffixes Gen. 15, 6. Ex. 10, 11. Job 38, 18, referring back to a whole statement [1].

(*b*) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract ideas *r* treated above, under letter *q*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have קֹהֶלֶת Eccles. 1, 1, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt *that which takes part in* or *speaks in a religious assembly*, hence LXX ἐκκλησιαστής, i. e. *concionator, preacher;* the proper names סֹפֶרֶת Ezra 2, 55. Neh. 7, 57, and פֹּכֶרֶת Ezra 2, 57. Neh. 7, 59, and the foreign word פַּחַת *viceroy* [2]*;* in the plural כְּנָוֹת prop. *cognomina*, then *like named, colleagues;* פְּרָעוֹת *princes* (if this be the true meaning) [3]. All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Eccles. 7, 27 instead of אָמְרָה קֹ׳ the words should rather be divided as אָמַר הַקֹּ׳; comp. 12, 8).

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[1] While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the *feminine* in Hebrew as being used *for the neuter* (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in *neuters*, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual feminines. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the feminines of adjectives and participles (which would be neuter in Latin, &c.) by the addition of a feminine substantive.

[2] An Assyrian word, found at least as early as the time of Sargon, who appointed *paḥâti* over South Babylonia. The view that it is of Persian origin is a mistake: see Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, on 1 Ki. 10, 15.—G. W. C.]

[3] This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic and Aramaic; comp. e. g. in Arabic *ḫalîfa* (fem. from *ḫalîf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of *the* successor or representative (of Muḥammad), and *'allâma* (*great wisdom*) as a title of learned men. Analogous to this is the Latin *magistratus, magistracy*, for *magistrate*, and our *his Majesty, Excellency, Highness*, &c.

s Abstract ideas include also—

(*c*) *Collectives* in the fem. form[1], generally fem. participles used substantivally, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e. g. אֹרְחָה (fem. of *travelling*), prop. *the travelling* (company), i. e. travelling persons (a caravan); גּוֹלָה (fem. of גָּלָה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יוֹשֶׁבֶת (that which inhabits) i. e. *the population*, Is. 12, 6. Mic. 1, 11 sq.; אֹיֶבֶת (prop. that which is hostile) *the enemy*, Mic. 7, 8. 10 (comp. Mic. 4, 6 sq. *the halting, cast off, driven away* i. e. *those who halt*, &c.); דַּלָּה (the abject) *the poorest sort;* of living beings which are not persons, comp. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of *cattle, beasts;* דָּגָה *a shoal of fish*, Gen. 1, 26 (but in Jon. 2, 2 as a *nomen unitatis*, comp. letter *t*, for דָּג *a fish*, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as a *nomen unitatis*). Comp., moreover, נְבֵלָה *dead body*, Is. 26, 19, and elsewhere (construed as masculine), for *a heap of dead bodies*.—On the poetic personifications, comprising the mass of a nation, by means of בַּת *daughter*, in בַּת בָּבֶל, בַּת עַמִּי (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי) *my countrymen*, see above, letter *i*.

t (*d*) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i. e. to indicate a *single* example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; comp. אֳנִי *a fleet* (1 Ki. 9, 26), אֳנִיָּה *a* single *ship* (Jon. 1, 3 sqq.); שֵׂעָר *hair* (coll.), שַׂעֲרָה *a* single *hair* (Jud. 20, 16; in the plural, 1 Sam. 14, 45. Ps. 40, 13); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a* single *song;* so probably also תְּאֵנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine *tîn* is collective in Arabic); שׁוֹשַׁנָּה *a lily* (also שׁוּשָׁן); לְבֵנָה *a brick* (Arab. *libina*, but *libin* collective), &c.

u (*e*) The feminine is also used for things *without life* (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to *organic* things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; comp. יָרֵךְ *side* (of the body), *thigh*, יְרֵכָה or יַרְכָה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מֵצַח *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87. *o*.

v Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e. g. Is. 3, 1 מַשְׁעֵן וּמַשְׁעֲנָה *stay and staff* i. e. every kind of support. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is. 43, 6. 49, 22. 60, 4 (*sons and daughters*); 49, 23. Eccles. 2, 8.

§ 123. *The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives and by the Repetition of Words.*

a Besides the plural endings treated in § 87. *a–i*, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(*a*) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomina unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122. *i*).

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[1] Comp. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἱππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hd 1, 80 and elsewhere, *the camel corps*.

Thus בָּקָר *cattle, oxen*[1] (even joined with numerals, e. g. Ex. 21, 37 חֲמִשָּׁה בָקָר *five head of cattle*), but שׁוֹר *an ox*; צֹאן *small cattle*, i. e. sheep and goats (μῆλα), comp. Job 1, 3 שְׁבַעַת אַלְפֵי־צֹאן *seven thousand sheep*; but שֶׂה *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: זִיז (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, טַף (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; דֶּשֶׁא *fresh green herb*, i. e. young plants, יֶרֶק *green*, i. e. vegetation in general; עוֹף *birds, fowl*; רֶכֶב *chariots* or *cavalcade*, רֶמֶשׂ *worms*, שֶׁרֶץ *creeping things* (of small creatures), שֶׁרֶץ *swarming things*.

(*b*) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve as *nomina unitatis*; thus, אָדָם (never in plur.) means both *man* (homo) and *men* (homines); אִישׁ *a man* (vir) and *men* (viri); אִשָּׁה *woman* and *women* (Jud. 21, 16. 1 Sam. 21, 6); אַרְבֶּה *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; נֶפֶשׁ *soul* and *souls* (persons); מַקֵּל *staff* and *staves* (Gen. 30, 37); עַיִט *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; עִיר *city* and *cities* (Jud. 19, 12. Jer. 4, 29); עָלֶה *a leaf* and *foliage*; עֵשֶׂב *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; עֵץ *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); פְּרִי *fruit* and *fruits*; שִׂיחַ *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid-servant*, חֲמוֹר *ass*, שׁוֹר *ox* (comp. Gen. 32, 6).— On the singular (especially of gentile names) with the article to include all individuals of the same species, comp. § 126. *l*. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124. *l*. *b*

(*c*) The feminine ending; see § 122. *s*.

(*d*) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed: *c*

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as יוֹם יוֹם Gen. 39, 10, &c., *day* by *day*, *every day*; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year* by *year*, Deut. 14, 22; אִישׁ אִישׁ *every* man, Ex. 36, 4; with בְּ before the second word (but only in late passages), e. g. יוֹם בְּיוֹם *day* by *day*, 1 Chron. 12, 22; שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, Deut. 15, 20. 1 Sam. 1, 7 (but in verse 3 יָמִים יָמִימָה), בְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם Num. 24, 1. Jud. 16, 20. 20, 30 sq. 1 Sam. 3, 10 *as at other times*; or before both words, as בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר Ex. 16, 21, *every morning* (so before a group of words, Lev. 24, 8); in the same sense also with the distributive לְ לַבֹּקֶר לַבֹּקֶר 1 Chron. 9, 27; with a *single* plural, לַבְּקָרִים Ps. 73, 14, or לְבֹקְרִם Job 7, 18 along with לְרָגָעִים *every moment*. Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, or אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Est. 1, 8; דּוֹר וָדוֹר *all generations*, Deut. 32, 7;

[1] The plural form בְּקָרִים from בָּקָר is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh. 10, 37 (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., צֹאנֵינוּ *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has צֹאנֵנוּ), and 2 Chron. 4, 3. In Amos 6, 12 read, with Hitzig, בַּבָּקָר יָם.

יוֹם וְיוֹם Est. 3, 4; comp. Est. 8, 9. Ezra 10, 14. 1 Chron. 26, 13 (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 439, and Driver, *Introd.* p. 505, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of Ps. 45, 18 only in very late passages) with a pleonastic כָּל־ preceding, Ps. 145, 13. Est. 2, 11. 9, 28. 2 Chron. 11, 12 and elsewhere.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly *distributive* sense[1] (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under letter *c*) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Num. 14, 34 *forty days* יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה יוֹם *counting for every day a year;* comp. Ezek. 24, 6. Ex. 28, 34 (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד *apart*, עֵדֶר עֵדֶר לְבַדּוֹ *every drove by itself*, Gen. 32, 17; comp. Zech. 12, 12. Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (comp. for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, § 134. *q*), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lev. 24, 8. Num. 13, 2. 31, 4) or three (Num. 7, 11. 17, 21), but even of six (Ex. 26, 3) or seven (Ex. 25, 33. 26, 19. 21. 25); in Ex. 25, 35 five words even three times repeated[2].

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e. g. 2 Ki. 25, 15 *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Deut. 2, 27 בַּדֶּרֶךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ *only along by the* high *way;* comp. Num. 3, 9. 8, 16 *they are given, given to him*, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 Ki. 3, 16 גֵּבִים גֵּבִים *nothing but trenches;* Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֵרֹת בְּאֵרֹת חֵמָר *all asphalt-pits.*— Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Jud. 5, 22 *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex. 8, 10 (*countless heaps*), and Joel 4, 14 (*countless multitudes*); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex. 23, 30 *by little and little, very gradually;* cf. § 133. *k*.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express *of more than one kind;* thus Deut. 25, 13 (Prov. 20, 10) אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *a weight and a weight*, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*); Ps. 12, 3 בְּלֵב וָלֵב *with two kinds of heart*, i. e. *with a double-dealing heart;* cf. בְּלֹא לֵב וָלֵב 1 Chron. 12, 33.

§ 124. *The Various Uses of the Plural-form*[3].

a 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (*a*) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of *local extension*),

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[1] Comp. in the New Testament St. Mark vi. 39 sq. *συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί* (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, beetweise*).

[2] These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ezek. 16, 6, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1, 20, it is a mere *dittography;* the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

[3] Comp. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 sqq.

or (*b*) a more or less intensive focussing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (*abstract plurals*, usually rendered in English by forms in *-hood*, *-ness*, *-ship*). A variety of the plurals described under (*b*), in which the secondary idea of *intensity* or of an *internal multiplication* of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (*c*) the *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis*.

Examples of (*a*): Plurals of *local extension* to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface*-plural), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88. *d*) *heaven* (comp. also מְרוֹמִים *heights* of heaven, Is. 33, 16. Job 16, 19; elsewhere מָרוֹם); מַיִם *water*; יַמִּים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side *turned towards* any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אֲחוֹרִים *the back*, Ex. 26, 12. 33, 23, &c., צַוָּארִים *neck, nape of the neck*[1]; also מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מַרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); מַעֲמַקִּים *depth*, מֶרְחַקִּים (also מֶרְחָק) *distance*, מִשְׁכָּבִים *bed*, Gen. 49, 4 (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מִשְׁכָּנִים Ps. 46, 5, and מִשְׁכָּנוֹת 132, 5, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֹהָלִים *encampment*, in passages like 1 Sam. 4, 10). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under letters *d-f*. So perhaps יְצוּעִים *bed* (Ps. 63, 7. Job 17, 13; but Gen. 49, 4. Ps. 132, 3, and elsewhere, in the singular); probably, however, יְצוּעִים (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows. *b*

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of *time* in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Job 17, 1 קְבָרִים לִי *graves are* (ready) *for me*, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were *the graveyard*) is my portion, Job 21, 32. 2 Chron. 16, 14; cf. 2 Ki. 22, 20. *c*

Of (*b*): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular form (*qᵉṭûlîm*, *qiṭṭûlîm*, &c.) may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the *conditions* or *qualities* inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single *acts* of which an action is composed. Comp. for the first class, בְּחוּרִים and בְּחוּרוֹת *youth*, זְקֻנִים *old age*, נְעוּרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלוּלוֹת *bridal state*; מְגוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Prov. 14, 30; cf. Delitzsch); חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); שְׁכוּלִים *childlessness*, סַנְוֵרִים *blindness*, עִוְעִים *perverseness*. *d*

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[1] Comp. the same use of the plural in *τὰ στέρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ τράχηλα, praecordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, comp. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103. *n*. סְפָרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סֵפֶר) 1 Ki. 21, 8 sqq. 2 Ki. 10, 1. 19, 14 (Is. 37, 14; referred to afterwards by the *singular* suffix); Is. 39, 1. Jer. 29, 25. 32, 14 (*after* being folded, previously סֵפֶר).

e There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify the idea of the stem, as אוֹנִים *might*, Is. 40, 26; אֱמוּנִים (as well as אֱמוּנָה) and אֱמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אַשֻּׁרִי (according to § 93. *l*, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; בִּינוֹת Is. 27, 11 and תְּבוּנוֹת Is. 40, 14, &c. (keen) *understanding*; דֵּעִים Job 37, 16 and דֵּעוֹת 1 Sam. 2, 3 (thorough) *knowledge*; בַּטֻּחוֹת Job 12, 6 and מִבְטָחִים Is. 32, 18 (full) *confidence*; בְּרָכוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, Ps. 21, 7; הַוּוֹת Ps. 5, 10 (very) *destruction*; חֲמוּדוֹת Dan. 9, 23 (greatly) *beloved*; חֵמוֹת Ps. 76, 11, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חֲרָפוֹת Dan. 12, 2 (utter) *contempt*; מַרְאֹת Gen. 46, 2 (an important) *vision*; מֵישָׁרִים *uprightness*; תַּהְפֻּכוֹת *perversity*; חֲשֵׁכִים and מַחֲשַׁכִּים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים *a* (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים *nobility*; שְׁמָנִים Is. 28, 1 *fatness*; צַחֲצָחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מַמְתַּקִּים *sweetness*; מַחֲמַדִּים *preciousness*; שַׁעֲשֻׁעִים *delight*; עֲדָנִים and תַּעֲנוּגִים *pleasure*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*; מְנוּחוֹת Ps. 23, 2 *rest, refreshment*; מְהוּמוֹת Am. 3, 9 *tumult*. On the other hand, חָכְמוֹת *wisdom* (Prov. 1, 20 and elsewhere) can hardly be a *plural* (= the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86. *l*).

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in חֲנָטִים *the embalming*, כְּפָרִים *atonement*, מִלֻּאִים (prop. *filling*, sc. of the hand) *ordination to the priesthood*, שִׁלֻּחִים *dismissal*, שִׁלֻּמִים *retribution*, פִּתּוּחִים *engraving* (of a seal, &c.); זְנוּנִים *fornication*, נְאָפִים *whoredom*, אֲהָבִים *adultery*; נֶחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תְּחִנּוּנִים *supplication*, נְדָדִים Job 7, 4 (restless) *tossing to and fro*, עִלֻּלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also נְגִינוֹת Ps. 4, 1. 6, 1, and elsewhere, if it means *the playing on stringed instruments*, and שַׁלֻּמִּים Is. 1, 23 *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number[1].

g Of (*e*): the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis*, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics[2] belonging to the idea, besides possessing (like some of the substantives under letter *e*) the secondary sense of an *intensification* of the original idea so especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex. 12, 12, and elsewhere). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i. e. as originally only

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[1] Mayer Lambert in the *Revue des études juives*, xxiv. p. 106 sqq., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *îm*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

[2] The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רַבּוּי הַכֹּחוֹת *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae, magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *we* used by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. already 1 Macc. 10, 19. 11, 31); and the plural used by God in Gen. 1, 26. 11, 7. Is. 6, 8 has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels) so at all events in Is. 6, 8, comp. also Gen. 3, 22), or according to others, an indication of *the fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gen. 1, 26); but it is best explained as a plural of *self-deliberation*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one* God), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (comp. § 132. *h*), e.g. אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק Ps. 7, 10, and elsewhere. Accordingly, אֱלֹהִים must have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

h To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong the plurals קְדֹשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Hos. 12, 1. Prov. 9, 10. 30, 3 (comp. אֱלֹהִים קְדֹשִׁים Jos. 24, 19, and the Aram. ע�illָיוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dan. 7, 18); and probably תְּרָפִים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 Sam. 19, 13. 16 only *one* image is intended; in most other places only one image *may* be intended[1]; in Zech. 10, 2 alone is it most natural to suppose a numerical plural. In Eccles. 5, 7 גְּבֹהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

i Further, אֲדֹנִים, as well as the singular אָדוֹן, (lordship) *lord*, e.g. אֲדֹנִים קָשֶׁה *a cruel lord*, Is. 19, 4; אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gen. 42, 30, comp. Gen. 32, 20; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדֹנֶיךָ, אֲדֹנָיו, &c., also אֲדֹנֵינוּ (except 1 Sam. 16, 16); but in 1st sing. always אֲדֹנָי[2]. So also בְּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord*, *master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e.g. בְּעָלָיו Ex. 21, 29. Is. 1, 3, &c.

k On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשָׂי *my Maker*, Job 35, 10; עֹשֶׂיךָ Is. 54, 5; עֹשָׂיו Ps. 149, 2; עֹשֶׂיהָ Is. 22, 11; נוֹטֵיהֶם *stretching them out*, Is. 42, 5; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93. *ss*[3].—נֹגְשָׂיו Is. 3, 12 might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימָיו *him who lifteth it up*, Is. 10, 15; שֹׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Prov. 10, 26. 22, 21. 25, 13 (in parallelism with אֲדֹנָיו). These latter plurals, however (including מרימיו), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, comp. letter *o* below.—For שֹׁמְרֶיךָ Ps. 121, 5 (textus receptus) and בּוֹרְאֶיךָ Eccles. 12, 1 (textus receptus) the singular should be read, with Baer.

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[1] Even in Gen. 31, 34, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וַתְּשִׂמֵם and עֲלֵיהֶם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; comp. Gen. 20, 13. 35, 7, and 145. *i*.

[2] On אֲדֹנָי (for אֲדֹנָי) as a name of God, cf. § 135. *q*.

[3] בְּעָלֶיךָ, which in Is. 54, 5 is in parallelism with עֹשַׂיִךְ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.

l Rem. 1. (*a*) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, comp. אָבָק *fine dust*, אֵפֶר *ashes*, בַּד *linen*, בְּדִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, חָלָב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עָפָר *dust, the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּדִים *linen garments;* כְּסָפִים *silver pieces*, Gen. 42, 25. 35; נְחֹשְׁתַּיִם (dual) *fetters of brass;* עֲצִים *ligna* (*timber* for building or *sticks* for burning); also in a wider sense, בְּדִילִים *alloy* to be separated by smelting, Is. 1, 25; עַפְרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Prov. 8, 26, comp. Job 28, 6 עַפְרוֹת זָהָב *dust of gold*.

m (*b*) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חִטִּים *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חִטָּה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; comp. the same distinction between כֻּסְּמִים and כִּסֵּמֶת *spelt;* עֲדָשִׁים and עֲדָשָׁה (the singular only preserved in the Mishna) *lentils;* שְׂעֹרִים and שְׂעֹרָה *barley*; also פִּשְׁתִּים *linen*, פִּשְׁתָּה (to be inferred from פִּשְׁתִּי) *flax*.

n (*c*) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דָּמִים requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Num. 23, 24 of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דָּמִים as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood stains (Is. 1, 15) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is. 9, 4). But since blood stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דָּמִים also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דָּמִים acquires (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, and especially *bloodguiltiness*, Ex. 22, 1 sq. and elsewhere.

o 2. In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular, certainly so in Deut. 17, 5 אֶל־שְׁעָרֶיךָ *unto* one of *thy gates;* Jud. 12, 7 בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד *in the cities*, i. e. in one of the cities *of Gilead;* Zech. 9, 9 בֶּן־אֲתֹנוֹת (comp. Cant. 2, 9); Ex. 21, 22 יְלָדֶיהָ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); comp. also Eccles. 4, 10 (*if one of them fall*).—So probably also Gen. 8, 4. 1 Sam. 17, 4. Neh. 3, 8. 6, 2; but *not* Gen. 19, 29, since the same document (Gen. 13, 1) makes Lot dwell *in the cities* of the Jordan valley; in Gen. 21, 7 בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned.

p **2.** When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—

(*a*) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Chron. 7, 2. 9; so also in compounds, e. g. בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 Sam. 22, 7, as the plur. of בֶּן־יְמִינִי *Benjamite;* but also

(*b*) By using the plural of *both* nouns[1], e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל 1 Chron. 7, 5; *q*
וּבְבָתֵּי כְלָאִים *and in prison houses*, Is. 42, 22; comp. Ex. 34, 1, &c.
(שְׁנֵי־לֻחוֹת אֲבָנִים *two tables of stone*; but Ex. 31, 18 לֻחוֹת אֶבֶן); Num.
13, 32. Deut. 1, 28. Jos. 5, 2. 6, 4. 2 Ki. 14, 14. 25, 23. Jer. 41, 16.
Ezra 3, 3, &c. עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת *the people of the country*; 2 Chron. 26, 14;
so perhaps בְּנֵי אֵלִים *sons of God*, Ps. 29, 1. 89, 7 (according to others
sons of gods); or finally even

(*c*) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*; e.g. בֵּית אָבוֹת Ex. *r*
6, 14. Num. 1, 2. 4 sqq. and elsewhere, as plur. of בֵּית אָב *father's
house, family*; בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת *the houses of the high places*, 2 Ki. 17, 29
(also בָּתֵּי הַבָּמוֹת 23, 19); בֵּית עֲצַבֵּיהֶם *the houses of their idols*, 1 Sam.
31, 9. Ezek. 46, 24; comp. also Jud. 7, 25 *the head of Oreb and Zeeb*,
i. e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers back to *s*
a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality
is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e.g. פִּימוֹ *os* (for *ora*) *eorum*, Ps.
17, 10; יְמִינָם *their right hand*, Ps. 144, 8 [so in the English RV.].

§ 125. *Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.*

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a*
or pronoun (see below, letters *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context.
In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing
the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the
construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently
also (according to § 33. *c*) by its union with a pronominal suffix
(§ 127. *a*). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the deter-
mination can only be effected in *one* of the ways here mentioned;
the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun
followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the
construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent
or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indeterminate* by the *b*
addition of אֶחָד in the sense of our indefinite article; comp. Ex. 16, 33. Jud. 9, 53.
13, 2. 1 Sam. 1, 1. 6, 7. 7, 9. 12. 27, 1. 1 Ki. 13, 11. 19, 4. 20, 13. 22, 9. 2 Ki.

[1] Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 sq., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

4, 1. 7, 8. 8, 6. 12, 10. Ezek. 8, 8. 37, 16. Dan. 8, 3. 10, 5 (in 8, 13 אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ i. e. *one*, viz. *a holy one*, is opposed to another).

c It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness for the sake of amplification*; e. g. Is. 31, 8 *and he shall flee* מִפְּנֵי־חֶרֶב *from a sword*, i. e. *from an irresistible sword* (God's sword); comp. Is. 28, 2 בְּיָד; 2 Sam. 6, 2 שֵׁם; Hos. 3, 1 אִשָּׁה *such a woman*, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1; Amos 6, 14 גּוֹי; Ps. 77, 16 בְּזְרוֹעַ; Prov. 21, 12 צַדִּיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God; Job 8, 10 מִלִּים meaning *important words*, but in 15, 13 מִלִּין *reproachful words*. Comp. on this point, § 117. *q*, note 1, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d **2.** Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יְהוָה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, כְּנַעַן, סְדֹם do not admit of the article[1], nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *Gentilic* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126. *e*), and may even be followed by a genitive.

e Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e. g. אָדָם, יִשְׂרָאֵל, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of Gentilic names (e. g. הָעִבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews* Gen. 40, 15; הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning *the* Philistines, is generally used without the article (but cf. 1 Sam. 4, 7, &c., הַפְּ׳) so always כַּפְתֹּרִים.—Evident appellatives (analogous to such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגִּבְעָה *the hill*, in the construct state גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל, i. e. *the Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others; הָרָמָה *the height*, הָעַי *the heap*; הַלְּבָנוֹן (prop. *the white mountain*) *the Lebanon*; הַיְאוֹר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*; comp. Amos 8, 8 כְּיאוֹר מִצְרַיִם *like the river of Egypt*; הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Mittheil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1890, p. 11, probably, originally *the drinking-place*).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article; thus

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[1] Consequently, הַמְנַשֶּׁה Deut. 3, 13. Jos. 1, 12, &c. (in the Deuteronomist) is the combination שֵׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה (for which elsewhere שֵׁבֶט מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded *not* as a proper name but as a Gentilic name (=*the tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Deut. 29, 7 שׁ׳ הַמְנַשִּׁי is used, as in 10, 8 שׁ׳ הַלֵּוִי *the tribe of the Levite* and in Jud. 18, 1 שׁ׳ הַדָּנִי *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos. 13, 7 הַמְנַשֶּׁה (like Gentilic names in ־ִי) is even used adjectivally.

אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יַהְוֶה) Gen. 1, 1 and so generally in this document of the Pent. up to Ex. 6, elsewhere sometimes הָאֱלֹהִים *ὁ θεός* (comp. § 126. *e*); also the sing. אֱלוֹהַּ *God*, עֶלְיוֹן *the Most High* (after אֵל), and שַׁדַּי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gen. 5, 1 onwards (previously in 2, 7, &c., הָאָדָם *the first man*); שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Chron. 21, 1 (but Zech. 3, 1. Job 1, 6 and elsewhere הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary*).

To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as שְׁאוֹל *Hades*, תֵּבֵל *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gen. 1, 2 and elsewhere; but Is. 63, 13. Ps. 106, 9 בַּתְּהֹמוֹת *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea[1]. *g*

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipse whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i.e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת as an abbreviation of the original (2 Sam. 5, 10, &c.), יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh, the God of hosts*. So also in geographical names such as אוּר בַּשְׂדִּים *Ur* (the city) *of the Chaldees*, Gen. 11, 28; אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם *Aram* (the region) *of the two rivers*; בֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem* (the city) *of Judah*; אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה 2 Sam. 20, 14, &c., to distinguish it from אָבֵל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Chron. 16, 4; יָבֵישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 Sam. 11, 1, &c.; יַרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ Num. 22, 1. 26, 3. 63, &c.; עָפְרָה אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי Jud. 8, 32 (but in 6, 24 עָפְרַת); צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is. 60, 14; הָרְמָתַיִם צוֹפִים 1 Sam. 1, 1. Some of these examples (comp. also Amos 6, 2) come very near to the actual construct state (comp. above, גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל), since e. g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense. *h*

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gen. 5, 29) or as predicate (e. g. זֶה הַיּוֹם *this is the day*, Jud. 4, 14; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Deut. 1, 1), or as object (e. g. אֶת־זֹאת 2 Sam. 13, 17), or as genitive *i*

[1] That various other words, such as אֱנוֹשׁ *man*, צַלְמָוֶת *deep darkness*, רוֹזֵן *prince*, שָׂדַי *field*, תּוּשִׁיָּה *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as תַּרְדֵּמָה *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

(מְחִיר זֶה 1 Ki. 21, 2), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְזֹאת Gen. 2, 23; בָּזֶה 1 Sam. 16, 8, see § 102. *g*).

k So also the personal pronouns הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה when they are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille*, &c.) are always determinate in themselves, e. g. הוּא הַדָּבָר *this is the thing*, Gen. 41, 28. They are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126. *u*) with a determinate substantive, e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Joel 4, 1. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself.

§ 126. *Determination by Means of the Article.*

a **1.** The article (הַ־, הָ, הֶ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; comp. also ὁ, ἡ, τό in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138. *i*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

b (*a*) Comp. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100. *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gen. 19, 34; הַפַּעַם *this time*, Gen. 2, 23; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= in this year) Is. 37, 30. Jer. 28, 16.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c. are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הוּא (הֵמָּה, הִיא) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. Ps. 19, 10 *the judgements of the Lord are true* ..., verse 11 וְ׳ הַנֶּחֱמָדִים prop. *the more to be desired than gold*, i. e. *they are more to be desired*, or *even they, that are more to be desired*[1], &c.; comp. Gen. 49, 21. Is. 40, 22 sq. 44, 27 sq. 46, 6. Amos 2, 7. 5, 7. Ps. 33, 15. 49, 7 (הַבֹּטְחִים in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); Ps. 104, 3. Job 6, 16. 28, 4. 30, 3. 41, 25 and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to letter *i*, remains indeterminate; e. g. Job 5, 10 *who giveth* (הַנֹּתֵן) *rain*, &c., *and sendeth* (וְשֹׁלֵחַ), &c.

c The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140. *d*); e. g. Deut. 32, 4 הַצּוּר תָּמִים פָּעֳלוֹ i. e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect is his work* (i. e. *whose work is perfect*); comp. Ps. 18, 31.

[1] On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in Ps. 18, 33 and elsewhere, comp. above, § 116. *f*.

2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus: *d*

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *and God said, Let there be light:* verse 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 Ki. 3, 24 *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword;* Eccles. 9, 15. (In 2 Sam. 12, 2 therefore לְעָשִׁיר must be read.)

(*b*) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών*: Gen. 35, 8 *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(*c*) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e. g. הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *the high priest,* הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun,* הָאָרֶץ *the earth.*

(*d*) When ideas relating to whole classes are restricted (simply by usage) to particular individuals (like *ὁ ποιητής*, meaning Homer) or things, e. g. שָׂטָן *adversary,* הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary, Satan;* בַּעַל *lord,* הַבַּעַל *Ba'al* as proper name of the god; הָאָדָם *the* (first) *man, Adam;* הָאֱלֹהִים[1] or הָאֵל *ὁ θεός, the one true God* (comp. also *ὁ Χριστός* in the New Testament); also הַנָּהָר *the river,* i. e. *the Euphrates;* הַכִּכָּר *the circle,* sc. of the Jordan, *the Jordan plain* [Gen. 19, 17, &c.]. *e*

(*e*) As a rule, with the vocative, e. g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ *help, O king;* Zech. 3, 8 יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *O Joshua the high priest;* 1 Sam. 17, 58. 24, 9. 2 Ki. 9, 5; in the plural, Is. 42, 18. Joel 1, 2. 13; but cf. also Jos. 10, 12. Is. 1, 2 (שָׁמַיִם and אֶרֶץ); 23, 16. Hos. 13, 14. Joel 1, 5. Eccles. 10, 17. 11, 9 (see König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 6). The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is. 22, 2, since it has been already defined by a preceding accusative.

Rem. Strictly speaking in all these cases the substantive with the article is really in apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person, which is either expressly mentioned or virtually present (in the imperative), e. g. 1 Sam. 17, 58 *thou, the young man.* But such passages as Is. 42, 18, where the vocative precedes the imperative, prove that in such cases the substantive originally in apposition eventually acquired the value of a complete clause. *f*

(*f*) With words denoting classes (see more particularly under letter *l*). *g*

(*g*) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are

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[1] On the subsequent change of שָׂטָן, אָדָם, אֱלֹהִים into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125. *f*.

so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see letters *q–s*).

(*h*) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see letter *u*).

h Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned cases; in general it occurs in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds[1]; it is omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Comp. e.g. אֶרֶץ for הָאָרֶץ Ps. 2, 2; מְלָכִים as vocative, verse 10; מְלָךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ 21, 2; שִׁמְךָ גְּדוֹל וְנוֹרָא (contrary to letters *u*, *v*) 99, 3. In the instances in which the ה of the article is omitted after a prefix (§ 35. *n*), the vowel of the article is often retained after the prefix even in poetry, e.g. בַּשָּׁמַיִם Ps. 2, 4 and elsewhere.

i (*i*) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gen. 29, 7 עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33, 13. 40, 18. 41, 26. Is. 66, 3.

k Rem. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gen. 2, 11 הוּא הַסֹּבֵב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42, 6. 45, 12. Ex. 9, 27. Deut. 3, 21. 8, 18. 11, 7. 1 Sam. 4, 16. Is. 14, 27 (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10, 20, where Winer, *Gram. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains οἱ λαλοῦντες as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116. *q*), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not subsumed under a general idea, but that the predicate is equated with it.

l **3.** The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, clearly circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

(*a*) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. *the righteous*, *the wicked man*, Eccles. 3, 17; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7, 26; הָאוֹיֵב *the enemy*, i.e. *the enemies*, Ps. 9, 7; הָאוֹרֵב *the lier in wait*, i.e. *the liers in wait*; הֶחָלוּץ *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*;

[1] Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7–9.

הַמְאַסֵּף *the rearguard;* הַמַּשְׁחִית *the spoiler,* 1 Sam. 13, 17[1]; so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e. g. 2 Sam. 17, 10 *as the courage of* הָאַרְיֵה *the lion.* Especially also with Gentilic names, e. g. *the Canaanite,* Gen. 13, 7 (comp. 15, 19 sq.); so in English *the Russian, the Turk,* &c., in Attic writers ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος, &c.

(*b*) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e. g. in English, the article is usually omitted (comp., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire,* &c.), e. g. Gen. 13, 2 *and Abram was very rich* בַּמִּקְנֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב *in cattle, in silver and in gold;* Jos. 11, 9 *and he burnt their chariots* בָּאֵשׁ *with fire;* comp. Gen. 6, 14. 41, 42 (unless this means, *the chain* necessarily belonging to the official dress); Ex. 2, 3. 31, 4 (35, 32). Is. 1, 22, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הָאֵיפָה Ex. 16, 36, &c.: הַחֹמֶר and הַבַּת Ezek. 45, 11; הָעֹמֶר Ex. 16, 22; בַּחֵבֶל 2 Sam. 8, 2. *m*

(*c*) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or conditions, physical or moral defects, &c.; e. g. Prov. 25, 5 (בְּצֶדֶק); Gen. 19, 11 *and they smote the men . . .* בַּסַּנְוֵרִים *with blindness;* Is. 60, 2 הַחֹשֶׁךְ *darkness;* Amos 4, 9, &c. *n*

(*d*) *Comparisons,* since the object compared is treated not (as usually in English) individually but as a general term, e. g. Is. 1, 18 *white* כַּשֶּׁלֶג *as snow,* כַּצֶּמֶר *as wool; red* כַּתּוֹלָע *like crimson;* Is. 34, 4 *and the heavens shall be rolled together* כַּסֵּפֶר *as a scroll;* comp. Num. 11, 12. Jud. 8, 18. 16, 9 *as* פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֹרֶת *a string of tow is broken;* 1 Sam. 26, 20. 1 Ki. 14, 15. Is. 10, 18. 24, 20. 27, 10. 29, 8. 53, 6. Nah. 3, 15. Ps. 33, 7. 49, 15; comp. also such examples as Gen. 19, 28. Jud. 14, 6, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127). *o*

Examples of indeterminate comparisons, such as כְּאַרְיֵה Ps. 17, 12, כְּגִבּוֹר Job 16, 14, כְּאָב 31, 18, כְּנֶגֶד 38, 3, are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora, —so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gen. 42, 30. Joel 2, 4. 7, the omission of the article may be explained by the ordinary rules. On the other hand, the article is regularly omitted, when the object compared is already defined by means of an attribute (or relative clause, Ps. 17, 12), e. g. Is. 16, 2 כְּעוֹף נוֹדֵד קֵן מְשֻׁלָּח *as wandering birds,* (as) *a scattered nest* (but comp. 10, 14 כְּקֵן); 14, 19. 29, 5 כְּמֹץ עֹבֵר (but Ps. 1, 4 כַּמֹּץ); Jer. 2, 30. Prov. 27, 8. Job 30, 14. *p*

4. Peculiar to Hebrew[2] is the employment of the article to denote a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and *q*

[1] But in Ex. 12, 23 המ׳ is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to letter *q*, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take המ׳ even in Ex. 12, 23 impersonally = *destruction.*

[2] Comp., however, analogous examples in Biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.,* § 79.*f*, e. g. Dan. 2, 14. 3, 2, and elsewhere.

therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

r Thus Amos 5, 19 *as if a man did flee from a lion* (הָאַרְיֵה, i.e. the particular lion pursuing him at the time), *and a bear* (הַדֹּב) *met him*, &c., comp. 3, 12. 1 Ki. 20, 36 (John 10, 12); also Gen. 8, 7 sq. 14, 13 (הַפָּלִיט, i.e. *one that had escaped*, the particular one who came just then; so also Ezek. 24, 26. 33, 21; comp. 2 Sam. 15, 13); Gen. 15, 1. 18, 7 *the servant*, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; comp. 2 Sam. 17, 17 (but הַנַּעַר Num. 11, 27 is used like הַפָּלִיט above); בַּמָּקוֹם Gen. 28, 11, according to Dillmann, upon *the* place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to *the* sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gen. 50, 26. Ex. 2, 15. 3, 2. 21, 20 (2 Sam. 23, 21). Lev. 24, 10 (Samaritan יִשְׂרְאֵלִי without the article); Num. 17, 11. 21, 9. 25, 6. Deut. 19, 5. Jos. 2, 15. Jud. 4, 18. 8, 25. 13, 19. 16, 19. 19, 29. 20, 16. 1 Sam. 17, 34. 19, 13. 21, 10. 2 Sam. 17, 17. 1 Ki. 6, 8. Is. 7, 14 (הָעַלְמָה, i.e. *the* particular *maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 1, 4. 6, 8. 19, 13].

s So always *to write in the book* (or *on the scroll*, Num. 5, 23. Jer. 32, 10), i.e. not in *the* book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex. 17, 14. 1 Sam. 10, 25. Job 19, 23. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of *the same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i.e. *on a certain day*), 1 Sam. 1, 4. 14, 1. 2 Ki. 4, 8. 11. 18. Job 1, 6. 13. In Gen. 39, 11 even כְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה.

t The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under letter *l*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הַצְּרָעָה Ex. 23, 28; הַנָּחָשׁ Num. 21, 7.

u **5.** When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e.g. Gen. 10, 12 הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה *the great city*; 28, 19 הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא *that place*; Gen. 2, 2 בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי *on the seventh day*; Deut. 3, 24 יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127, be determined either by the article, e.g. 1 Sam. 25, 25 אִישׁ הַבְּלִיַּעַל הַזֶּה *this worthless man* (prop. *this man of worthlessness*; comp. also such examples as 2 Chron. 36, 18, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e.g. Deut. 11, 7 מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדֹל *the great work*

of the Lord; or by a suffix, e. g. Is. 36, 9 עַבְדֵי אֲדֹנִי הַקְּטַנִּים *the least of my master's servants.*

v When several attributes (either connected by *Wāw* or added by asyndeton) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e.g. Deut. 10, 17 הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבֹּר וְהַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible.* Comp. also Ex. 3, 3. Deut. 1, 19, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective [1].

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

w (*a*) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so especially with ordinals after יוֹם [2], e. g. Gen. 1, 31 (comp. 2, 3. Ex. 20, 10, and elsewhere) יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day* namely *the sixth;* but יוֹם שֵׁנִי *a second day*, Gen. 1, 8); Ex. 12, 15 מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן *from the first day onward* (not before Dan. 10, 12 and Neh. 8, 18 is מִן־הַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן used instead of it; on the other hand, the article is *always* found after בְּ, hence בַּיּוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי, &c.); in Jud. 6, 25 the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations, as in particularizing gates (Jer. 38, 14. Ezek. 9, 2, and elsewhere; Zech. 14, 10) or courts 1 Ki. 7, 8. 12, and elsewhere; Ezek. 40, 28), and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e. g. Deut. 2, 23. Jud. 21, 19. 1 Sam. 25, 10. Jer. 27, 3. 46, 16 חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה *the sword which oppresses;* Ezek. 14, 22. Zech. 11, 2 *K^eth.* Prov. 26, 18. Ps. 119, 21.

x Of the other examples, Gen. 21, 29 (where, however, the Samaritan Pentateuch reads הכבשות), 41, 26 (but cf. verse 4), Num. 11, 25. Jud. 16, 27. 1 Sam. 17, 17 and 20, 3 may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gen. 1, 21. 28. 9, 10, and elsewhere, the substantive is already determined by כָּל־, and in 1 Sam. 14, 29 (דְּבַשׁ) by מְעַט.—In 1 Sam. 12, 23. 2 Sam. 12, 2. 4. Is. 7, 20 (where, however, הַשְּׂכִירָה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בְּחַעַר) and Neh. 9, 35, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 Sam. 16, 23. Zech. 4, 7. Ps. 104, 18, the omission of the article (before ר, ה) may be due to a regard for euphony (see letter *z* below).

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[1] The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as הָעָם הַזֶּה הַגָּדוֹל the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הָעָם הַזֶּה.

[2] Cf. Driver, *Tenses,* 3rd ed., § 209.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in *this* instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (comp. Dillmann on Gen. 1, 31, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 sq., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 sq.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. בְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Hebrew of the Mishna) is certainly a later idiom.

On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 6, 18 (to be read הָאֶבֶן הַגְּ׳). 17, 12 (הַזֶּה is a later addition). 19, 22 (comp. the LXX). 2 Ki. 20, 13 (cf. Is. 39, 2). Jer. 6, 20. 17, 2. 32, 14. 40, 3 *K^eth.* Ezek. 2, 3 (omit גּוֹיִם with Cornill). Mic. 7, 11. Ps. 62, 4, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect.

y (*b*) *No* article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (comp. also the Mêša' inscription, l. 3, זאת הבמת *this high place*); thus with הוּא Gen. 19, 33 (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30, 16. 32, 23. 1 Sam. 19, 10; with הִיא Gen. 38, 21; with זוּ Ps. 12, 8 (according to the Masora זוּ is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 Sam. 2, 23, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading יהוה כָּל־עַם became כָּל־עַם אֱלֹהִים, and אֱלֹהִים was then corrupted to אֵלֶּה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e. g. Jos. 2, 20. Jud. 6, 14. 2 Ki. 1, 2 and 8, 8 sq., where חלי, as in Jer. 10, 19, arises by contraction from חָלְיִי, or we should simply read חָלְיִ (in all these passages with זֶה); Gen. 24, 8 (with זֹאת); Ex. 10, 1. 1 Ki. 22, 23. Jer. 31, 21 (with אֵלֶּה).

z Of the other remaining examples Is. 11, 9 explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is interrupted by the insertion of לַיָּם. In Ezek. 34, 12. Hag. 1, 4. Ps. 143, 10. Cant. 6, 12 (?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the demonstrative is less closely attached; the same applies to Gen. 37, 2. 42, 19. 43, 14. Ps. 18, 18, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ר, א, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos. 16, 1 before ע, Gen. 7, 11 cf. Jos. 11, 8. Am. 6, 2. Num. 14, 37 before ר, 28, 4. Ezek. 10, 9 before א, 21, 19 before ח)[1]. In Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 sq. (אֶחָד) and 2 Ki. 25, 16 (שְׁנַיִם after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, letter *x*); finally, in 2 Chron. 26, 15 בְּחָצִים and בַּאֲבָנִים are to be read, as in Jer. 2, 21 גֶּפֶן for הַגֶּפֶן, in 22, 26 אֶרֶץ for הָא׳; in 2 Sam. 6, 3 omit חֲדָשָׁה, and in Ezek. 39, 27 omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dan. 8, 13 and 11, 31.

aa 2. When, as in Mic. 7, 12 (יוֹם הוּא *in that day*?), the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezra 3, 12, the demonstrative even precedes (זֶה הַבַּיִת equivalent to הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos. 9, 12 לַחְמֵנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative זֶה (=*this our bread*, &c.), as in verse 13 נאדות is to אֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences, *this is our bread*, &c. So also in Ex. 32, 1 מֹשֶׁה (=*that* [*iste*] *Moses*, &c.), in 1 Sam. 17, 55 הַנַּעַר, in Ps. 48, 15 אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to זֶה. On Ps. 68, 8 and Is. 23, 13, comp. § 136. *d*.

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[1] The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּה, as also in such cases as 1 Ki. 10, 8 (where a vowel precedes the ה). Also in Is. 23, 7 (*is this your joyous . . .*?) the article is omitted before עַלִּיזָה probably only for euphony.

§ **127.** *The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.*

When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89. *a*, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33. *c*, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate— *a*

(*a*) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125. *a*), e. g. דְּבַר יְהוָה *the word of the Lord.*

(*b*) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) *the soldier* (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos. 17, 1, *a soldier*); אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה Num. 31, 49, *the soldiers;* דְּבַר הַנָּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer. 28, 9 (but e. g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is. 29, 13; דִּבְרֵי־שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Prov. 29, 12).

(*c*) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e. g. בֵּית־אָבִי *my father's house.*

(*d*) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e. g. Gen. 3, 2 מִפְּרִי עֵץ־הַגָּן *of the fruit of the trees of the garden.* Thus in Is. 10, 12 four, and in 21, 17 even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כֹּל (prop. a substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כֹּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i.e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e. g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole* (prop. the entirety of the) *earth*, כָּל־הָאָדָם *all men*[1]; cf. also Ex. 1, 22 (כָּל־הַבֵּן *all sons*, כָּל־הַבַּת *all daughters*); 18, 22. Num. 15, 13. Jer. 4, 29, and cases like Num. 4, 23. 47. 21, 8 where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כֹּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (comp. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e. g. כָּל־עֵץ *every* (kind of) *tree*, Gen. 2, 9; comp. 4, 22. 24, 10. 1 Chron. 29, 2; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Jud. 19, 19; בְּכָל־יוֹם *every day, every time*, Ps. 7, 12. *b*

It is, however, to be observed— *c*

(*a*) That the article may in this case also (see § 126. *h*) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive in question is to be regarded as determinate, e. g. כָּל־שֻׁלְחָנוֹת *all* (the) *tables*, Is. 28, 8.

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[1] הָאָדָם being a collective; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man.*

(*b*) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e.g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i.e. *every* (not *every kind of*) *living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i.e. *all men* or *all living creatures* (with the article only in Gen. 7, 15 before a relative clause, and in Is. 40, 6); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(*c*) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל־ frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e.g. Is. 1, 5 *the whole head*, *the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head*, &c., which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 9, 11. 2 Ki. 23, 3. Ezek. 29, 7 *all* (i.e. *the whole of*) *their shoulders* . . . *all* (*the whole of*) *their loins*; 36, 5.—On כֹּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e.g. Is. 9, 8 הָעָם כֻּלּוֹ *the people*, *all of it*, i.e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם; cf. Driver on 2 Sam. 2, 9), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (=*all men*, *every one*, e.g. Gen. 16, 12)[1], see the Lexicon.

d 2. Gentilic names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (consisting of a nomen regens and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original genitive), e.g. בֶּן־יְמִינִי (see § 86. 5) *a Benjamite*; בֶּן־הַיְמִינִי Jud. 3, 15 and elsewhere, *the Benjamite*; בֵּית־הַלַּחְמִי *the Bethlehemite*, 1 Sam. 16, 1 and elsewhere (comp., however, 1 Chron. 27, 12 *Qerê* לִבֶּן יְמִינִי); בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי *the Beth-shemite*, 1 Sam. 6, 14; אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי *the Abiezrite*, Jud. 6, 11 and elsewhere, cf. 1 Ki. 16, 34.

e 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gen. 16, 7, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21, 28, where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 Sam. 12, 30 *the spoil found in the city*; but probably (unless the article is to be omitted as a textual error) it is so in Lev. 14, 34 *in a house*, &c.; Deut. 22, 19 *a virgin of Israel*; 1 Sam. 4, 12 *a man of Benjamin*; so also in 1 Sam. 20, 20 *three arrows*; 2 Sam. 23, 11 חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה *a plot of ground* (but see Gen. 33, 19. Jos. 24, 32); Jud. 13, 6. Jer. 13, 4. 41, 16. Ps. 113, 9. Prov. 25, 1, and repeatedly in Cant. (1, 11. 13 sq. 5, 13. 7, 3. 8, 2; 2, 1. 3, 9). On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121, 1 שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of '*the pilgrimage-songs*' (according to § 124. *r*), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally, so Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 59.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under letter *e*, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(*a*) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a *proper name*, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125. *h*, e.g. Num. 21, 14 הַנְּחָלִים אַרְנֹן *the valleys*, namely the valleys *of Arnon*; 2 Ki. 23, 17 הַמְּזֻבֶּחַ בֵּית־אֵל

[1] In Ezra 10, 17 instead of בְּכֹל־הָאֲנָשִׁים read simply בְּכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

the altar, namely the altar *of Bethel* (i. e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבַּח without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבַּח the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ); הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל *the God of Beth-el*[1] (equivalent to הָאֵל אֵל בּ׳), Gen. 31, 13; הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *the king of Assyria*, Is. 36, 16 (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 Ki. 18, 31), comp. 2 Ki. 25, 11. Jer. 38, 6; in the vocative, Jer. 48, 32. Lam. 2, 13. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ Gen. 24, 67 is no doubt only a subsequent insertion; so also יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 Sam. 20, 23. 2 Ki. 7, 13, הַתָּמִיד Dan. 8, 13, and עֹדֵד הַנָּבִיא 2 Chron. 15, 8. In Ex. 9, 18 read with the Samaritan לְמִיּוֹם; in 2 Sam. 19, 25 לֶכֶת might possibly be taken in apposition to לְיוֹם הַיּוֹם.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 Ki. 23, 17 *the sepulchre is* the sepulchre *of the man of God* (but most probably קֶבֶר has dropped out after הַקֶּבֶר) and Ps. 123, 4 (comp., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by לְ). *g*—In Jos. 3, 14 הַבְּרִית has been added to the original הָאָרוֹן by a redactor; comp. similar syntactically impossible additions in verses 11 and 17 (also in 1 Sam. 4, 3 and elsewhere, where the LXX still had simply אֲרוֹן יהוה); in הַיְתַד Jud. 16, 14 the Masora evidently combines two different readings יְתַד הָאָרֹג and הַיִּתֵּד; and similarly in Jer. 25, 26 (where הָאָרֶץ was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמַּמְלָכוֹת הָא׳ and מַמְלְכוֹת הָא׳ are combined.—In Jos. 8, 11. 1 Ki. 14, 24. Jer. 31, 40. Ezek. 45, 16 the article, being usual after כָּל־, has been mechanically prefixed, and so also in 2 Chron. 8, 16 after עַד־; in 2 Ki. 9, 4 the second הַנַּעַר (instead of נַעַר) is occasioned by the first; in Ezek. 7, 7 מְהוּמָה belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ezra 8, 29 the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Chron. 15, 27 the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed by a definition of the material *in apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; comp. § 131), e. g. Zech. 4, 10 הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל *the weight, the lead*, i. e. *the leaden weight*; Ex. 39, 17. 2 Ki. 16, 14. (הַנְּחֹשֶׁת, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while המסגרות המכנות in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, מסגרות המכנות and מהמכנות המסגרות). In Jer. 32, 12 also הַמִּקְנָה (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to הַסֵּפֶר. *h*

(*b*) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a *verbal* (i. e. *accusative*) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e. g. הַמַּכֵּהוּ Is. 9, 12, *the one smiting him;* in Deut. 8, 15. 13, 6 also ךָ is a verbal suffix, but hardly the וֹ in הָעֹשֵׂהוּ for הָעֹשֵׂהוּ Job 40, 19, nor the ה֫ in הַיֹּלְדָה Dan. 11, 6; § 116. *g*. In הָעֹרְבֵךְ Lev. 27, 23, the suffix, as appears from verses 1. 3. 5. 7. 13, *i*

[1] According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בית־אל is rather a case of 'sub-position' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלֹן Ezek. 47, 15 (for which, however, in 48, 1 there is the correct reading דֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלֹן) *by the way to Hethlon;* and in fact, Ezek. 47, 15 may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex. 39, 27 as an accusative of the material.

must have entirely lost its meaning (comp. also § 128. *d*).—Of the remaining examples בַּגְּבִרְתָּהּ Is. 24, 2 (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with בַּ), לַמַּעֲנֵהוּ Prov. 16, 4, and בֶּעָרִינוּ (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezra 10, 14, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in הָאֶהֳלִי Jos. 7, 21, הַחֲצִיוֹ Jos. 8, 33 (previously חֲצִיוֹ), הָהֲרוֹתֶיהָ 2 Ki. 15, 16 (dittography of the ה), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the ו of הַדָּבְרוֹ Mic. 2, 12 is the copula belonging to the next word.

§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

a **1.** The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* nomen regens can be immediately connected with one nomen rectum, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) regens must be added with a suffix referring to the nomen rectum, e. g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבְנֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not בְּנֵי וּבְנוֹת דָּוִד); comp. 1 Ki. 8, 28[1]. The language even prefers to avoid a series of several co-ordinate[2] genitives depending upon one and the same nomen regens (such as occur in Gen. 14, 19. Num. 20, 5. 31, 54 [1 Chron. 13, 1]. Is. 22, 5. Ps. 8, 3), and rather tends to repeat the nomen regens, e. g. Gen. 24, 3 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וֵאלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer. 8, 1 the regens is five times repeated). A lengthened series of genitives may, however, be formed by a nomen rectum serving at the same time as *regens* to a genitive depending on it (comp. § 127. *a* [*d*]); e. g. Gen. 47, 9 יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתַי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers;* comp. Job 12, 24, where there are three genitives, Is. 10, 12 four, and 21, 17 five. As a rule,

[1] Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ezek. 31, 16 (מִבְחַר וְטוֹב־לְבָנוֹן); Prov. 16, 11.—In Is. 11, 2 *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord,* דַּעַת may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also סֵפֶר Dan. 1, 4.

[2] In Ps. 114, 1 a second genitive is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129. *d*).

Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89. *a*), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting the examples in which genitives are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed genitives following a regens which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127. *f–h*. Compare, moreover: *b*

(*a*) Genitives after the absolute state, e. g. Is. 28, 1 גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים הֲלוּמֵי יָיִן *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation, according to which גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים forms *one* single idea (in German *Fettigkeitsthal*), on which the genitive הֲלוּמֵי יַיִן then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Jos. 3, 11 הַבְּרִית is a later addition; in Is. 32, 13 (מָשׂוֹשׂ), and Ps. 68, 22 (שֵׂעָר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Jud. 6, 25 sqq. the text is obviously in confusion. In Jud. 8, 32 (cf. 6, 24) בְּעָפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקָּבֵר or at the end of the verse; in Is. 63, 11 מֹשֶׁה is probably a gloss on יְמֵי־עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 Sam. 4, 2 לְאִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת, according to the LXX, has dropped out before בֶּן; רָעוֹת Ezek. 6, 11 is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (=*all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Prov. 21, 6 the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מְבַקְשֵׁי for מְבֻקָּשֵׁי); in 1 Chron. 9, 13 the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מְלֶאכֶת (comp. 12, 25).—Elsewhere (Deut. 3, 5. 1 Ki. 4, 13. 2 Chron. 8, 5) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i. e. *with high walls, gates and bars*. In Jer. 8, 5 ירושלם is either in apposition to העם הזה or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss. *c*

(*b*) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lev. 27, 3. 5. 6, where הַזָּכָר after עֶרְכְּךָ might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; however, from verses 13 and 23 (see above, § 127. *i*) it appears that the suffix in this word had entirely lost its meaning. In Lev. 6, 3 מִדּוֹ בַד *his garment*, namely the garment *of linen*, unless simply in apposition, comp. § 131. *d*; Lev. 26, 42, where בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וגו׳ could at most be explained as an elliptical form of expression for בְּרִיתִי בְּרִית יַעֲקֹב, comp. § 125. *h* (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אברהם; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); similarly, בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer. 33, 20, &c. On the other hand, אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֲכֶם יְהוָה Num. 12, 6 could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably נְבִיאְךָ מְיַהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In Ps. 55, 7 כְּסֵאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אלהים is most probably a later addition. In Jer. 52, 20 two readings are probably combined, לְנַחֲשֶׁתָם without any addition, and לִנְחֹשֶׁת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים. *d*

(*c*) The interposition of a word is assumed between כָּל־ (*the whole*; comp. § 127. *b*) and the genitive governed by it in 2 Sam. 1, 9. Job 27, 3 (עוֹד), and Hos. 14, 3 (תִּשָּׂא). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive *e*

relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עוֹד כָּל־, &c.), and כָּל־ is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e.g. 2 Sam. 1, 9 *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i.e. my whole life; comp. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין *non-existence* is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152. *o*.

f **2.** The dependence of the nomen rectum on the nomen regens by no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under letters *g–i*). Very frequently the nomen rectum only adds a nearer definition of the nomen regens, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. epexegeticus*, see the examples under letters *k–q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

g (*a*) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e.g. בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ *the king's house*; דְּבַר יְהוָה *the word of the Lord*.

h (*b*) An *objective genitive*, e.g. Obad. ver. 10 מֵחֲמַס אָחִיךָ *for the violence done to thy brother*[1] (but in Ezek. 12, 19 מֵחֲמַס is followed by a subjective genitive); Prov. 20, 2 אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ *the terror of a king*; Gen. 18, 20 זַעֲקַת סְדֹם *the cry concerning Sodom*; Is. 23, 5 שֵׁמַע צֹר *the report of* (*about*) *Tyre*, comp. 2 Sam. 4, 4; Am. 8, 10 אֵבֶל יָחִיד *the mourning for an only son*; Deut. 20, 14 שְׁלַל אֹיְבֶיךָ *praeda hostibus tuis erepta*; comp. Is. 3, 14. In a wider sense this includes such examples as דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים *the way of* (i.e. *to*) *the tree of life*, Gen. 3, 24; comp. Prov. 7, 27. Job 38, 20; דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם *the way of* (*by*) *the sea*, Is. 8, 23; זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים *the sacrifices of* (i.e. *pleasing to*) *God*, Ps. 51, 19; שְׁבֻעַת יְהוָה *the oath of* (i.e. *sworn before*) *the Lord*, 1 Ki. 2, 43.

i (*c*) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e.g. חַכְמוֹת שָׂרוֹתֶיהָ *the wisest of her ladies*, Jud. 5, 29; comp. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133. *h*, and also letter *r* below.

k Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—

(*d*) Of the *name*, e.g. נְהַר פְּרָת *the river Euphrates*; אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן *the land of Canaan*; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל *the virgin Israel* (not *of Israel*), Am. 5, 2.

l (*e*) Of the *genus*, e.g. Prov. 15, 20 (21, 20) כְּסִיל אָדָם *a fool of a man* (=*a foolish man*); comp. Gen. 16, 12. Is. 29, 19. Mic. 5, 4, &c.

m (*f*) Of the *species*, e.g. אַנְשֵׁי הַתָּרִים *men of* (the class of) *merchants*, 1 Ki. 10, 15; אֲחֻזַּת קֶבֶר *a possession of a burying-place*, i.e. *hereditary sepulchre*, Gen. 23, 4 and elsewhere; תְּאֵנִי הַבִּכּוּרוֹת *figs of* (the class of) *first ripe ones*, Jer. 24, 2.

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[1] Comp. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *iniuria* (Caes. B. G. 1, 30) *metus* (*hostium*, *Pompeii*, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, comp. *ἔννοια τῶν φίλων*, *πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ*, 1 Cor. 1, 18.

(*g*) Of the *measure, weight, extent, number*, e. g. מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *people of number*, i. e. *few in number*, Gen. 34, 30. Deut. 26, 5; comp. also Ezek. 47, 3–5 *waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming*, i. e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition מַיִם בִּרְכַּיִם. *n*

(*h*) Of the *material*[1] of which something consists, e. g. כְּלִי חֶרֶשׂ *a vessel of earthenware*, Num. 5, 17; כְּלֵי כֶסֶף *vessels of silver* (comp. the French *des vases d'or*); אֲרוֹן עֵץ *an ark of wood*, שֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל *a rod of iron*, Ps. 2, 9; comp. Gen. 3, 21. 6, 14. Jud. 7, 13, &c. *o*

(*i*) Of the *attribute* of a person or thing, e. g. Gen. 17, 8 אֲחֻזַּת עוֹלָם *an everlasting possession*; Prov. 17, 8 *a precious stone*; comp. Num. 28, 6. Is. 13, 8. 28, 4. Ps. 23, 2. 31, 3. Prov. 5, 19. 14, 5. Job 41, 19, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135. *n*. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially קֹדֶשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e. g. בִּגְדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex. 29, 29), since קָדוֹשׁ is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with עַם and גּוֹי *people*, and with שֵׁם the *name* of a person); the only exceptions are מָקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex. 29, 31, and elsewhere; מַיִם קְדֹשִׁים *holy water*, Num. 5, 17; קָדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh. 8, 10 sq., and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Deut. 23, 15. So also the use of צַדִּיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Deut. 4, 8; elsewhere the periphrasis with צֶדֶק or צְדָקָה is always used, e. g. מְאֹזְנֵי צֶדֶק *just balances*, Lev. 19, 36. *p*

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the purpose for which something is intended, e. g. צֹאן טִבְחָה *sheep for the slaughter*, Ps. 44, 23; מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is. 53, 5; comp. 51, 17 (*the cup which causes staggering*). Ps. 116, 13; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 20 חֲמֹר לֶחֶם וְנֹאד יָיִן *an ass* laden *with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֲשָׂרָה is to be read for חֲמֹר); comp. Gen. 21, 14. Prov. 7, 20, and elsewhere. *q*

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the construct state before a partitive genitive; thus מִבְחָר *choice, selection*, as in Gen. 23, 6 מִבְחַר קְבָרֵינוּ *the choice of our sepulchres*, i. e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex. 15, 4. Is. 22, 7. 37, 24; other examples are, Is. 1, 16 *the evil of your doings*, emphatically for *your evil doings*; Is. 17, 4. 37, 24 (=*the tall cedars thereof*). Ps. 139, 22.—This is the more common construction with the substantive כֹּל *entirety*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127. *b*; it is also frequent with מְעַט *a little*, for *few*, 1 Sam. 17, 28, &c. *r*

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see letter *p* above) by means of a genitive construction, may be added the very numerous combination of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בַּעַל *master, possessor*, בֶּן *son*, and their feminines *s*

[1] In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אָרִזִּי *made of cedar*, a denominative from אֶרֶז, and נְחוּשׁ *brazen* are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāṭṭâl*, as expressing an inherent property, comp. § 50. *f*; comp. also the proper name, בַּרְזִלַּי *ferreus*.

and plurals (including מְתֵי *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

t (*a*) Of אִישׁ, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex. 4, 10 (but אִישׁ שְׂפָתַיִם Job 11, 2 *a man of lips*, i. e. *a boaster*); אִישׁ לָשׁוֹן = *a slanderer*, Ps. 140, 12; אִישׁ דַּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Prov. 24, 5; אִישׁ חֵמָה *a wrathful man*, Prov. 15, 18; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 Sam. 16, 7. Ps. 5, 7; comp. further, 1 Sam. 16, 18. 1 Ki. 2, 26. Is. 53, 3. Prov. 19, 6. 26, 21. 29, 1. Ezra 8, 18; also אֵשֶׁת מְדָנִים *a contentious woman*, Prov. 27, 15; in the plural, e. g. Gen. 6, 4 אַנְשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם *the men of renown, famous*; comp. Gen. 47, 6. Is. 41, 11. Job 34, 8. 10 (אַנְשֵׁי לֵבָב *the men of understanding*); with מְתֵי, e. g. Is. 5, 13 (מְתֵי רָעָב *famished men*); Job 11, 11.

u (*b*) Of בַּעַל, &c.: בַּעַל שֵׂעָר *hairy*, 2 Ki. 1, 8; בַּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gen. 37, 19; comp. Nah. 1, 7. Prov. 1, 17. 18, 9 (*a destroyer*). 22, 24. 23, 2 (*disposed to eat, greedy*). 24, 8; feminine בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 Sam. 28, 7; comp. Nah. 3, 4; in the plural, e. g. בַּעֲלֵי חִצִּים *archers*, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gen. 14, 13; בַּעֲלֵי שְׁבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh. 6, 18.

v (*c*) Of בֶּן־, &c.: בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*; בֶּן־מֶשֶׁק *heir*, Gen. 15, 2; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex. 12, 5, and elsewhere; בֶּן־מְאַת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gen. 21, 5; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 Sam. 20, 31 (Luther, 2 Sam. 12, 5 *ein Kind des Todes*); comp. Deut. 25, 2 בֶּן הַכּוֹת *worthy to be beaten*; feminine, e. g. בַּת־בְּלִיַּעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 Sam. 1, 16; frequently also אִישׁ בְּלִיַּעַל, בְּנֵי ב׳, אַנְשֵׁי ב׳, and even simply בְּלִיַּעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *scelestissimus*, 2 Sam. 23, 6. Job 34, 18; plural masculine, e. g. בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם *children of the east, orientals*; בְּנֵי מֶרִי *children of rebellion*, Num. 17, 25. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e. g. Is. 5, 1 בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן *a fat*, i. e. a fruitful (hill); Jon. 4, 10 בֶּן־לַיְלָה i. e. *grown in a night*; Job 41, 20 *son of the bow* (i. e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Job 5, 7; Lam. 3, 13; בָּנוֹת Eccles. 12, 4 *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

w 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134. *o*) are added in the genitive, as substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is. 28, 4 צִיצַת נֹבֵל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיץ נֹבֵל *the fading flower*; comp. further, Is. 22, 24. Jer. 22, 17 (?). 52, 13. Ps. 73, 10. 74, 15. 78, 49; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e. g. in Prov. 2, 14 *b*. 6, 24 (אֵשֶׁת רַע) and elsewhere, analogous to the New Testament phrase *ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Luke 16, 8, and the French *un homme de bien*[1].—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as

[1] On the other hand, in such passages as Is. 36, 2 (2 Ki. 18, 17). Zech. 14, 4. Eccles. 8, 10, and others, there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חֵיל Is. 36, 2 and גֵּיא Zech. 14, 4 must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

an epexegetical genitive; comp. דְּמֵי חִנָּם *blood shed without cause*, 1 Ki. 2, 31; Prov. 24, 28. 26, 2; Ezek. 30, 16 (יוֹמָם).

3. The epexegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, comp. § 116. *f–l*). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e. g. חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 Ki. 15, 23), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative (§ 116. *f* and *k*) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the *material*, e. g. Ex. 3, 8, &c. אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey;* or of the *means*, e. g. חַלְלֵי־חָרֶב *slain with the sword*, Is. 22, 2; or the *cause*, Cant. 2, 5 *sick of love;* or of the *scope* of the attribute[1], e. g. Gen. 39, 6 יְפֵה־תֹאַר *fair of form;* cf. Gen. 41, 2. 4. Ex. 34, 6. 1 Sam. 16, 12. Jer. 32, 19. Nah. 1, 3. Ps. 119, 1. Job 37, 16; or of the *manner*, e. g. Ps. 59, 6 בֹּגְדֵי אָוֶן *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless). *x*

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e. g. Ps. 24, 4 נְקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 Sam. 9, 3. Is. 6, 5. Job 17, 9; Is. 19, 10 אַמְרֵי־נָפֶשׁ *grieved in soul;* 1 Sam. 1, 10. Job 3, 20. Also such examples as Amos 2, 16. Prov. 19, 1, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Prov. 14, 2, see § 116. *k*. *y*

§ 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a nomen rectum dependent upon a nomen regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119. *r*, expresses, besides other ideas, also that of *belonging to*[2], or by the addition of a relative clause (אֲשֶׁר לְ, see letter *h* below). *a*

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[1] Comp. the Latin *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*, &c.

[2] Comp. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88).—The Arab grammarians distinguish

b 1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e.g. 1 Sam. 14, 16 הַצֹּפִים לְשָׁאוּל *the watchmen of Saul;* Ps. 37, 16. 2 Chron. 28, 18 (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

c (*a*) To prevent a nomen regens being determined by a following determinate genitive, e.g. 1 Sam. 16, 18 בֶּן לִישַׁי *a son of Jesse* (בֶּן־יִשַׁי would be, according to § 127. *a, the son of Jesse*); comp. Gen. 14, 18. 36, 12. 41, 12. Num. 16, 22 (27, 16). 1 Sam. 17, 8. 2 Sam. 19, 21. 1 Ki. 2, 39 *two servants of Shimei;* Ps. 122, 5. Hence, regularly מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד (Ps. 3, 1, &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד *of David* is used alone elliptically in Ps. 11, 1. 14, 1 and elsewhere. Such a case as לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר (Ps. 24, 1 and elsewhere) is not to be regarded as a transposition, but מִזְמוֹר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לְדָוִד (as it were, a poem *of David, a psalm*). Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

d (*b*) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e.g. חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבֹעַז *the portion of field belonging to Boaz* (חֶ֫לְקַת בֹּעַז would be *the portion of the field of Boaz*); 2 Ki. 5, 9 *at the house-door of Elisha.* This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e.g. 1 Ki. 14, 19 עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel;* 15, 23 and elsewhere; comp. also Jos. 19, 51.

e (*c*) When for any reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is impossible; comp. e.g. Lev. 18, 20, where שְׁכָבְתְּךָ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lev. 15, 16 sqq. and elsewhere, שִׁכְבַת־זֶרַע; Jud. 3, 28 *the Jordan fords of Moab* (יַרְדֵּן as a *proper name* cannot be used in the construct state); Ex. 20, 5 *upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me;* וְעַל־רִבֵּעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עַל־שִׁלֵּשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאֹהֲבַי.

f (*d*) After statements of number in such cases as Gen. 8, 14 בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the seven and twentieth day of the month;* comp. 7, 11. 16, 3 and frequently, or as in Hag. 1, 1 בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָוֶשׁ *in the second year of Darius;* the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under letter *b*) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 Ki. 3, 18 בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי *on the third day of my giving birth* (i.e. after my giving birth). Comp. also the standing phrase בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first* (day) *of the month,* Gen. 8, 5 and frequently.

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a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by לְ, and the other by מִן, [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii. § 75 sqq.—G.W.C.] The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e.g. *la fille à Mr. N.*, laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de* . . . of the literary language.

Rem. In cases like 2 Sam. 3, 2 *and his firstborn was Amnon* לְאַחִינֹעַם *of Ahinoam*, the genitive expressed by circumlocution with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לַאֲחִינֹעַם *a son of Ahinoam*); comp. 2 Sam. 3, 3. 5. 1 Ki. 14, 13. Am. 5, 3, and the remarks on לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר in letter *c* above. *g*

2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of אֲשֶׁר לְ is used principally to state the *possessor*, e. g. Gen. 29, 9 הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ *her father's sheep* (prop. *the sheep which* belonged *to her father*); Gen. 47, 4 and frequently. So also (according to § 128. *a*) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gen. 40, 5 *the butler and the baker who* (belonged) *to the king of Egypt* (וְאֹפֵה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples in letter *d* above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ruth 4, 3); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Cant. 1, 1 שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה *the Song of songs, of Solomon;* 1 Sam. 21, 8. 2 Sam. 2, 8. 1 Chron. 11, 10; comp. also Gen. 41, 43[1]. *h*

§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89. *a*, primarily represents only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially— *a*

(1) Before prepositions, particularly in more elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before בְּ, שִׂמְחַת בַּקָּצִיר *the joy in the harvest*, Is. 9, 2. 2 Sam. 1, 21. Ps. 136, 8 sq.; in participles, Is. 5, 11. 9, 1. 19, 8. Ps. 84, 7, and especially often when בְּ with a suffix follows the participle, e. g. Ps. 2, 12 כָּל־חוֹסֵי בוֹ; comp. Nah. 1, 7. Jer. 8, 16 (Ps. 24, 1); Ps. 64, 9 (unless רֹאֶה should be read); 98, 7[2].—Before לְ, Hos. 9, 6. Ps. 58, 5 (before לָמוֹ); Prov. 24, 9. Lam. 2, 18 (before לָךְ); 1 Chron. 6, 55. 23, 28; in participles, Ezek. 38, 11. Job 18, 2. 24, 5; before לְ with an infinitive, Is. 56, 10, and again before לְ with a suffix, Gen. 24, 21.

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[1] In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from אֲשֶׁר לְ = שֶׁלְ, see § 36, and comp. Cant. 1, 6. 3, 7 שֶׁלִּי, שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה) is used like the simple relative דִּי, דְּ in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

[2] In Jud. 8, 11 the article is even used before a construct state followed by בְּ, in order to determine the whole combination שֹׁכְנֵי בָּאֳהָלִים *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; comp., however, the remarks in § 127. *f–i*, on similar grammatical solecisms.

Is. 30, 18. 64, 3[1]; — before אֶל־, Is. 14, 19. Ezek. 21, 17; — before אֶת־ (*with*), Is. 8, 6; — before מִן, Gen. 3, 22. Is. 28, 9 (a participle); Jer. 23, 23. Ezek. 13, 2. Hos. 7, 5; — before עַל־, Jud. 5, 10; before בִּלְתִּי, Is. 14, 6; before the *nota accus.* אֵת, Jer. 33, 22; before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex. 27, 13. Jer. 1, 15.

b (2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ezek. 26, 10; but חָכְמַת Is. 33, 6, גִּילַת 35, 2, and שִׂבְרַת 51, 21 may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (וָ) ה־.

c (3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun אֲשֶׁר; so especially in the combination מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where* (prop. *of that which*) . . ., Gen. 39, 20. 40, 3; or בִּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר Lev. 4, 24. 33. 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Ki. 21, 19. Jer. 22, 12. Ezek. 21, 35. Hos. 2, 1. We should expect הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, as in Gen. 35, 13 &c., *at the place which* . . ., cf. § 138; אֲשֶׁר is treated as a nomen rectum instead of as an attribute. Cf. also מִיּוֹם אֲ׳ followed by a *perfect* in 1 Sam. 29, 8, and יְמֵי אֲ׳ Lev. 13, 46. Num. 9, 18; also דְּבַר מַה־יֵּרָאֵנִי (*the matter* of that *which*, i. e.) *whatsoever he showeth me*, Num. 23, 3[2].

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as nomen regens) in the genitive relation, e. g. Ex. 4, 13 בְּיַד־תִּשְׁלָח prop. *by the hand of* him whom *thou wilt send;* Is. 29, 1 קִרְיַת חָנָה דָוִד *the city where David encamped;* Jer. 48, 36. Ps. 16, 3 (if the text be right). 65, 5 (Prov. 8, 32). Ps. 81, 6. Job 18, 21 *the place of him that knoweth not God;* Job 29, 16. Lam. 1, 14 (if the text be right) *into the hands* of those against whom *I cannot* &c.[3] In Gen. 39, 4 (כָּל־יֶשׁ־לוֹ) the כָּל־ takes after it a noun-clause, and

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[1] These are to be distinguished from the cases where לְ follows a construct state, which in conjunction with מִן (and the following לְ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have מִבֵּית־לְ Ex. 26, 33 (for which in Ezek. 1, 27 merely בֵּית לְ) meaning simply *within;* מִימִין לְ (2 Ki. 23, 13. Ezek. 10, 3) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) *of;* מִצָּפוֹן לְ (Jos. 8, 11. 13. Jud. 2, 9) *on the north of;* comp. also Jos. 15, 21 and מִן לִפְנֵי Neh. 13, 4.

[2] In Deut. 23, 5 the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר) *by reason of the fact that*, i. e. *because*); so also in 1 Sam. 3, 13.

[3] Probably Gen. 22, 14 is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Chron. 30, 18, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יְכַפֵּר בְּעַד כָּל־לְבָבוֹ הֵכִין *the good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God.* [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.—G. W. C.]

in Ex. 9, 4, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus, אַחֲרֵי followed by a perfect, 1 Sam. 5, 9; בְּיוֹם Ps. 102, 3 (before a noun-clause). Ex. 6, 28. Num. 3, 1. Deut. 4, 15. 2 Sam. 22, 1. Ps. 18, 1. 59, 17. 138, 3 (in every case before a following perfect). Ps. 56, 10 (before an imperfect); מִיּוֹם followed by the perfect, Jer. 36, 2; כָּל־יְמֵי Lev. 14, 46. 1 Sam. 25, 15. Job 29, 2 (יְמֵי *as in the days when . . .*; comp. כִּימוֹת and שְׁנוֹת before a perfect, Ps. 90, 15); בְּעֵת before a perfect, Jer. 6, 15 (cf. 49, 8. 50, 31); before an imperfect, Job 6, 17; תְּחִלַּת before a perfect, Hos. 1, 2.

(5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת בַּת־צִיּוֹן *the virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is. 37, 22; comp. 23, 12. Jer. 14, 17; also 1 Sam. 28, 7 אֵשֶׁת בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב *a woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit;* comp. Deut. 21, 11.—Gen. 14, 10. Jud. 19, 22. 2 Ki. 10, 6. 17, 13 *Qᵉrê;* Jer. 20, 15. 46, 9. Ps. 35, 16 (?). 78, 9. Job 20, 17 *b* (unless נַחֲלֵי or נַחֲלֵי be a gloss); Dan. 11, 14. *e*

Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspenso*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is. 37, 22, &c.; Job 20, 17 *a*. Elsewhere (Deut. 33, 19. Ps. 68, 34) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly[1]. *f*

(6) The numeral אַחַד *one* for אֶחָד in close connexion, and even with small distinctives, e. g. Gen. 48, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 22. Is. 27, 12. Zech. 11, 7. *g*

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form. Analogous to this are the apparent construct states שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, שְׁלֹשׁ, &c., in the compound numerals from eleven to nineteen, see § 97. *d*.

§ 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two substantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, letter *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the *a*

[1] So also Is. 28, 16 *a corner stone of the preciousness* (יְקָרַת is a *substantive* not an *adjective*) *of a grounded foundation*, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 Sam. 20, 19 the text is wholly corrupt; in Ps. 119, 128 read כָּל־פִּקּוּדֶיךָ.

other Semitic languages[1]) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of epexegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition of nouns in Hebrew are the following:—

b (*a*) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e. g. אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה *a woman* (who was) *a widow*, 1 Ki. 7, 14; נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה *a damsel* (that is) *a virgin*, Deut. 22, 23. 28. Jud. 21, 12. 1 Sam. 30, 17. 1 Ki. 1, 2; comp. Gen. 13, 8. 21, 20 (where, however, קֶשֶׁת is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex. 22, 30. 24, 5 (1 Sam. 11, 15). Lev. 6, 13. 1 Sam. 7, 9. 2 Sam. 15, 16. 1 Ki. 3, 16. 5, 29 (but probably סֵבֶל should be read instead of סַבָּל); Is. 3, 24. Jer. 20, 1. No doubt also כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ *the priest* (who is) *the chief man*, 2 Ki. 25, 18, &c.—In 2 Sam. 10, 7 read כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹרִים with the LXX.

c (*b*) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e. g. Job 20, 29 (27, 13) זֶה חֵלֶק־אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the portion of a man*, (who is) *a wicked man;* comp. Prov. 6, 12.—Prov. 22, 21 אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת *words* (which are) *truth;* comp. Ex. 30, 2. 1 Sam. 2, 13. Mic. 1, 11 (where, however, בּשֶׁת is most probably a gloss on עֶרְיָה); Zech. 1, 13 (=*comfortable words*); Ps. 45, 5 (?). 68, 17 (comp. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה *wine* which is *staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering[2]; 1 Ki. 22, 27 (Is. 30, 20) מַיִם לַחַץ *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 Ki. 5, 3 בָּקָר רָעֵי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 Ki. 6, 7 *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מְמַפָּע.

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[1] On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, comp. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

[2] Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 Ki. 22, 27 *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); comp. Ps. 80, 6 and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117. *kk*. Moreover, having regard to יַיִן הָרֶקַח *spiced wine*, Cant. 8, 2, and עַיִר פֶּרֶא *a wild ass's colt*, Job 11, 12 (in which passages יַיִן and עַיִר must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in Ps. 60, 5 to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יֵין).

A person and a condition are in apposition in Ezek. 18, 6 (unless בְּנִדָּתָהּ is to be read).—In 1 Sam. 4, 1 read אֶבֶן הָעֵ֫, according to 5, 1. 7, 12.

(*c*) Collocation of the *person* (Deut. 28, 36) or *thing* (form) and *material*[1], or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e.g. 1 Chron. 15, 19 בִּמְצִלְתַּיִם נְחֹשֶׁת *with cymbals* which were *brass*, i.e. of brass; Ezek. 22, 18, comp. Ex. 26, 25. Dan. 11, 8. 1 Chron. 28, 15. 18; Ex. 28, 17 *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39, 10 has טוּרֵי אֲבָנִים); comp. 2 Chron. 4, 13. Lev. 6, 3 (see, however, § 128. *d*); 2 Ki. 7, 1 סְאָה סֹלֶת *a seah* of *fine flour*; comp. 2 Ki. 7, 16. 18. Gen. 18, 6. Ex. 16, 33. Lev. 3, 11. Ruth 2, 17. 1 Ki. 16, 24. 2 Ki. 5, 23 כִּכָּרַיִם כֶּסֶף *two talents* of *silver*[2]; comp. 5, 17. Ezek. 22, 18 (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex. 30, 23 sq.—A *period of time* and its contents are placed in apposition in חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a month* of *days*, i.e. a month's time = for a whole month, Gen. 29, 14. Num. 11, 20. 21, comp. Deut. 21, 13. 2 Ki. 15, 13, and שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים *two years' time*, i.e. two full years, Gen. 41, 1. 2 Sam. 13, 23. 14, 28. 24, 13. Jer. 28, 3. 11. Dan. 10, 2 sq. *d*

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *trias* sc. *filii*, § 97. *a* and § 134. *b*.

(*d*) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e.g. Num. 9, 20 יָמִים מִסְפָּר *days*, (a small) *number*, i.e. only a few days; כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנֶה *money*, *repetition*, i.e. twice as much money, Gen. 43, 12; מַיִם בִּרְכַּיִם *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ezek. 47, 4 (also מֵי מָתְנַיִם *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse).—This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134. *c*) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e.g. Neh. 2, 12 אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *men*, *a few*, i.e. some few men; 1 Ki. 5, 9 תְּבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding*, *much-making*, i.e. much understanding: comp. 2 Sam. 8, 8 and elsewhere. *e*

(*e*) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. בְּהָרְרָם שֵׂעִיר *in their mountainous district*, *Seir* (perhaps only a subsequent gloss), Gen. 14, 6; *f*

[1] Comp. also the examples treated above in § 127. *h*.

[2] On the anomalous form כִּכָּרַיִם (instead of כִּכָּרַיִם; cf. כִּכָּרַיִם immediately before), cf. § 88. *b*.

הָאָרֶץ בְּנָעַן *the land Canaan*, Num. 34, 2; comp. Ezra 9, 1. 1 Chron. 5, 9 (see letter *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130. *e* above.

g Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition come first, e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד, הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ &c. 2 Sam. 13, 39. 1 Ki. 2, 17. 12, 2. 2 Ki. 8, 29. 9, 15, &c.)

h 2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֶת, אֶת־) or a preposition precedes the first substantive, it *may* be repeated before the noun in apposition, e. g. Gen. 4, 2. 22, 2. 24, 4. 47, 29. Is. 66, 21; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Deut. 18, 1. Jer. 33, 18. 1 Sam. 2, 14). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e. g. 2 Chron. 12, 13 בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הָעִיר *in Jerusalem, the city which*, &c.[1]

i 3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e. g. Lev. 13, 19 בַּהֶרֶת לְבָנָה אַדַמְדֶּמֶת *a white-reddish* (light red) *bright spot*.

k 4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see letter *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gen. 9, 4 *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof;* Deut. 2, 26. 2 Ki. 3, 4 *an hundred thousand rams, the wool*, i. e. the wool of the rams; Jer. 25, 15 *this cup of the wine* that is *of fury* (but הַחֵמָה is probably a gloss); Is. 42, 25 *he poured upon him fury*, namely *his anger*[2]; but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—

l (*a*) To a separate pronoun, e. g. Ex. 7, 11; with regard to the vocative, comp. § 126. *f*.

m (*b*) To an accusative suffix, e. g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הַיֶּ֫לֶד be a later gloss); Ex. 35, 5. Lev. 13, 59 *b*. 1 Ki. 19, 21 (where, indeed, הַבָּשָׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21, 13. 2 Ki. 16, 15 *K^{e}th*. Jer. 9, 14. 31, 2. Ezek. 3, 21. Prov. 13, 24 (comp., however, Delitzsch on the passage); Eccles. 2, 21 (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative)[3].

n (*c*) To a noun-suffix, e. g. Ezek. 10, 3 בְּבֹאוֹ הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man;* 42, 14; comp. Prov. 13, 4 (?). Ezra 3, 12; so also after a preposition with suffix, e. g. Eccles. 4, 10 אִי לוֹ הָאֶחָד *woe to him, the one alone;* with a repetition

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[1] In 1 Ki. 11, 8 participles after לְכָל־נָשָׁיו, as in 2 Ki. 10, 6 after אֶת־גְּדֹלֵי הָעִיר, in 19, 2 after a determinate accusative, and in Hag. 1, 4 after בְּבָתֵּיכֶם, are used *without* the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118. *p*.

[2] But מַיִם Gen. 6, 17 (comp. 7, 6) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מַבּוּל.

[3] For וַיְשַׁנֵּנוּ 1 Sam. 21, 14 either וַיְשַׁנֶּה is to be read or the *K^{e}thîbh* is to be explained according to § 75. *b*, note. Also יְלִכְדֵנוּ Prov. 5, 22 has hardly preserved the correct form.

of the preposition, Num. 32, 33. Jos. 1, 2 לָהֶם לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, to the children of Israel;* Jer. 51, 56. 2 Chron. 26, 14[1].—Comp., finally, Cant. 3, 7, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שֶׁלִּ (as in Ezra 9, 1, where the genitive is expressed by לְ)[2].

o Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e. g. Is. 29, 23 *when he* (or rather) *his children see*, &c. (but יְלָדָיו is clearly a gloss); comp. Ps. 83, 12, perhaps also Job 29, 3.

p 5. Cases of apposition in a *wider sense* are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative;* on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118. *a* and *m*. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

q (*a*) Such phrases as מִשְׁנֶה כֶּסֶף *a double amount in money*, Gen. 43, 15; comp. 2 Sam. 21, 20. Jer. 17, 18; 1 Sam. 17, 5 *five thousand shekels in brass;* certainly such cases as Job 15, 10 *older than thy father in days*, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. טוֹב מְאֹד *very good*, Gen. 1, 31 (comp. also Eccles. 7, 16 צַדִּיק הַרְבֵּה *righteous over much*), and the very frequent הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד prop. *a much-making exceedingly*, i. e. *exceedingly great*, Gen. 15, 1 and elsewhere, also Prov. 23, 29 פְּצָעִים חִנָּם *wounds without cause*[3], perhaps also Gen. 34, 25 (בֶּטַח).

r (*b*) A few examples, in which an epexegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ezek. 16, 27 מִדַּרְכֵּךְ זִמָּה *of thy conduct in lewdness* (but it is also possible to explain this according to letter *c*, *of thy conduct*, which is *lewdness*); cf. Ezek. 24, 13. 2 Sam. 22, 33 מָעוּזִּי חַיִל *my fortress in strength*, i. e. my strong fortress (comp., however, Ps. 18, 33); Hab. 3, 8. Ps. 71, 7. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (comp. § 135. *n*) is strange, it is much more so in חֲבָלָתוֹ חוֹב Ezek. 18, 7, i. e. according to the context *his pledge* for *a debt;* Ezra 2, 62 כִּתְבָם הַמִּתְיַחְשִׂים, i. e. *their register*, namely of *those that were reckoned by genealogy* (but perhaps הַמִּתְיַ is in apposition to the suffix in כִּתְבָם), also the curious combinations

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[1] But in Is. 17, 6 we should certainly divide the words differently and read בְּסַעֲפֵי הַפֹּרִיָּה, and in Prov. 14, 13 אַחֲרִית הַשִּׂמְחָה; in Gen. 2, 19 נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ.

[2] Some of the examples given above are textually (or exegetically) doubtful, whilst in the case of others, especially those from the later Books, we cannot help asking whether such a prolepsis of the genitive by means of a suffix (as e. g. Ezek. 10, 3) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; comp. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81. *e* and § 88.

[3] In Ps. 69, 5 חִנָּם (like שֶׁקֶר *in a false way, falsely*, Ps. 35, 19 and 38, 20) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; comp. § 118. *q*.

(mentioned in § 128. *d*) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lev. 26, 42), and in Jer. 33, 20 with הַיּוֹם[1].

s 6. In Deut. 33, 4 (מוֹרָשָׁה, perhaps לְמוֹרַשׁ is to be read), 33, 27 (מָעֹנָה), Jud. 7, 8 (צֵדָה), and Job 31, 11 (עָוֹן), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but merely as a textual corruption.—On the other hand, the remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת Ps. 80, 8. 15 arises from the fact, that in Pss. 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יהוה; on יהוה צְבָאוֹת comp. § 125. *h*. In Ps. 59, 6. 80, 5. 20 and 84, 9 יהוה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת[2].

t 7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e. g. Gen. 3, 6 *and she gave also* לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ *unto her husband with her* (= *her husband who was with her*); in Gen. 9, 16 (*that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh*) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

§ 132. *Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective*[3].

a **1.** The adjective (like the participle used adjectively), which serves as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees

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[1] But in Num. 25, 12 שָׁלוֹם may also be explained according to letter *c*, as really in apposition. Comp. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

[2] Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded צְבָאוֹת already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

[3] On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, comp. above, § 127. *h*, and § 128. *o*, with the note; § 135. *n* and § 141. *c* (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152. *u* (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122. *q*. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e. g. אָבִיר *the strong one*, i. e. *God*; אַבִּיר *the strong one*, i. e. *the bull* (Jer. 8, 16, and elsewhere, *the horse*); קַל *swift* = *the runner* (of the *horse*, Is. 30, 16); לְבָנָה *alba*, i. e. *luna*; פְּרִיָה (*fructifera*) *a fruitful tree*, Is. 17, 6 (so פֹּרָת Gen. 49, 22); רֹבֵץ *a croucher*, i. e. *a crouching beast of prey*, Gen. 4, 7. Comp. also רָזֵן (*gravis*, *augustus*) and נָשִׂיא (*elatus*?), i. e. *a prince*. This use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language comp. such examples as ὑγρή = *the sea*; *merum* for *vinum*, &c.

with it in *gender* and *number*, e. g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל *a great man*, אִשָּׁה יָפָה *a beautiful woman*. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128. *a*, the construct state and the absolute state belonging to it are inseparably united, e. g. Est. 8, 15 עֲטֶרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה *a great crown of gold*. — On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126. *u*.

b Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is. 10, 30 עֲנִיָּה עֲנָתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּהּ *answer her*, is to be read); comp. 23, 12. 53, 11 (*a righteous man, my servant;* but in 28, 21 זָר and נָכְרִיָּה are *predicates* preceding the substantives); Jer. 3, 6. 10 sq. Ps. 18, 4 *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord;* 92, 12 (apposition after participles). But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive (Jer. 16, 16. Ps. 32, 10. 89, 51. Neh. 9, 28; in Ps. 145, 7 רַב is a *subst. regens*); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

c 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex. 15, 16 (unless גְּדֶל should be read); 1 Sam. 16, 7 (*the height of his stature*); in the plural, 1 Sam. 17, 40 חַלְקֵי אֲבָנִים *smooth ones of* (among) *stones*, i. e. *smooth stones;* Is. 35, 9. Ezek. 7, 24. Ps. 46, 5, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e. g. Is. 29, 19 אֶבְיוֹנֵי אָדָם *the poor among men*, i. e. *poor men;* Jer. 49, 20. Zech. 11, 7; comp. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133. *g*).

d 3. When *two* adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to it takes the feminine termination, e. g. 1 Ki. 19, 11 רוּחַ גְּדֹלָה וְחָזָק וגו׳; 1 Sam. 15, 9 (comp., however, on this passage § 75. *y*); Jer. 20, 9. Ps. 63, 2. A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, comp. § 145. *p* and *t*.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146. *d*), e. g. Neh. 9, 13 חֻקִּים וּמִצְוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer. 34, 9. Zech. 8, 5.

When *three* attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, comp. Zech. 1, 8.

e 4. After feminines plural ending in יִם־ (§ 87. *p*) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, letter *a*) takes the ending וֹת, e. g. Is. 10, 14 בֵּיצִים עֲזֻבוֹת *forsaken eggs;* Gen. 32, 16. For a strange exception see Jer. 29, 17 (differently in 24, 2).

f 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—

(*a*) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e. g. Ps. 18, 28 (Prov. 6, 17) עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת *haughty eyes;* Is. 35, 3. Job 4, 3 sq., comp. § 88. *a*.

g (*b*) *Collective* ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e. g. עַם = *men*, 1 Sam. 13, 15. Is. 9, 1;

כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 Sam. 2, 14; גָּלוּת = *the exiles*, Jer. 28, 4; comp. also נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, Gen. 46, 27[1].

h (*c*) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e. g. Ps. 7, 10 אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק; 1 Ki. 19, 4. 16 (=Is. 37, 4. 17); Is. 19, 4; comp., however, אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים[2] Deut. 5, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 26. 36. Jer. 10, 10. 23, 36, perhaps also Ex. 20, 3 אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos. 24, 19 אֱלֹהִים קְדֹשִׁים (comp., however, above, § 124. *g–k*). On the other hand, 1 Sam. 4, 8 is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural attribute, see § 145. *i*.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, comp. § 128. *x*; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116. *f–l*.

§ 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives.* (*Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.*)

a **1.** Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or superlative of the adjective[3]. In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִ·), e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 גָּבֹהַּ מִכָּל־הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); comp. Jud. 14, 18 מַה־מָּתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ וּמֶה עַז מֵאֲרִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ezek.

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[1] But it is impossible to take תְּמִימִם in Ezek. 46, 6 as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Num. 28, 11, where *two* young bullocks are required.

[2] Comp. 1 Sam. 28, 13, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of *a spirit*) is followed by עֹלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 Sam. 19, 13. 16, a singular suffix refers back to תְּרָפִים *household god* (but not so in Gen. 31, 34), as in Ps. 46, 4 to the plural of amplification יַמִּים *sea*. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה Ps. 78, 15 is to be regarded as an attribute of תְּהֹמוֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

[3] There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *elative*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אַקְטָל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אַכְזָר *daring, cruel*, אַכְזָב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֵיתָן (contracted from *'aitan*) *constantly flowing, perennis*. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più, plus*.

28, 3. Amos 6, 2. Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gen. 29, 19 *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her*, &c.; Ex. 14, 12. Ps. 118, 8 sq.[1]

b Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 Sam. 10, 23 וַיִּגְבַּהּ מִכָּל־הָעָם *and he was higher than any of the people;* Nah. 3, 8. Job 7, 6. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119. *v*–2) the idea of a *separation*, *distinction* or *superiority* of one person or thing *from* or *over* others[2]. This is evident in such cases as בָּחַר מִן *to choose* something (to prefer it) *before* something else, e. g. Job 7, 15, comp. Deut. 14, 2 (also יִתְרוֹן . . . מִן *the excellence of . . . over . . .*, Eccles. 2, 13); it is also seen in examples like Gen. 37, 3 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אָהַב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו *now Israel loved Joseph more than all his* (other) *children;* 29, 30. 1 Sam. 2, 29. Hos. 6, 6[3].

c 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of מִן after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is *too little* or *too much* in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e. g. Is. 7, 13 הַמְעַט מִכֶּם *is it a small thing* (i. e. too little) *for you to . . .?* Job 15, 11; after an intransitive verb, e. g. Gen. 32, 11 *I am too insignificant* (קָטֹנְתִּי) *for all the mercies* (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; comp. also the expressions כָּבֵד מִן *to be too heavy for one*, Ex. 18, 18. Num. 11, 14. Ps. 38, 5; קָשָׁה מִן *to be too hard for one*, Deut. 1, 17; מָעַט מִן *to be too few for something*, Exod. 12, 4; גָּבַר מִן *to be too strong for one*, Ps. 65, 4; עָצַם מִן *to be too mighty for one*, Gen. 26, 16; רוּם מִן *to be too high for one*, Ps. 61, 3; צַר מִן *to be too narrow for one*, Is. 49, 19; קָצַר מִן *to be too short for something*, Is. 50, 2, and very frequently נִפְלָא מִן *to be too wonderful for one* (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gen. 18, 14. Deut. 17, 8. 30, 11. Jer. 37, 17. Prov. 30, 18.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by מִן with an infinitive, e. g. 1 Ki. 8, 64 *the brazen altar . . . was* קָטֹן מֵהָכִיל *too little to receive* (to be able to receive) *the burnt offering*, comp. Gen. 4, 13. 36, 7 *too great for them to dwell together;* after verbs, e. g. Ex. 12, 4. Is. 28, 20. Ps. 40, 6. Finally, cf. רַב לָכֶם מִן, followed by the infinitive, *it is enough* (prop. *too much*) *for you to . . .*, meaning *ye have . . .*

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[1] In Jud. 11, 25 the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, *art thou so much better than Balak?* It would also be possible, however, to translate *art thou really better . . .?*

[2] Comp. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *egregius*, and the Homeric ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα, Il. 4, 96; ἐκ πασέων, 18, 431.

[3] On the other hand, the phrase צָדַק מִן expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gen. 38, 26 צָדְקָה מִמֶּנִּי means, *she is in the right as against me;* comp. Job 4, 17. 32, 2.—In Prov. 17, 12 *rather* (to meet with so and so) *than* . . . is expressed by וְאַל before the second member.

long enough, 1 Ki. 12, 28; cf. Ex. 9, 28 and Ezek. 44, 6 (מִן־ followed by a substantive)[1].

d In all these instances מִן־ expresses either the *removal* of a thing *from* a person, or the *severance* of the person from some aim or object; comp. also the expression לֹא־יִבָּצֵר מֵהֶם כֹּל וגו׳ *nothing will be unattainable for them* (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gen. 11, 6. Job 42, 3.

e 3. The attributive idea, on which מִן־ logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the מִן־ (see the analogous examples in § 119. *ff*), be supplied from the context, e. g. Is. 10, 10 וּפְסִילֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַיִם *whose graven images* were more numerous *than* those at *Jerusalem*, &c.[2]; Mic. 7, 4 worse *than a thorn hedge;* Ps. 62, 10 lighter *than a breath;* Job 11, 17 clearer *than the noonday;* Eccles. 4, 17 better *than*, &c.

f **2.** The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gen. 1, 16. 19, 31. 34. 27, 15. 29, 16. 18. 26.

g **3.** To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, letter *f*) to make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals[3]; e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 הַצְּעִרָה *the least;* 16, 11 הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i. e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17, 14 *David was* הַקָּטָן *the youngest, and the three great*, i. e. elder, &c.; Gen. 42, 13. 44, 2. Cant. 1, 8.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e. g. Gen. 9, 24 בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son;* comp. Jos. 14, 15; also with a following genitive, 2 Chron. 21, 17 קְטֹן בָּנָיו *the youngest of his sons;* Prov. 30, 24 *the least upon the earth;* with suffix, Mic. 7, 4 טוֹבָם *their good one*, i. e. the best of them; Jon. 3, 5 מִגְּדוֹלָם וְעַד־קְטַנָּם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them;* comp. the inverse order in Jer. 6, 13. 31, 34.

h Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e. g. Deut. 33, 19 *the most hidden treasures of the sand;* Jud. 5, 29 *the wisest amongst her ladies;* Is. 19, 11. 23, 8 sq. 29, 19. Jer. 49, 20. Ezek. 28, 7.

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[1] Comp. also 2 Ki. 4, 3, where the idea of *doing something too little* is paraphrased by the Hiph. הַמְעִיט = *do not too little*, sc. לִשְׁאֹל *in borrowing* empty vessels.

[2] On this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in Ps. 4, 8, מֵעֵת *greater gladness than at the time*, &c.

[3] Comp. also עֶלְיוֹן *the one above*, i. e. *the Most High.*

Zech. 11, 7. Ps. 45, 13. Job 30, 6 (*in the most frightful of valleys*). 41, 22; probably also Ps. 35, 16. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132. *c*.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantivally (discussed in § 128. *w*) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is. 22, 24 כֹּל כְּלֵי הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels;* Cant. 7, 10 כְּיֵין הַטּוֹב *like the best wine* (where indeed כַּיַּיִן הַטּוֹב may have been originally intended).

i 2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; comp. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex. 26, 33 קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים *the most holy place;* שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Cant. 1, 1) *the most excellent song;* comp. Gen. 9, 25 (=*servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Num. 3, 32. Deut. 10, 17[1] (Ps. 136, 3); 1 Ki. 8, 27. Is. 34, 10 (comp. Gal. 1, 5. Rev. 22, 5); Jer. 3, 19. Ezek. 16, 7. 26, 7 (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadrezzar; comp. 1 Tim. 6, 15. Rev. 17, 14. 19, 16, and another kind of circumlocution in Ps. 95, 3); Eccles. 1, 12. Similarly in Jer. 6, 28 two participles are combined, and in Hos. 10, 15 two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex. 31, 15, &c.) or of the same meaning (e. g. חֹשֶׁךְ אֲפֵלָה *a thick darkness*, Ex. 10, 22).

k 3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Eccles. 7, 24 עָמֹק עָמֹק *exceeding deep;* 1 Sam. 2, 3. Prov. 20, 14; the adjective is even used three times in Is. 6, 3.—Comp. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gen. 7, 19. Num. 14, 7 (מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceeding*, also בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד Ex. 1, 7 and elsewhere); Ezek. 42, 15.—On the other hand, in Deut. 28, 43 the repetition expresses a continuous progress, i. e. *higher and higher ... lower and lower;* in Deut. 2, 27 (see § 123. *e*) and 16, 20 (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Comp. Ex. 23, 30 מְעַט מְעַט *very gradually*[2].

l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לְדֹר דֹּר (Ex. 3, 15) = *to the remotest generations;* comp. 17, 16. Jer. 6, 14. 8, 11 (*perfect peace*); Ezek. 21, 32 (עָוָה repeated three times)[3]; 35, 7. Nah. 1, 2. Sometimes the completeness of an action or condition is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, comp. Ezek. 6, 14 (33, 28 sq. 35, 3); 32, 15. Nah. 2, 11. Zeph. 1, 15 (Job 30, 3. 38, 27).

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[1] *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bēl bēli* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

[2] Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Num. 6, 9. Is. 29, 5. 30, 13; of different stems in Is. 5, 26 and Joel 4, 4. In Num. 12, 2 the particles רַק אַךְ appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

[3] Different in kind from the thrice repeated exclamation of the same words in 2 Sam. 18, 33. Jer. 7, 4 and 22, 29, and the double exclamation in Jer. 4, 19 and Lam. 1, 16 (?).

§ 134. *Syntax of the Numerals.*

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893.

a **1.** The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives, may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either—

(*a*) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two men;* or

b (*b*) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131. *d*), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *a triad*, viz. *sons*, i. e. three sons; שְׁנַיִם אֲנָשִׁים *two men;* or

c (*c*) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e. g. בָּנוֹת שָׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gen. 32, 15. Num. 7, 17. 28, 19. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival[1].

d Rem. In Lev. 24, 22 אֶחָד follows the construct state מִשְׁפַּט, but here as in Num. 15, 16 מִשְׁפָּט should be read. In Gen. 42, 19 אֶחָד is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of you brethren;* but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Num. 31, 28 אֶחָד precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (= *one each*).—For מֵאָה־שָׁנָה (Gen. 7, 17, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gen. 17, 17. 23, 1) מְאַת שָׁנָה (Gen. 5, 3, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality*, i. e. *they two*, Gen. 2, 25 and elsewhere (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ 1 Sam. 20, 42), comp. § 97. *i*.

e **2.** The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the plural[2], with very few exceptions, such as Ex. 16, 22 (where שְׁנֵי הָעֹמֶר

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[1] From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55–66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, in Jos. 1–12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after;* in the Priestly Code and Jos. 13–24 nearly always *after;* in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex. 28, 10 the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת־שֵׁמוֹת הַשִּׁשָּׁה; for the omission of the article before שׁ, cf. § 126. *w*.

[2] On examples such as Gen. 46, 27 (נֶפֶשׁ שִׁבְעִים *two souls*), comp. § 132. *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

= *the double of an omer*). 2 Ki. 22, 1. Ezek. 45, 1, comp. 2 Ki. 8, 17 and 25, 17 *Keth.* The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under letter *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, comp. § 131. *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יוֹם, כֹּר, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, עָרִים (but cf. also Jud. 11, 33), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e. g. אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits*, 2 Chron. 3, 3 sq.; with the exception of 2 Sam. 24, 24, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further, letter *g* below.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, with יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar* (Ex. 24, 4), sometimes with אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old* and the German *sechzig Pfund*), e. g. Deut. 1, 2 אַחַד עָשָׂר יוֹם (comp., however, such exceptions as Deut. 1, 23. Jos. 4, 2, and elsewhere).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Num. 7, 87 sq. 1 Chron. 4, 27. 25, 5. *f*

2. After מֵאָה (מְאַת [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always מְאַת אֶלֶף], מְאוֹת, מָאתַיִם) and אֶלֶף (אַלְפֵי, אַלְפִים) the substantives אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה (except in Ezek. 40, 27), יוֹם, רַגְלִי, צֶמֶד are regularly used in the singular, generally also שָׁנָה, כִּכָּר, כֹּר, שֶׁקֶל (with the exception of Jos. 7, 21. 2 Sam. 14, 26, and elsewhere); comp., moreover, Gen. 33, 19. Est. 1, 1. Jud. 21, 12. Deut. 7, 9. 1 Ki. 5, 12. 2 Chron. 9, 15.—Examples of the *plural* after מֵאָה are Gen. 26, 12. 1 Sam. 18, 25. 2 Sam. 16, 1. 1 Ki. 18, 4; after מְאַת Ex. 38, 27; after מְאוֹת Jud. 15, 4. 2 Sam. 8, 4. 1 Ki. 10, 17. Ezek. 42, 17; after מָאתַיִם 1 Sam. 25, 18. 1 Ki. 7, 20; after אֶלֶף 1 Sam. 25, 2. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 5, 6. 2 Ki. 3, 4. Ps. 90, 4; after אַלְפֵי 1 Sam. 17, 5. Job 42, 12; after אַלְפֵי Mic. 6, 7; after אַלְפִים Is. 36, 8.—In Dan. 12, 11 the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*. *g*

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gen. 5, 20 שְׁתַּיִם וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה *two and sixty years* (שָׁנָה in the singular, according to letter *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה Deut. 2, 14), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dan. 9, 26 and elsewhere; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 Ki. 6, 1, and the Priestly *h*

Code; sometimes even several times, e.g. Gen. 23, 1. 25, 7. 17 thrice) in the plural with the units (according to letter *b*), and in the singular with the tens (see letter *e*) and hundreds, e.g. Gen. 12, 4 חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה *seventy and five years;* Gen. 23, 1 וְשֶׁבַע שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years.* Comp. Gen. 5, 6 sqq.

i Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, Joshua 1–12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) before the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13–24, after the units (see Herner, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added *ἀσυνδέτως*, without וְ, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

k 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; comp., however, Lev. 25, 10 sq. Num. 16, 35. Jos. 4, 4. 2 Sam. 23, 13) to a number or list already mentioned, e.g. Gen. 2, 11 שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one* (the first) *is Pishon;* Gen. 14, 9 *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); comp. 1 Chron. 11, 20 sq., and the determinate tens in Gen. 18, 29. 31 sq. A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e.g. Deut. 19, 9 (but comp. also Gen. 9, 19. 22, 23, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (1 Chron. 25, 19. 27, 15) or before עָשָׂר (Jos. 4, 4); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Num. 3, 46.

l In apposition with some determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos. 15, 14 אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֲנָק, where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; comp. Gen. 18, 28. Jos. 6, 8. 22. 1 Sam. 17, 14. 1 Ki. 11, 31, and the passages discussed above in § 126. *x;* Gen. 21, 29, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e.g. 1 Ki. 7, 27. 43 sq. עֶשֶׂר and עֲשָׂרָה; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126. *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus. This would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 sq. Jer. 24, 2. Ezek. 10, 9, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אַחַת 1 Sam. 1, 2 for הָאַחַת.

m Such cases as שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים Jud. 14, 17 (which is determined by a following determinate genitive) are explained from § 127. *b;* 1 Chron. 9, 25 perhaps from § 126. *q;* in Is. 30, 26 probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 Sam. 9, 20 and 25, 38 the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

n 3. Certain specifications of *measure*, *weight*, or *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals, e.g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף *a thousand* (shekels) *of silver;* so also before זָהָב Gen. 24, 22. 1 Ki. 10, 16. Is. 7, 23, comp. Ps. 119, 72. Moreover, Ruth 3, 15

שֵׁשׁ שְׂעֹרִים *six* (ephahs) *of barley;* 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֲשָׂרָה לֶחֶם *ten* (according to 10, 3 *loaves*) *of bread;* comp. 2 Sam. 16, 1, where before קַיִץ a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex. 26, 2 and elsewhere) and in 1 Ki. 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ezek. 40, 5. 21. 47, 3. Zech. 5, 2. 1 Chron. 11, 23. 2 Chron. 4, 2 sq.) by the addition of בָּאַמָּה prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex. 27, 11 the Samaritan and LXX read בָּאַמָּה after אֹרֶךְ, and in 27, 15 אַמָּה after עֶשְׂרֵה.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e. g. Gen. 7, 11 בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the seventeenth day;* Deut. 1, 3 בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the fortieth year;* comp. Gen. 14, 5. 2 Ki. 25, 27, and, with repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 Ki. 6, 1; such a cardinal occurs without בְּ (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118. *k*) in Gen. 14, 4 (the Samaritan, however, has ובשלש); with the article (but without a numbered object, see above, letter *k*), 1 Ki. 19, 19[1]. On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, comp. e. g. 1 Ki. 16, 10 בִּשְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וָשֶׁבַע *in the twenty and seventh year*, and with a determinate numeral, Ex. 12, 18. Num. 33, 38. Deut. 15, 9. In this case, however, שָׁנָה is very frequently repeated, e. g. Gen. 7, 11. 2 Ki. 13, 10; after a determinate numeral, Lev. 25, 10[2]. *o*

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ 1 Ki. 15, 25; בִּשְׁנַת 2 Ki. 18, 1, &c., comp. Deut. 15, 9. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (בָּרִאשׁוֹן, בַּשֵּׁנִי, &c., up to בָּעֲשִׂירִי), but not the days of the month, e. g. בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ Gen. 8, 5 and elsewhere, בְּאַרְבָּעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Zech. 7, 1; בַּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ Ezek. 1, 1 and elsewhere, בְּשִׁבְעָה 2 Ki. 25, 8, בְּתִשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Lev. 23, 32 (always, however, בֶּעָשׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the tenth day of the month*). On the omission of יוֹם in all these cases see above, letter *n;* only in late passages is יוֹם added, e. g. 2 Chron. 29, 17 בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנָה לַחֹדֶשׁ; Ezra 3, 6 מִיּוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ.—Finally, when the year is stated by בִּשְׁנַת governing a determinate ordinal, e. g. 2 Ki. 17, 6 בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁעִית *p*

[1] Somewhat different from this is Ex. 19, 15 *be ready* לִשְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים prop. *after three days*, i. e. *on the third day* (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezra 10, 8 the ordinal is used), also 1 Sam. 30, 13 כִּי חָלִיתִי הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה *because three days agone I fell sick*, prop. *to-day three* (days).

[2] All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e. g. in Lev. 25, 10, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i. e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard שְׁנַת or בִּשְׁנַת in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128. *k*.

in the ninth year (comp. 25, 1. Jer. 28, 1 *K^eth.* 32, 1 *K^eth.* 46, 2. 51, 59. Ezra 7, 8), בְּשָׁנַת in such cases is again (see note 2 on letter *o*) to be explained according to § 128. *k*. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer. 28, 1. 32, 1, requires in the *Q^erê* בַּשָּׁנָה for בשנת.

q **5.** *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e. g. Gen. 7, 9. 15 שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two and two;* 2 Sam. 21, 20 שֵׁשׁ וָשֵׁשׁ *six each;* with the numbered object also repeated, e. g. Jos. 3, 12 אִישׁ אֶחָד אִישׁ אֶחָד לַשֵּׁבֶט *for every tribe a man;* Num. 13, 2. 34, 18 (אֶחָד מִן, as in Neh. 11, 1, *one out of every ten*); comp. § 123. *d;* or a periphrasis with לְ אֶחָד is used, Num. 17, 18. Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לַבְּקָרִים, § 123. *c*), e. g. לְמֵאוֹת וְלַאֲלָפִים *by hundreds and by thousands.*

r **6.** The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see letter *o* above) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פַּעַם, פְּעָמִים; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Job 40, 5; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lev. 26, 21. 24. Prov. 24, 16; comp. also אַחַת *once*, 2 Ki. 6, 10. Job 40, 5, for which in Job 33, 14 בְּאַחַת[1] along with בְּשָׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 Sam. 18, 21); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שִׁבְעָתַיִם Gen. 4, 15 (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is. 30, 26. Ps. 12, 7. 79, 12; אַרְבַּעְתַּיִם 2 Sam. 12, 6[2]; or periphrastically by פַּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפַּעַם *this time;* comp. also בַּפַּעַם הַזֹּאת, with בְּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as פַּעַם אַחַת *once* (Neh. 13, 20 פַּעַם וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), פְּעָמִים *twice*, שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים (for which in Ex. 23, 14. Num. 22, 28. 32 שָׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים) *three times;* comp. Ezek. 41, 6 *thirty-three times;* 2 Sam. 24, 3 *an hundred times;* Deut. 1, 11 *a thousand times;* 1 Ki. 22, 16 עַד־כַּמָּה פְעָמִים *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֲשֶׂרֶת מֹנִים *ten times*, Gen. 31, 7. 14, and רִבּוֹת עִתִּים *many times*, Neh. 9, 28.—In Gen. 43, 34, *five times* is expressed by חָמֵשׁ יָדוֹת (prop. *five hands*)[3], and in Ex. 16, 5 the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנֶה עַל־ (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gen. 22, 15, &c., *a second*

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[1] But בְּאַחַת Num. 10, 4 is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

[2] Probably also כִּפְלַיִם Job 11, 6 (from כֶּפֶל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold.*

[3] But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת Gen. 47, 24 means *the* (other) *four parts;* comp. 2 Ki. 11, 7. Neh. 11, 1.

time, comp. the Latin *tertium consul;* בַּשְּׁלִישִׁת *the third time*, 1 Sam. 3, 8; פַּעַם חֲמִישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh. 6, 5; בַּשְּׁבִעִית *at the seventh* (time), 1 Ki. 18, 44, and בַּפַּעַם הַשְּׁ׳ Jos. 6, 16.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e. g. Is. 17, 6, *two or* at the most *three*), or a considerable number, e. g. Mic. 5, 4. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of a gradation from a lower to a higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by וְ, Deut. 32, 30. Jer. 3, 14. Job 33, 14. 40, 5 (without וְ, Ps. 62, 12); *two* and *three*, Is. 17, 6 (Sirac. 23, 16. 26, 28), and without וְ, 2 Ki. 9, 32. Hos. 6, 2. Amos 4, 8; *three* and *four*, Jer. 36, 23. Amos 1, 3. 2, 4. Prov. 30, 18. 21. 29 (Sirac. 26, 5), and without וְ, Prov. 30, 15; *four* and *five*, without וְ, Is. 17, 6; *six* and *seven*, Job 5, 19. Prov. 6, 16; *seven* and *eight*, Mic. 5, 4. Eccles. 11, 2; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac. 25, 7). *s*

III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

§ 135. *The Personal Pronoun.*

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the subject in noun-clauses (comp. § 141. *a*) and the idiom mentioned under letters *d–h*,—are used, according to § 32. *b*, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gen. 16, 5. 2 Sam. 24, 17 אֲנֹכִי i. e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 Sam. 12, 28. 17, 15 (after the verb). Ezek. 34, 15. Ps. 2, 6[1]; but 1 Sam. 10, 18. 2 Sam. 12, 7. Is. 45, 12 אֲנֹכִי *I* and none else; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I!* Hos. 5, 14, &c.; אַתָּה Gen. 15, 15. Jud. 15, 18. 1 Sam. 17, 56 (as in 20, 8. 22, 18. Ex. 18, 19. Deut. 5, 24. Jud. 8, 21, after the imperative); 1 Ki. 21, 7; אַתֶּם Gen. 9, 7. Ex. 20, 19 (after the verb, Jud. 15, 12); fem. Gen. 31, 6; הוּא 1 Sam. 22, 18; הִיא Gen. 3, 20. Jud. 14, 3; הֵמָּה Jer. 5, 5. — Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb *a*

[1] Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e. g. Is. 7, 14 אֲדֹנָי הוּא *the Lord himself;* Est. 9, 1 הַיְּהוּדִים הֵמָּה *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is. 41, 4. 43, 10. 13. 46, 4. 48, 12 (always אֲנִי הוּא), Ps. 102, 28 (אַתָּה הוּא), and probably also Job 3, 19.—The position of הֵמָּה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Chron. 9, 22, can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezra 5, 12).

more on rhythmical grounds, i.e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113. *o*). Thus Gen. 14, 23. Ps. 139, 2, and most clearly in such passages as Gen. 21, 24. 47, 30. Ex. 8, 24. Jud. 6, 18. 11, 9. 1 Sam. 12, 20. 2 Sam. 3, 13. 21, 6. 1 Ki. 2, 18 (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e. g. Gen. 24, 45. Hos. 5, 3. 10, 11. 12, 11. Ps. 39, 11. 82, 6. Job 5, 3[1].

b Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate pronoun immediately *after* the verb (according to Delitzsch on Cant. 5, 5 perhaps a trace of popular language), e. g. 1 Sam. 23, 22 (?). Cant. 5, 5, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e. g. 1, 16. 2, 1. 11. 15. 3, 17 sq. &c.; comp. Delitzsch, *Das Hohelied und Koheleth*, p. 207; in Aramaic, Dan. 5, 16.

c 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e. g. Gen. 3, 12 *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (הִיא) *gave me*, &c.; 14, 24 (הֵם); 15, 4. 24, 7, &c.; but הוּא in Is. 7, 14 after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*[2].

d **2.** Not infrequently the separate pronoun serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; comp., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

e Examples of emphasis:—

(*a*) On a *verbal* suffix by means of אֲנִי (אָנִי), Gen. 27, 34 בָּרְכֵנִי גַם־אָנִי *bless me, even me also* (prop. *bless me, I also* would be blessed); Zech. 7, 5; comp. also Ezek. 6, 3. 34, 11. 20 וְהִנְנִי אֲנִי; by אַתָּה (אַתָּה) Prov. 22, 19.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in Gen. 24, 27 (אָנֹכִי); 49, 8 (אַתָּה not *Judah, thou art he whom,*

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[1] As early as the Mêša' inscription (line 21 sqq.) אנך frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

[2] Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e. g. Gen. 2, 17. 2 Sam. 6, 22. 2 Ki. 22, 18, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* את with suffix, e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 9. Is. 8, 13.

but *Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!* but the vocative would also be possible, *Judah! thou! thy brethren shall praise thee!* as in 24, 6o), and Eccles. 2, 15 גַּם אֲנִי.

f (*b*) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אֲנִי 2 Sam. 19, 1. Prov. 23, 15, perhaps also Lam. 1, 16 (against the accents); by אַתָּה 1 Ki. 21, 19 אֶת־דָּמְךָ *thy blood, even thine;* by הוּא 2 Sam. 17, 5. Jer. 27, 7. Mic. 7, 3; by אֲנַחְנוּ 1 Sam. 20, 42, after שָׁנֵינוּ, but without special stress; Neh. 5, 2 (?); by אַתֶּם Num. 14, 32; by הֵם Ps. 38, 11 (without special stress), הֵמָּה Ps. 9, 7.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in Job 21, 4 (אֲנֹכִי); Gen. 40, 16. Is. 45, 12. 1 Chron. 28, 2 (אֲנִי); Zech. 9, 11 (אַתְּ); Jos. 23, 9 (אַתֶּם); Ezek. 33, 17 (הֵמָּה).—In Ps. 89, 48, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חלד (equivalent in sense to חֶלְדִּי), we should read אֲדֹנָי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

g (*c*) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 Sam. 25, 24 בִּי אֲנִי *upon me, upon me;* 1 Ki. 1, 26 לִי . . . אֲנִי; 2 Chron. 35, 21 לֹא־עָלֶיךָ אַתָּה *not against thee;* 1 Sam. 19, 23 עָלָיו גַּם הוּא *upon him also;* Deut. 5, 3 כִּי אִתָּנוּ אֲנַחְנוּ *but with us, even us;* Hag. 1, 4 לָכֶם אַתֶּם *for you yourselves;* Jer. 25, 14 בָּם גַּם־הֵמָּה.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in 1 Sam. 12, 23 לִי . . . אֲנֹכִי; 1 Ki. 1, 20 עָלֶיךָ . . . אַתָּה; Mic. 5, 1 מִמְּךָ . . . אַתָּה, and 2 Chron. 28, 10 אַתֶּם עִמָּכֶם.

h The same principle also explains Gen. 4, 26 לְשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא *to Seth, to him also* (not גַּם־לוֹ); comp. 10, 21, and Ex. 35, 34. Num. 4, 22.

i **3.** The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אֵת) may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense[1], as לוֹ *to him*, but also *to himself* (*sibi*), e. g. Jud. 3, 16 *and Ehud made* לוֹ *for himself a sword*, comp. Gen. 33, 17; so also לָהֶם *sibi*, Is. 3, 9; אִתּוֹ *with him*, and Gen. 22, 3 *with himself;* עִמָּהּ *with her*, and 1 Sam. 1, 24 *with herself;* אֵלָיו *unto him*, and Gen. 8, 9 *unto himself;* also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119. *s*), Job 12, 11. 13, 1.

k Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative* of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* אֵת with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*[2]); thus, אֹתוֹ *himself* and his habitation, 2 Sam. 15, 25; אֹתָם *se ipsos*, Ex. 5, 19. Jer. 7, 19 in sharp antithesis to הֲאֹתִי; Ezek. 34, 2. 8. 10. Comp. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

l Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is. 49, 26 on בְּשָׂרָם and דָּמָם in the sense of *their own flesh, their own blood.* On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91. *p* and *q*. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139. *f*.

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[1] As in Luther's Bible *jm* (*ihm*), *jr* (*ihr*) for *sich*, and in our version *him*, *her* for *himself*, *herself*.

[2] *Niph'al* according to § 51. *e* (like *Hithpa'ēl* according to § 54. *f*) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

m **4.** The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33. *c*, expressed by the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive)[1], which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128. *h*) an *objective genitive*, e. g. חָמָסִי *the wrong done against me*, Gen. 16, 5. Jer. 51, 35; comp. Gen. 9, 2. 18, 21. 27, 13 (2 Sam. 16, 12 *K^eth.*); Gen. 30, 23. 39, 21 (comp. Ex. 3, 21 and elsewhere); 50, 4. Ex. 20, 20. 21, 35. Jud. 4, 9. 13, 12 (מַעֲשֵׂהוּ *the treatment of him*); Is. 56, 7. Jer. 9, 7. Nah. 3, 19. Prov. 1, 27. 24, 22. Job 20, 29. 23, 14. 34, 6. Comp. also such pregnant expressions as Ps. 20, 3 יִשְׁלַח עֶזְרְךָ *he will send thy help* (*help for thee*), i. e. he will send thee help; Gen. 30, 18. 39, 21. Ex. 2, 9. Is. 1, 26 (*and I will restore judges for thee*); Ezek. 37, 15.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e. g. Gen. 36, 6 *and Esau took* אֶת־נָשָׁיו וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בְּנֹתָיו *his wives and his sons and his daughters*, &c.; 38, 18, &c. In 2 Sam. 23, 5 the text is hardly correct.

n **5.** When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128. *o* and *p*), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e. g. הַר־קָדְשִׁי prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, Ps. 2, 6 and elsewhere; עִיר קָדְשֶׁךָ *thy holy city*, Dan. 9, 24; אֱלִילֵי כַסְפּוֹ *his idols of silver*, Is. 2, 20. 30, 22. 31, 7[2]; comp. Deut. 1, 41. Is. 9, 3. 28, 4. 41, 11. Ezek. 9, 1 sq. Ps. 41, 10. 150, 1. Job 18, 7 צַעֲדֵי אוֹנוֹ *his steps of strength*; 38, 6; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is. 13, 3 (Zeph. 3, 11) עַלִּיזֵי גְאוֹתִי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e. g. Deut. 1, 41 כְּלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ *his weapons of war* [cf. Is. 41, 12]; Is. 56, 7 בֵּית תְּפִלָּתִי *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

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[1] Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129. *h*, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e. g. Ruth 2, 21 הַנְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי *the young men, which* are *to me*, i. e. *my young men*; so especially, when the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by a genitive, e. g. 1 Sam. 17, 40. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e. g. Cant. 1, 6 כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי *my vineyard, which* belongs *to me*. Comp. Cant. 3, 7, and the analogous pleonasms in 2 Sam. 22, 2 (but see Ps. 18, 2) and Ps. 27, 2.

[2] On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gen. 44, 2 אֶת־גְּבִיעִי גְּבִיעַ הַכֶּסֶף *my cup, the silver cup*.

Rem. 1. Through an inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language[1] into that of literature, *masculine* suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to *feminine* substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex. 11, 6. 25, 19. Jud. 11, 34[2]; in the plural, Gen. 31, 9. 32, 16. 41, 23. Ex. 1, 21. 2, 17. Num. 27, 7 (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after); 36, 6; Jud. 19, 24. 21, 22. 1 Sam. 6, 7. 10 *b* (בְּנֵיהֶם); 9, 20. Is. 3, 16. Ezek. 23, 45. Amos 4, 1 sq. (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Job 1, 14. 39, 3 (חֶבְלֵיהֶם in parallelism with יַלְדֵיהֶן); 42, 15. Cant. 4, 2. 6, 6. Ruth 1, 8 sqq. (along with feminine suffixes); verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex. 22, 25; in the plural, Jud. 16, 3. Prov. 6, 21. Job 1, 15. But Gen. 26, 15. 18. 33, 13. Ex. 2, 17. 1 Sam. 6, 10 *a* are to be explained according to § 60. *h*. On הַמָּה as feminine, see § 32. *n*. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122. *g*. *o*

2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Num. 14, 41. Jos. 10, 13. Jud. 14, 4) sometimes refers to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gen. 15, 6. Num. 23, 19. 1 Sam. 11, 2. 1 Ki. 11, 12. Is. 30, 8. Amos 8, 10; comp. Gen. 24, 14 (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42, 36. 47, 26. Ex. 10, 11 (אֹתָהּ *that*), Is. 22, 11. 47, 7.—Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e. g. 2 Ki. 3, 3. Jer. 36, 23. Job 6, 20. 39, 15 (but previously תְּחַמֵּם), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is. 35, 7. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e. g. in Gen. 15, 13. Num. 16, 3. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Zeph. 2, 7; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ezek. 33, 18. Job 22, 21 (בָּהֶם *thereby*), Ezek. 18, 26. 33, 19 (עֲלֵיהֶם *on that account, thereby*)[3]. But the suffix in נָתְנוּ Deut. 21, 10 refers to the collective idea contained in אֹיְבֶיךָ; in Jon. 1, 3 עִמָּהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֳנִיָּה. In Jos. 2, 4 read וַתִּצְפְּנֵם; in Is. 30, 6 (מֵהֶם). 38, 16. Ps. 19, 5 (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt. *p*

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲדֹנָי *my Lord* from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲדֹנִים (§ 124. *i*) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qameṣ* and thus distinguished from אֲדֹנַי *my lords*, Gen. 19, 2), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gen. 15, 2. 18, 3. Ps. 35, 23), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any *q*

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[1] According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91. *a*), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 sqq. 54 sqq. 67 sq., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions.

[2] The Masora reckons six instances of מִמֶּנּוּ, where מִמֶּנָּה would be expected (Jud. 11, 34, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex. 25, 15(?). Lev. 6, 8. 7, 18. 27, 9. Jos. 1, 7; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[3] In 2 Ki. 7, 10 for שֹׁעֵר (the LXX read שַׁעַר) we should read שְׁעָרֶי.

regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to *the Lord*[1]. On אֲדֹנָי as a *Qᵉrê perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 and § 102: *m*.

r A similar loss of vitality in the suffix occurs most probably in יַחְדָּו prop. *in his unitednesses*, i. e. *he* &c. *together*, e. g. כָּל־הָעָם יַחְדָּו Ex. 19, 8, then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנַחְנוּ יַחְדָּו 1 Ki. 3, 18 in reference to two women; Is. 41, 1. Job 9, 32. Neh. 6, 2. 7; after the 2nd person, Is. 45, 20 and elsewhere. Also in כֻּלָּם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 Ki. 22, 28. Mic. 1, 2 *hear, ye peoples, all of you*, even before the 2nd person, Job 17, 10 (in 1 Sam. 6, 4 read לָכֶם with the LXX). On the redundant suffix in הָעֹרְבִךְ Lev. 27, 23 and elsewhere, comp. § 127. *i*.

§ 136. *The Demonstrative Pronoun.*

a The *demonstrative pronouns* are זֶה, fem. זֹאת, plur. אֵלֶּה (§ 34), *hic, haec* (*hoc*), *hi*, &c., and the personal pronoun הוּא, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵמָּה, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32. *b*), *is, ea* (*id*), or *ille*, &c., *ii, eae* or *illi*, &c. The distinction between them in usage is that זֶה (like *hic*, ὅδε) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הוּא (like *is*, *ille*, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below)[2].

b Rem. 1. Compare on the above the instructive examples in Gen. 32, 3. Jud. 7, 4 *of whom I say unto thee, this* (זֶה) *shall go with thee, he* (הוּא) *shall go with thee* (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i. e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gen. 26, 33 and elsewhere), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא

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[1] Comp. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A. D. onwards *the master;* so also in Syriac מָרִי *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord;* in Italian *madonna*, French *Madame, Notre Dame, Monsieur, Monseigneur*, &c. It is, however, more than doubtful, whether the regular distinction between אֲדֹנָי as a holy name, and אֲדֹנָי as an ordinary appellative is not merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אדני is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אדני is always used either in an address *to* or (like אֲדֹנָי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language *about* God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *beli-ia, my Lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲדֹנָי and אֲדֹנָי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אָדוֹן is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲדֹנָי.

[2] On זֶה and הוּא standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125. *i*. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126. *u*.

the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gen. 15, 18. 26, 32) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is. 5, 30. 7, 18. 20 sqq.) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless זֶה and אֵלֶּה are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הֵמָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, plur. הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, but בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה (or בַּיָּמִים הָהֶם), and only in Zech. 8, 9. 15 בַּיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּה, Est. 1, 5. 9, 28 הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּה.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) זֶה occurs, e. g. in 1 Sam. 10, 27. 21, 16. 1 Ki. 22, 27. Is. 6, 10, &c.; in the sense of the neuter, *this*, זֹאת is more common than זֶה, as Is. 5, 25. 43, 9, &c., but הוּא more common than הִיא.

2. Both זֶה and הוּא are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize *c* interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam;* comp. also *quis tandem*); e. g. Job 38, 2 מִי זֶה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . .? 1 Sam. 17, 55 sq. Is. 63, 1. Jer. 49, 19. Ps. 24, 8. 25, 12, and elsewhere; מַה־זֶּה *what now?* 1 Sam. 10, 11; *how now?* Gen. 27, 20; *why now?* Jud. 18, 24; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה־זֹּאת Gen. 3, 13. 12, 18. Ex. 14, 5. Jud. 15, 11; לָמָּה־זֶּה *wherefore now?* Gen. 18, 13. 25, 22. 1 Sam. 17, 28. 2 Sam. 12, 23, and elsewhere.—So also מִי־הוּא Is. 50, 9. Job 4, 7 sqq.; and still more emphatically מִי הוּא־זֶה Ps. 24, 10. Jer. 30, 21.

3. זֶה is likewise used as an enclitic (see letter *c* above): (*a*) *of place,* in such *d* passages as Gen. 27, 21 הַאַתָּה זֶה וגו׳ *whether thou* (that art here) *be my son Esau?* 2 Sam. 2, 20 *is it thou?* הִנֵּה־זֶה *behold, here,* 1 Ki. 19, 5. Is. 21, 9[1]; cf. also the strengthening of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is. 43, 25 (אֲנֹכִי). 1 Sam. 7, 28. Is. 37, 16. Ps. 44, 5 (אַתָּה), and אֵלֶּה הֵם *these are,* Gen. 25, 16. 1 Sam. 4, 8. (*b*) *of time:* עַתָּה זֶה *now,* 1 Ki. 17, 24; *just now,* 2 Ki. 5, 22, and rather frequently before words denoting number, e. g. Gen. 27, 36 זֶה פַּעֲמַיִם *twice, now;* comp. 31, 38. Job 1, 12. 7, 3. 19, 3; separated from the numeral in Gen. 31, 41 זֶה־לִּי elliptically for *this,* i. e. this present period, *is to me,* or makes altogether, *twenty years,* &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

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[1] On the other hand, it is very questionable whether זֶה in Ps. 104, 25 (זֶה הַיָּם), Is. 23, 13 (זֶה הָעָם), Jud. 5, 5. Ps. 68, 9 (זֶה סִינַי) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder,* &c.). In Ps. 104, 25 הַיָּם (unless in apposition to זֶה; comp. § 126. *aa*, and Zech. 5, 7, where אִשָּׁה אַחַת is in apposition to זֹאת depending on הִנֵּה, and also Ezek. 40, 45, where הַלִּשְׁכָּה is in apposition to זֹה) is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea.* Is. 23, 13. Jud. 5, 5, and Ps. 68, 9 would be most naturally explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Jud. 5, 5 in fact זֶה סִינַי is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into Ps. 68.

§ 137. *The Interrogative Pronoun.*

a The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine or feminine person (Cant. 3, 6), or even to a plural, e. g. מִי אַתֶּם *who are ye?* Jos. 9, 8; מִי־אֵלֶּה Gen. 33, 5. Num. 22, 9 (more minutely, מִי וָמִי Ex. 10, 8, i. e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e. g. מִי־שְׁכֶם *who are the Shechemites?* Jud. 9, 28. 13, 17. Gen. 33, 8. Mic. 1, 5; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 Sam. 18, 18. 2 Sam. 7, 18.

b Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e. g. בַּת־מִי אַתְּ *whose daughter art thou?* Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 55. 56. 58; דְּבַר מִי *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28. 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative, אֶת־מִי *quemnam?* 1 Sam. 28, 11. Is. 6, 8; with prepositions, e. g. בְּמִי 1 Ki. 20, 14 (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gen. 32, 18; אַחֲרֵי מִי 1 Sam. 24, 15.— Similarly מָה, מַה־, מֶה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer. 8, 9), or with prepositions, e. g. עַל־מָה *whereupon?* Job 38, 6; *why?* עַד־מָה *quousque?* Ps. 74, 9.

c Rem. Both מִי and מָה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e. g. Gen. 39, 8. 43, 22. Ex. 32, 1. — On the meaning of מִי and מָה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e. g. Jud. 7, 3. 1 Sam. 19, 3. 20, 4. Prov. 9, 4. 16; even שִׁמְרוּ־מִי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, &c., 2 Sam. 18, 12; so also מָה (*whatever it be*) Job 13, 13. 2 Sam. 18, 22. 23; comp. Num. 23, 3 וְדָבָר מַה־יַּרְאֵנִי *and whatsoever he showeth me*. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מָה is the combination מַה־שֶּׁ *that which*, Eccles. 1, 9. 3, 15 (just like the Syriac מָא דְ).—On מְאוּמָה[1] *quicquam, anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb *in any way*, 1 Sam. 21, 3, see the Lexicon.

§ 138. *The Relative Pronoun.*

The text of this section (and of § 155) has been entirely remodelled on the basis of V. Baumann's excellent essay *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155. *a*) introduced by the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (see § 36)[2]. This is

[1] Comp. the Assyrian *ma-am-ma*, anybody; and *mi-im-ma*, anything.— G. W. C.]

[2] The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of אֲשֶׁר, as an original substantive, with the Arabic *'aṯar*, *trace*, Aram. אֲתַר

not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*[1], but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius,* &c.][2]. Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as that (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e. g. Gen. 24, 7 יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לָקָחַנִי . . . הוּא יִשְׁלַח . . . *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send,* &c. (= *who took me*); Is. 37, 4 *the words of Rabshakeh,* אֲשֶׁר־שְׁלָחוֹ מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *istius, the king of Assyria hath sent him* (= *whom the king of Assyria hath sent*); Gen. 2, 2 *and God finished* מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *his work, istud, he had made* (it). Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses.*

Rem. 1. In the above examples אֲשֶׁר Gen. 24, 7 is virtually in the nominative, Is. 37, 4 in the genitive, Gen. 2, 2 in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gen. 24, 7 the main idea (יהוה), to which אֲשֶׁר is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in לָקָחַנִי, in Is. 37, 4 it is resumed by the accusative suffix of שְׁלָחוֹ, while in Gen. 2, 2 it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun[3] takes place especially when it (as in Gen. 2, 2) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e. g. Gen. 1, 7 הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ *the waters, those, under the firmament,* &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective *b*

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place, trace, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, אֲשֶׁר is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen,* Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.,* ii. 323 sqq., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original אֲשֶׁל. According to Hommel (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 708 sqq.) אֲשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from שֶׁ and שֵׁ (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis,* or (as זֶה and זוּ are also sometimes used, see below, letters *g* and *h*) simply for the *relative pronoun.* Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša,* Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew שֶׁ, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic אש (see above, § 36, note) and the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר are developments.

[1] Somewhat like Luther's *so,* e. g. *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind,* Gen. 35, 2.

[2] This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladi,* which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. הַלָּזֶה, הַלָּז), and from the use of זֶה and זוּ as relatives.

[3] The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gen. 49, 30. 50, 13. Jer. 31, 32) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gen. 17, 12 הוּא; 7, 2 הִיא; 1 Ki. 9, 20 הֵמָּה; Deut. 20, 15 הֵנָּה; but cf. also אֲשֶׁר הוּא חַי Gen. 9, 3. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 Ki. 22, 13, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Num. 10, 29 *we are journeying unto the place,* אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֹתוֹ אֶתֵּן לָכֶם *that* place, *the Lord said* (of it), *It will I give to you*; cf. Num. 14, 40. Gen. 3, 17. Deut. 28, 68. Jud. 8, 15. 1 Sam. 9, 17. 23. 24, 5. 1 Ki. 8, 29. Jer. 32, 43.

c 2. When the substantive followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause expresses an idea of *place*, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם *there*, שָׁמָּה *thither*, מִשָּׁם *thence*, e.g. Gen. 13, 3 עַד־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלֹה *unto the place, that one, his tent had been there*, i.e. *where his tent had been*; cf. Gen. 3, 23 מִשָּׁם, Ex. 21, 13 שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gen. 35, 14. Num. 20, 13. Is. 64, 10, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gen. 30, 38. Num. 13, 27. 1 Ki. 12, 2, where שָׁמָּה would be expected.— When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 Sam. 20, 31 *for all the days,* אֲשֶׁר בֶּן־יִשַׁי חַי *those—the son of Jesse is living* (*in them*); cf. Gen. 45, 6. Deut. 1, 46. 9, 7. 1 Ki. 11, 42; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

d 3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gen. 45, 4 *I am Joseph,* אֲשֶׁר־מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי *he—ye sold me*, i.e. *whom ye sold;* Num. 22, 30. Is. 49, 23; 41, 8 *thou, Jacob,* אֲשֶׁר בְּחַרְתִּיךְ *he—I have chosen thee*; Jer. 32, 19. Eccles. 10, 16 sq.; Gen. 15, 7 *I am the Lord,* אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *he—I brought thee out*, &c., Ex. 20, 2 (Deut. 5, 6).

e (2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who, he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Num. 22, 6 אֲשֶׁר תָּאֹר יוּאָר *iste—thou cursest* (him)—*is cursed*, i.e. *he whom thou cursest*, &c.[1]; Ex. 22, 8; אֲשֶׁר as object, Gen. 44, 1. 49, 1. 1 Sam. 16, 3 sqq. Mic. 6, 1 (אֵת אֲשֶׁר), and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is. 52, 15. Ps. 69, 5; אֲשֶׁר as genitive, Ezek. 23, 28 *I will deliver thee* בְּיַד אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵאת *into the hand of those—thou hatest* (them); 1 Sam. 7, 7 depending on a preposition, e.g. לַאֲשֶׁר Gen. 44, 4. 2 Ki. 10, 22 בַּאֲשֶׁר Gen. 21, 17, בַּאֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם *in that* (place)—*he is there*, i.e. *where*

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[1] The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula וַיְהִי דְבַר יי׳ אֶל־ אֲשֶׁר *this* (is it)—*it came as the word of the Lord to . . .*, Jer. 14, 1. 46, 1. 47, 1. 49, 34.

he is; cf. Jud. 17, 8 and Ruth 1, 16 אֶל־אֲשֶׁר *whither*[1]; 1 Ki. 18, 12 עַל־אֲשֶׁר *whither;* מֵאֲשֶׁר Ex. 5, 11.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition[2], e.g. Gen. 44, 9 sq. אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ . . . וָמֵת *he—it* (the cup) *is found with him,—shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in וָמֵת cf. § 143. *d*). In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gen. 31, 32 עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא *with whomsoever thou findest,* where אֲשֶׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is. 47, 12 (and probably also 56, 4) בַּאֲשֶׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, op. cit., p. 37) by reference to 47, 15, as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . ., with those—thou hast laboured* (with them).

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אֲשֶׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אַשֶׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative.']

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, the demonstratives proper זֶה, זוֹ, זו (the last commonly)[3], and sometimes the article, are used somewhat frequently in poetic language to introduce both dependent and independent relative clauses. With regard to the construction of זֶה, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, in letters *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(*a*) זֶה in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, Ps. 104, 26 לִוְיָתָן זֶה־יָּצַרְתָּ (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed* (him), i.e. *whom thou hast formed;* Is. 42, 24. Jer. 30, 21; in the accusative, Is. 25, 9. Ps. 74, 2 (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; זוֹ is used without it in Ps. 132, 12); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Prov. 23, 22 שְׁמַע לְאָבִיךָ זֶה יְלָדֶךָ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee,* i.e. *who begat thee;* Ps. 17, 9 (זוּ).—In Ps. 104, 8 אֶל־מְקוֹם זֶה יָסַדְתָּ לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130. *c*), זֶה is in the genitive after the construct state מְקוֹם *to the place of that, thou hadst founded* (it) *for them;* on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48), Ps. 78, 54 (הַר זֶה) and Ex. 15, 13 (עַם־זוּ נָאלְתָּ). 15, 16. Is. 43, 21. Ps. 9, 2. 10, 2. 31, 5. 32, 8. 142, 4. 143, 8 (all examples of זוּ).

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[1] In Zech. 12, 10 also, instead of the unintelligible אלי את אשר, we should probably read אֶל־אֲשֶׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

[2] Such a strong ellipse as in Is. 31, 6, where מִמֶּנּוּ would be expected after העמיקו, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

[3] The etymological equivalent זִי, דִּי in Aramaic is always a relative.

h To introduce independent relative clauses זֶה is used as a nominative in Job 19, 19; as accusative, Job 15, 17 and Ps. 68, 29 (after a preposition, Ex. 13, 8; but the text is evidently corrupt).

i (*b*) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Chron. 26, 28 כֹּל הַהַקְדִישׁ שְׁמוּאֵל *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 2 Chron. 29, 8 (where נִמְצָא can only be *perfect Niph'al*); 29, 36. Ezra 10, 14. In connexion with a plural, Jos. 10, 24 *the chiefs of the men of war* הֲהֹלְכִוּ אִתּוֹ *who went with him;* Ezra 8, 25. 10, 17. 1 Chron. 29, 17. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer. 5, 13 (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדָּבָר). Comp. moreover 1 Sam. 9, 24 *the thigh* וְהָעֶלְיָהּ *and that which was upon it* (but see below); 2 Chron. 1, 4 בַּהֵכִין equivalent to בַּאֲשֶׁר הֵכִין *to the place, that he had prepared.*

k In all the examples adduced except 1 Sam. 9, 24 (where וְהָאַלְיָה should probably be read for וְהָעֶלְיָהּ) the ה is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, however, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gen. 18, 21. 46, 27. Job 2, 11 הַבָּאָה; Is. 51, 10 הַשָּׂמָה; Ezek. 26, 17 הֶהָלָלָה; Ruth 1, 22. 2, 6 and 4, 3 הַשָּׁבָה, or by the punctuation, Gen. 21, 3 הַנּוֹלָד; 1 Ki. 11, 9. Dan. 8, 1 הַנִּרְאָה; Is. 56, 3 הַנִּלְוָה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended perfect participles (and indeed perfect participles, comp. § 116. *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה &c., Ezek. 26, 17 הַהָלְלָה for הַמְהֻלָּלָה according to § 52. *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלָד, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְוָה.

§ 139. *Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.*

a Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes by means of substantives (§ 128. *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

b 1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—

(*a*) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons[1], and even animals (Gen. 15, 10), e. g. Gen. 10, 5, feminine Ex. 3, 22; אִישׁ is the object, e. g. in Jer. 12, 15. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ comp. § 123. *c*.

c In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיַּד אִישׁ אָחִיו Gen. 9, 5, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיַּד אֲחִי אִישׁ *at the hand of the brother of every man.* But although this explanation seems to be

[1] As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e. g. Gen. 44, 11; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e. g. Gen. 44, 13.

supported by Gen. 42, 25 and Num. 17, 17, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (hence Gen. 9, 5 *at the hand of every man, his brother*, i. e. who is really his brother and is therefore so much the more guilty; so 15, 10 *and he laid each* or, more exactly, *one piece of it*, &c., and so probably also Num. 17, 17 *every one*, sc. *his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gen. 41, 12. 42, 25 (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42, 35, where צְרוֹר־כַּסְפּוֹ בְּשַׂקּוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex. 12, 4. 28, 21. Num. 5, 10. 26, 54. 2 Ki. 23, 35, and especially Zech. 7, 10[1].

(*b*) *Any one, some one*, e. g. Gen. 13, 16. Cant. 8, 7, with a negative *no one*[2]; *d* so after אַל־ Ex. 16, 19. 29; before לֹא Gen. 23, 6 and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e. g. Lev. 1, 2 (comp. בְּאַחַד הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Jud. 16, 7. 11), נֶפֶשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lev. 2, 1. 5, 1, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) equivalent to *anything*, Gen. 18, 14, or כָּל־דָּבָר Lev. 5, 2. Num. 31, 23. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אַל־ Gen. 19, 8; after לֹא Eccles. 8, 5.—Cf. finally, מְאַחַד *any one*, Deut. 15, 7; *anything*, Ezek. 18, 10 (but in Lev. 4, 2. 5, 13 מֵאַחַת) and the expressions noticed in § 144. *e*. The latter include also instances like Ezek. 18, 32 *I have no pleasure* בְּמוֹת הַמֵּת *in the death of him that dieth*, i. e. *of any man*.

(*c*) In connexion with אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one*, masc. *e* (as אִשָּׁה *one*, fem., in connexion with אֲחוֹתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעוּתָהּ *her neighbour*) is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other*[3] (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e. g. Gen. 13, 11 *and they separated themselves* אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו *the one from the other*; Ex. 26, 3 *five curtains* (יְרִיעֹת fem.) *shall be coupled together* אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחוֹתָהּ *one to another*.

2. נֶפֶשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*[4], both in the singular, Prov. 19, 8. *f* 16. 18. 29, 24. Job 18, 4 (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*), and in the

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[1] Comp. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 sqq.: according to him, אִישׁ אָחִיו came to be treated by the language as expressing a single idea 'one another;' and the words in Gen. 9, 5 are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zech. 7, 10 וְרָעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו אַל־תַּחְשְׁבוּ, which in the light of 8, 17, וְאִישׁ אֶת־רָעַת רֵעֵהוּ אַל־תַּחְשְׁבוּ בִּלְבַבְכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered 'and devise not *the hurt of one another* in your heart.' So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

[2] Comp. also אֵין־אִישׁ Gen. 39, 11. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אֵין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152. *l*.

[3] Elsewhere זֶה . . . זֶה are used in a similar sense, Ex. 14, 20. Is. 6, 3; also הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 Sam. 14, 6, or the substantive is repeated, e. g. Gen. 47, 21 (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

[4] On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135. *a* and *k*.

plural, Jer. 37, 9 and elsewhere. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gen. 18, 12 (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*[1].

g 3. עֶצֶם *bone* (then metaphorically for *existence*) expresses the idea of *self, self-same, very same*, in reference to *things* (as נֶפֶשׁ to persons), e. g. בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *in the selfsame day*, Gen. 7, 13, comp. Jos. 10, 27. Ezek. 24, 2; בְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם לָטֹהַר *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex. 24, 10; בְּעֶצֶם תֻּמּוֹ *in the very fullness of his strength* (equivalent to *in the midst of his full strength*), Job 21, 23.

h 4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the idea of *a few, some*[2]; thus יָמִים *a few days*, Gen. 24, 55. 40, 4 (here even of a longer period, =*for some time*); Is. 65, 20. Dan. 8, 27 (on the other hand, Gen. 27, 44. 29, 20 יָמִים אֲחָדִים; see § 96 and אֶחָד); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dan. 11, 6. 8.

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[1] In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*âtman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit;* in Arabic also by *eye;* in Rabbinic by גּוּף *body*, גֶּרֶם or עֶצֶם *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth, hand*, &c.; comp. also the Middle High German *mîn lîp, dîn lîp*, for *ich, du*. However, נֶפֶשׁ in such cases is never (not even in Is. 46, 2 נַפְשָׁם *they themselves*) a mere otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

[2] *Some* in reference to persons in Ex. 16, 20 is expressed by אֲנָשִׁים, and in Neh. 5, 2–4 by יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

CHAPTER II.

THE SENTENCE.

I. The Sentence in General.

§ 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

P. Dörwald, 'Zur hebr. Syntax (der hebr. Satz),' in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 1890, ii. p. 115 sqq.

a **1.** Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יְהוָה מַלְכֵּנוּ *the Lord is our king*, Is. 33, 22; וְאַנְשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gen. 13, 13; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth is theirs*, Ps. 115, 5; see further, § 141.

b **2.** Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *and God said*, Gen. 1, 3; וַיַּבְדֵּל *and he divided*, 1, 7; see further, § 142.

c Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (י), and in almost all forms of the perfect by afformatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.

d **3.** Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. Ps. 18, 31 הָאֵל תָּמִים דַּרְכּוֹ *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect;* Gen. 34, 8 שְׁכֶם בְּנִי חָשְׁקָה נַפְשׁוֹ בְּבִתְּכֶם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter;* see further, § 143.

e **4.** The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed,*

a state, or in short *a being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

f Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144. *a* of the 22nd to the 24th editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, nos. 1–3, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142. *a*.

§ 141. *The Noun-clause.*

a **1.** The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140. *a*) may be—

(*a*) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יֹצֵא מֵעֵדֶן *and a river went out* (was going out) *of Eden*, Gen. 2, 10.

(*b*) A pronoun, e. g. Gen. 7, 4 אָנֹכִי מַמְטִיר *I will cause it to rain*; 14, 18 וְהוּא כֹהֵן *and he was priest*; 2, 23 (זֹאת before a feminine predicate, as אֵלֶּה before a plural in Ex. 32, 4); מִי חָכָם *who is wise?* Hos. 14, 10.—In 1 Chron. 5, 2 וּלְנָגִיד מִמֶּנּוּ *and of him* one became *a prince*, the subject is contained in מִמֶּנּוּ[1].

b **2.** The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

(*a*) A substantive, e. g. Deut. 14, 1 בָּנִים אַתֶּם וגו׳ *ye are children of the Lord your God*; Gen. 42, 13. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e. g. Ezek. 41, 22 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ . . . וְקִירֹתָיו עֵץ *the altar* (was) *wood* . . ., *and the walls thereof* (were) *wood*, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, letter *c*.

(*b*) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gen. 2, 12 זְהַב הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא טוֹב *and the gold of that land is good*; וְעֶפְרוֹן יֹשֵׁב *now Ephron was sitting*, &c.

[1] For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver *Introduction*, p. 504 [ed. 6, p. 537], no. 27.

Gen. 23, 10[1]. Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; comp. letter *e* below.

(*c*) A numeral, e. g. Gen. 42, 13 שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר עֲבָדֶיךָ *the twelve* (of us) *are thy servants.*

(*d*) A pronoun, e. g. Gen. 10, 12 (הִיא), Ex. 9, 27 (אֲנִי), Gen. 24, 65 (מִי), 1 Ki. 9, 13 (מָה)[2].

(*e*) An adverb or (esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e. g. שָׁם הַבְּדֹלַח *there is the bdellium*, Gen. 2, 12; אַי הֶבֶל *where is Abel?* 4, 9; לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ *his mercy* endureth *for ever*, Ps. 136, 1 sqq.; עֹשֶׁר בְּבֵיתוֹ *riches* are *in his house*, Ps. 112, 3; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ *we are his*, Ps. 100, 3 *Qᵉrê*.

Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; comp. § 128. *o*) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate[3], where it represents something as *identical* with the subject (see above, letter *b* [*a*]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; comp. Cant. 1, 10; Ps. 25, 10 *all the paths of the Lord are* חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת *lovingkindness and truth* (i. e. *wholly lovingkindness*, &c.; comp. Jer. 10, 10); Ezek. 38, 5. Ps. 10, 5. 19, 10. 23, 5. 88, 19. Prov. 3, 17[4]. Job 22, 12. 23, 2. 26, 13. Ruth 3, 2. Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124. *e*), e. g. Ps. 110, 3 *thy people* are נְדָבֹת *altogether willingness*; Cant. 5, 16. Dan. 9, 23. *c*

Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as *regens* of the predicate, e. g. Job 6, 12 אִם־כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי *is my strength the strength of stones?* Prov. 3, 17. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as Ps. 45, 9 *myrrh and aloes and cassia* are *all* *d*

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[1] Comp. the numerous examples in § 116. *n–p*.

[2] Why in these examples the pronouns, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, are to be considered as predicates and not as subjects, may be seen from what has been remarked above, § 126. *k*.

[3] The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not simple noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הָיָה (e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was a waste and emptiness*; comp. Ps. 35, 6. Prov. 8, 30. Job 3, 4) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is with power*, i. e. *powerful*.

[4] שָׁלוֹם here, as in Job 21, 9, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gen. 43, 27. 2 Sam. 20, 9. Ps. 120, 7, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

thy garments (i. e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Cant. 1, 15 *thine eyes* are *doves*, i. e. dove's eyes (but 5, 12 כְּיוֹנִים)[1]; Ps. 23, 5. 109, 4. Job 8, 9. 12, 12. In prose, e. g. Ex. 9, 31. Ezra 10, 13 הָעֵת גְּשָׁמִים *the season* is *rain showers*, i. e. *the rainy season;* with a bold enallage of the number, Gen. 34, 30 וַאֲנִי מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *and I* (with my family) *am few in number*. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gen. 11, 1. 12, 2. Ex. 17, 12. Is. 5, 12. Jer. 2, 28, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Job 29, 15 *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame.* Also in prose, Num. 10, 31 *and thou shalt be to us* לְעֵינַיִם.

e 2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw copulative* to a verbal-clause, or its equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (comp. § 107. *d*, as well as § 116. *n* and *o*), e. g. Gen. 19, 1 *and the two angels came to Sodom at even,* וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *while Lot sat*, &c.; 18, 1. 8. 16. 22. 25, 26. Jud. 13, 9. 2 Sam. 4, 7. 11, 4 (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gen. 18, 12; with a substantival predicate, 18, 27; with an adverbial predicate, 9, 23. Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that וְ is equivalent to *whereas, whilst, although*, e. g. Gen. 15, 2. 18, 27. 20, 3. 48, 14 (*although he was the younger*); Jud. 16, 15 *how canst thou say, I love thee,* וְלִבְּךָ אֵין אִתִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 Sam. 3, 39. Ps. 28, 3 *whilst mischief is in their hearts.* These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

f 3. As the examples given under letters *a* and *b* show, the syntactical relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause, is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind.

To what period of time the statement applies, must be inferred from the context; e. g. 1 Ki. 18, 21 יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Lord* is *the* true *God;* 1 Sam. 9, 19; Is. 31, 2 גַּם־הוּא חָכָם *yet he also* is *wise;* Gen. 42, 11; on the other hand, Gen. 19, 1 וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *and* (=while) *Lot sat;* Ezek. 28, 15; Gen. 7, 4 אֲנִכִי מַמְטִיר *I am raining*, i. e. *I will cause it to rain.* Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gen. 27, 13 *upon me* be *thy curse;* Gen. 11, 3. 20, 13. Ex. 12, 2. Cf. § 116. *r*, note.

g Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the

[1] As a rule, in such comparisons כְּ (which is then to be regarded as *nominative*) stands before the predicate, e. g. Is. 63, 2 *wherefore* are *thy garments* כְּדֹרֵךְ בְּגַת *like* those of *one that treadeth in the wine-press?* (prop. *the like of one* that treadeth, *instar calcantis*); Jer. 50, 9. Certainly, however, the comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה.

Examples of (*a*): Gen. 41, 26 *the seven good kine* שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים הֵנָּה *they* are *seven years;* Deut. 1, 17. 4, 24; Eccles. 5, 18 זֶה מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים הִיא *this—it* is *a gift of God;* Num. 3, 27 אֵלֶּה הֵם; in a question, Gen. 27, 38. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person[1], e.g. אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי הוּא Is. 43, 25 *I, even I,* am *he that blotteth out,* &c.; 51, 12; אַתָּה הוּא 2 Sam. 7, 28. Is. 37, 16. Ps. 44, 5. Neh. 9, 6. 7; in an interrogative sentence, Jer. 14, 22[2]; in Jer. 49, 12 הוּא in a *verbal*-clause strengthens אַתָּה. *h*

Of (*b*): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה, in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist,* still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was* (הָיְתָה) *waste and emptiness,* can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; הָיְתָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a condition, might also appear in the form of a simple noun-clause; comp. Gen. 3, 1. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which הָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Jud. 1, 7. Job 1, 14 (immediately afterwards a simple noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Num. 14, 33 and elsewhere; comp. § 116. *r.* However, especially in the latter case, הָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later Books[3] than in the earlier. *i*

Rem. On the employment of יֵשׁ *existence,* and אַיִן *non-existence,* which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est* and *non est,* cf. § 100. *o,* and the *Negative Sentences,* § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gen. 24, 42. 49. 43, 4 and elsewhere), see above, § 116. *q,* and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159. *k*

4. The natural *arrangement* of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate;* the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed *l*

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[1] On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dan. 2, 38. Ezra 5, 11, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.,* § 87. 3.

[2] This is of course to be distinguished from the use of הוּא (to be inferred from the context) as predicate in the sense of *ὁ αὐτός*; see above, p. 459, note; or in such cases as Deut. 32, 39 *see now* כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא *that I, even I,* am *he;* 1 Chron. 21, 17.

[3] According to Albrecht, *ZAW.* 1888, p. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i.e. *predicate—subject.* The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate[1], or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gen. 3, 19 עָפָר אַתָּה *dust thou art;* 4, 9. 12, 13 (*my sister*, not my wife); 20, 2. 12. 29, 14. Job 5, 24. 6, 12; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is. 6, 3. 28, 21. Jer. 10, 6; with a participle, Gen. 30, 1. 32, 12; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gen. 24, 65[2]; with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gen. 4, 9.

m Rem. Comp. on the above the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatze,' *ZAW.* 1888, pp. 218 sqq. and 249 sqq.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 sqq. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gen. 4, 13; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes with especial frequency when it serves to convey the ideas of *having*, *possessing*, e.g. Gen. 18, 14. 29, 16 and elsewhere; comp. also 26, 20. 31, 16. 43).

n The predicate *may* precede: (*a*) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person as being assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as that which is stated about him;' (*b*) 'in order not to be a mere appendage to a subject which consists of several words,' e.g. 2 Ki. 20, 19; (*c*) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 Sam. 16, 4; finally (*d*) when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, in a relative clause, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gen. 2, 11 אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם; 1, 29 sq. אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ.

§ 142. *The Verbal-clause.*

a **1.** By § 140.*f* there is an essential distinction between verbal-clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perfect consecutive or imperfect consecutive). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gen. 7, 19. 2 Sam. 19, 12; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gen. 3, 13 (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, comp.

[1] For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gen. 4, 7) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

[2] The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex. 16, 7. 8.

Gen. 2, 5 and elsewhere[1]. In the great majority of instances, however, the position of the subject at the beginning of a verbal-clause is to be explained from the fact that the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a *state*. Verbal-clauses of this kind approximate closely in character to noun-clauses, and not infrequently (viz. when the verbal form might just as well be read as a participle) it is doubtful whether the writer did not in fact intend a noun-clause.

The particular *state* represented in the verb may consist— *b*

(*a*) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; comp. the examples discussed above in § 106. *f* (1 Sam. 28, 3, &c.); also Gen. 6, 8 (not *Noah found grace*); 16, 1. 18, 17. 20, 4. 24, 1. 39, 1 (*and Joseph* in the meanwhile *had been brought down to Egypt*); 41, 10. Judg. 1, 16. 1 Sam. 9, 15. 14, 27. 25, 21. 1 Ki. 1, 1, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gen. 2, 6 (see further, § 112. *e*), where they serve to represent an action continuing for a long period in the past, and thus to some extent a state.

(*b*) Of a fact, contemporaneous with the principal events or continuing as the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with הָיָה (provided that הָיָה has not, as in Gen. 1, 2. 3, 1, &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; comp. § 141. *i*, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116. *r*); as an example of the second class, comp. e. g. Gen. 13, 12 אַבְרָם יָשַׁב בְּאֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן וגו׳ *Abraham* accordingly *continued to dwell in the land of Canaan*, but *Lot dwelt*, &c. *c*

Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with וְ (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141. *e*. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstance which follows involves an antithesis; comp. Gen. 18, 18 *seeing that* nevertheless *Abraham shall surely become*, &c.; 24, 56. 26, 27. Is. 29, 13. Jer. 14, 15. Ps. 50, 17. Job 21, 22, and such examples as Gen. 4, 2. 4. 29, 17, where by means of וְ a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, in letters *b* and *c* (1 Sam. 28, 3, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by וְ, which then corresponds to the Greek δέ, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7. *b*. *d*

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[1] This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e. g. Gen. 32, 13 אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33, 3 הוּא *he himself*.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of וְ and a following subject to participial clauses, e. g. Gen. 38, 25 הִיא מוּצֵאת וְהִיא שָׁלְחָה *she was already brought forth, when she sent*, &c.; 44, 3. 4. Jud. 18, 3. 19, 11. 2 Sam. 20, 8; for other examples, see § 116. *u* (according to the remarks there made, note 1, the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a *noun*-clause, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause.

f **2.** According to what has been remarked above, in letter *a*, the natural *order of words* within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141. *l*) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position[1]. Thus the order may be:—

(*a*) *Object—Verb—Subject:* Gen. 30, 40. 1 Sam. 2, 9. 15, 1. 2 Ki. 23, 19 and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e. g. Gen. 3, 10. 14. 18. 6, 16. 8, 17. 9, 13. 37, 4. Ex. 18, 23. Jud. 14, 3. 1 Sam. 18, 17. 20, 9. 21, 10. 2 Ki. 22, 8. Prov. 13, 5 and elsewhere.

(*b*) *Verb—Object—Subject:* Gen. 21, 7. Num. 5, 23. 1 Sam. 15, 33. 2 Sam. 24, 16 (but המלאך is probably only a subsequent addition); Is. 19, 13. Ps. 34, 22. Job 11, 19 and elsewhere.

(*c*) *Subject—Object—Verb:* Is. 3, 17. 11, 8. 13, 18. Hos. 12, 11. Ps. 6, 10. 11, 5. Job 29, 25[2].

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[1] Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114. *r*, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

[2] This sequence occurs even in prose (Gen. 17, 9. 23, 6 and elsewhere); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetical and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater distinctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e. g. Dan. 2, 7. 10); comp. Gesenius, *Comm.* on Is. 42, 24, and Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 84. 1. *b*. The pure Aramaic usage of placing the *object* before the *infinitive* occurs in Hebrew in Lev. 19, 9. 21, 21. Deut. 28, 56. 2 Sam. 11, 19. Is. 49, 6. 2 Chron. 28, 10. 31, 7. 36, 19 (?).

(*d*) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 Ki. 5, 13. Is. 5, 17. 28, 17. Ps. 51, 5[1].

(*e*) A substantival complement of the verb הָיָה is placed first in Is. 18, 5 וּבֹסֶר גֹּמֵל יִהְיֶה נָצָה *and a ripening grape the flower becometh.*

Rem. Of specifications compounded with a preposition those of *place* stand regularly after the verb, unless they are specially emphatic as e. g. Gen. 19, 2. 30, 16. 32, 5. Mic. 5, 1. Est. 9, 12; in Gen. 29, 25 בְּרָחֵל with בְּ *pretii* precedes for the sake of emphasis. Comp., however, in Gen. 35, 13 the order *verb*—specification of *place—subject*. The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e. g. in Gen. 13, 15 (26, 3). 15, 3; even before the interrogative, Gen. 27, 37 (cf. Jer. 22, 15 where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 Sam. 20, 8. Job 34, 31 where a prepositional specification precedes). Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gen. 1, 1), בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, בְּיוֹם &c. (but not בָּרִאשֹׁנָה, nor the simple רִאשֹׁנָה, בַּתְּחִלָּה, לְעוֹלָם), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perfect consecutive or imperfect consecutive; so also certain adverbs of time, such as עַתָּה, אָז, whilst others like תָּמִיד, עוֹד regularly follow the verb. *g*

§ 143. *The Compound Sentence.*

A compound sentence (§ 140. *d*) is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject[2] (which always precedes, see letter *c*) and *a*

(*a*) An independent noun-clause, which (*α*) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e. g. Nah. 1, 3 יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה דַרְכּוֹ *the Lord—in the storm is his way;* 2 Sam. 23, 6. Ps. 18, 31. 104, 17. 125, 2. Eccles. 2, 14; comp. also Gen. 34, 23, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e. g. Is. 59, 21 וְאֲנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אֹתָם *and as for me, this is my covenant with them,* &c.; Gen. 9, 9. Is. 1, 7. 17, 4. 1 Chron. 28, 2[3]; with an interrogative noun-clause, Gen. 37, 30. Job 21, 4. 38, 19:—or (*β*) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 23 *and* as touching *the matter*

[1] This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e. g. Gen. 37, 16. 41, 9. 2 Sam. 13, 4, &c., in interrogative sentences, e. g. 2 Ki. 6, 22. Jer. 7, 19; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

[2] In Gen. 31, 40 a verbal-clause (הָיִיתִי *I was*) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

[3] In 1 Chron. 28, 2 (comp. also 22, 7 אֲנִי הָיָה עִם־לְבָבִי) אֲנִי might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to *I myself had it in my mind*), as e. g. Ezek. 33, 17 *whereas their own way is not equal;* comp. § 135. *f*.

which, &c. . . . *behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever*; Prov. 27, 2.

b (*b*) An independent verbal-clause: (*a*) with a retrospective suffix[1], e.g. Gen. 9, 6 (comp. § 116. *w*); 17, 15 *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26, 15. 28, 13. 34, 8. Ex. 30, 37. 32, 1. 1 Sam. 2, 10. 2 Ki. 10, 29. Is. 9, 1. 11, 10. Ezek. 33, 2. Hos. 9, 11. Ps. 11, 4. 46, 5. 65, 4. 74, 17. Dan. 1, 17; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gen. 24, 27; (*β*) without a retrospective suffix, Is. 19, 17 *every one* that *mentions it* (Judah) *to it* (Egypt), *it* (Egypt) *is afraid*.

c Rem. 1. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater distinctive, as a *casus pendens*[2]) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Nah. 1, 3 if it were דַּרְכּוֹ יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה); comp. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gen. 13, 15. 21, 13. 35, 12. 47, 21 (with the Samaritan and LXX read הֶעֱבִיד); 1 Sam. 25, 29; a specification of place, Gen. 2, 17. 2 Ki. 22, 18 and elsewhere; a substantive with לְ, 1 Sam. 9, 20. 2 Sam. 6, 23; comp. the examples in § 135. *a*.—In Num. 15, 29 a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i.e. there is a transition to a different construction.

d 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *wāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e.g. Jer. 6, 19. 33, 24), cf. § 111. *h*; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex. 4, 21. 12, 44. Num. 23, 3. 1 Sam. 25, 27. 2 Sam. 14, 10. Is. 9, 4. 56, 6 sq.), § 112. *t* and *mm*; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112. *oo* and § 116. *w*.—In Job 15, 17 *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Job 23, 12. Ps. 115, 7 the imperfect is separated by לֹא from the *wāw apodosis*; in Job 4, 6 as for *thy hope*, it is *the integrity of thy ways*, and 36, 26, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, comp. § 112. *oo* at the end, and Gen. 40, 9. 2 Sam. 15, 34 וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עַבְדְּךָ *and now* (so far as the present is concerned) *I will be thy servant*, Num. 12, 12.

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by לְ (*in respect to*; comp. § 119. *u*) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Num

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[1] Comp. the Mêša' inscription, l. 31 *and Ḥoronain, therein dwelt*, &c.

[2] But this term must not (any more than that formerly used 'the subject preceding *absolutely*') be misunderstood to mean that the principal subject is, as it were, floating in the air, and that the whole sentence results in an anacoluthon. On the contrary, to the Semitic mind, such sentences appear quite as correctly formed as ordinary noun and verbal-clauses.

18, 18 (unless the לְ here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117. *n*); Is. 32, 1 (where, however, וְשָׂרִים should most probably be read); Eccles. 9, 4. 1 Chron. 7, 1. 24, 20 sqq. 2 Chron. 7, 21. On the other hand, Ps. 16, 3. 17, 4. 32, 6. 89, 19. 119, 91 are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Eccles. 9, 4, and in לְכֹל Gen. 9, 10. 23, 10. Ex. 27, 3. 19. Ezek. 44, 9, &c., לְ is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lă, surely;* Assyrian *lû;* with כֹּל it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also לְ—לְ *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos. 17, 16. Ezra 1, 11, Assyrian *lû—lû*.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject (especially in the Verbal-clause).*

a **1.** According to § 40 sqq. most forms of the finite verb include a specification of the subject in the form of *personal affomatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of preformatives). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used with reference to the feminine, e.g. וְיֵדַעְתֶּם Ezek. 23, 49; עֲשִׂיתֶם Ruth 1, 8; in the imperfect, Joel 2, 22. Cant. 2, 7; in the imperative, Amos 4, 1. Zech. 13, 7 (for other examples, see § 110. *k*). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135. *a* and *b*.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122. *g;* on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135. *o*, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132. *d*, between subject and predicate, § 145. *p*, *t*, *u*.

b **2.** The third person singular is frequently used impersonally, especially in the masculine, e. g. וַיְהִי *and it came to pass*, וְהָיָה *and it shall come to pass;* חָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i. e. *he became angry*, Gen. 4, 6 and elsewhere; וַיֵּצֶר לוֹ lit. *and it became strait to him, he was distressed*, Gen. 32, 8[1]; even יִתֵּן like the German *es giebt, there is* (followed by an accusative), Prov. 13, 10. Job 37, 10; on Gen. 38, 28, see letter *d* below; also in the feminine, e. g. 1 Sam. 30, 6 (Jud. 10, 9) וַתֵּצֶר לְדָוִד; Jud. 11, 39. Jer. 7, 31. Ezek. 12, 25. Job 15, 32; comp. also the impersonal passives, Is. 1, 6. 29, 6. Prov. 15, 6. Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject

[1] In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine. The forms חַם *hot*, טוֹב *good, well*, מַר *bitter*, צַר *narrow*, רַע *evil* (frequently joined with לִי, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on Ps. 18, 7, as adjectives.

which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is. 7, 7. 14, 24. Jer. 10, 7. Job 4, 5. 18, 15 (in 2 Ki. 24, 7 כֹּל־אֲשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer. 19, 5 אֲשֶׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gen. 17, 11 וְהָיָה *and this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

c Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd singular masculine or feminine, e.g. אוֹר *it becomes light*, 1 Sam. 29, 10 (but with an explicit subject, Gen. 44, 3); וַיֵּאוֹר *and it became light*; so also יַחְשַׁךְ *it grows dark*, Jer. 13, 16; but וְחָשְׁכָה Mic. 3, 6; תֶּעֱפָה *though there be darkness*, Job 11, 17 תַּמְטִיר *it rains*, Amos 4, 7 (where, however, the context requires the reading אַמְטִיר); Ps. 50, 3 נִשְׂעֲרָה *it is tempestuous*.

d **3.** The indefinite personal subject (our *they*, *one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*[1]) is expressed—

(*a*) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e.g. קָרָא *one* (sc. any *one who named* it, see the Rem.) *called* (or *calls*), Gen. 11, 9. 16, 14. Ex. 15, 23, comp. Is. 9, 5; וַיֹּאמֶר *one said*, Gen. 48, 1. 1 Sam. 16, 4. 19, 22[2]; other examples are Gen. 38, 28 *one put out a hand*; Num. 23, 21. 1 Ki. 22, 38. Is. 6, 10 וְרָפָא לוֹ *and one heals them*; 8, 4 (יִשָּׂא); 46, 7 (יְצַעֲקֶנּוּ); Am. 6, 12. Mic. 2, 4. Job 27, 23; by the 3rd singular feminine (יֻלְּדָה) Num. 26, 59.

e Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e.g. קָרָא הַקּוֹרֵא. As a matter of fact, such a complement sometimes occurs, e.g. Is. 16, 10 יֹרֵךְ הַדֹּרֵךְ *the treader treads out*, for *one treads out*; 28, 4. 24 (*doth one plow continually?*); Deut. 17, 6 (Ezek. 18, 32). Deut. 22, 8. 2 Sam. 17, 9 (Ezek. 33, 4). Jer. 9, 23; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e.g. *qāla qā'ilun*, *a sayer says*, i.e. *some one says*), e.g. Num. 6, 9. Amos 9, 1; cf. above, § 116. *t*. [Comp. Driver, on 1 Sam. 16, 4.]

f (*b*) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e.g. Gen. 29, 2 *for out of that well* יַשְׁקוּ *they watered* (German *tränkte man*) *the flocks*; 26, 18. 35, 5. 41, 14. 49, 31. 1 Ki. 1, 2. Is. 38, 16. Hos. 12, 9. Job 18, 18. 34, 20. Est. 2, 2. Neh. 2, 7.

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[1] In 1 Sam. 9, 9 הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

[2] Elsewhere in such cases וַיֹּאמְרוּ usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e.g. 1 Sam. 23, 22), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gen. 48, 1, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7. *d*, note 2. In Gen. 48, 2 for the extraordinary וַיַּגֵּד the common form וַיֻּגַּד is to be read; so in 50, 26 for וַיָּשִׂם (after a plural) either וַיּוּשַׂם or the 3rd plur.; in 2 Ki. 21, 26 וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, *g*
where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several,
.g. Gen. 34, 27. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive,
s very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1. *c*);
.g. Job 7, 3 *wearisome nights* מְנוּ־לִי *have they allotted to me* (equivalent to *were*
llotted to me ; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device);
ob 4, 19. 6, 2. 18, 18. 19, 26. 34, 20. Ezek. 32, 25. Ps. 63, 11. Prov. 2, 22 (in
arallelism with a passive); 9, 11.

(*c*) By the 2nd singular masculine, e.g. Is. 7, 25 לֹא־תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *h*
ne will (or *can*) *not come thither* (prop. *thou will . . .*); Jer. 23, 37.
Prov. 19, 25. 30, 28 (unless the reading should be תִּתְפֶּשׂ). Comp.
lso עַד־בֹּאֲךָ or simply בֹּאֲךָ (Gen. 10, 19. 30. 13, 10 בֹּאֲכָה) prop. *until*
hy coming, i.e. *until one comes.*

(*d*) By the plural of the participle, e.g. Jer. 38, 23 *and all thy wives* *i*
nd thy children מְוֹצִאִים (prop. *are they bringing out*) *they will bring*
ut, &c.; comp. Is. 32, 12. Ezek. 13, 7. Neh. 6, 10 (*for some are*
oming to slay thee) and the passages discussed above, § 116. *t*[1]. In
Ki. 5, 1 the text is corrupt.

(*e*) By the passive, e.g. Gen. 4, 26 אָז הוּחַל לִקְרֹא *then* (*was it* *k*
egun =) *began men to call upon*, &c.

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, *l*
s the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence[2],
ne of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves
—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or
nember by which the action in question is performed, and may be most
ften rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the
nanner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in
ommon, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the
ame person as the personal subject[3]. They are thus distinguished
rom the *accusatives* treated in § 117. *s*, with which they are often
onfused.

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[1] That this form of expression also (see letter *g*) comes to be equivalent to
passive, is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dan. 4, 22,
hich exclude any idea of human agency. Comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.*
Aram., § 76. 2. *e* at the end, and in post.-bibl. Hebrew, e.g. *Pirqe Aboth* 2, 16.
, 5 and elsewhere.

[2] Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in Ps. 83, 19.

[3] In Ex. 6, 3 שְׁמִי is subordinated to the following passive נוֹדַעְתִּי (§ 121. *b*);
n 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 יָדְךָ, יָדִי are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹשֵׁעַ, according
o § 113. *gg*. In Ps. 69, 11 read וָאֲעַנֶּה for וָאֲבַכֶּה.

m (*a*) Examples where the subject denoting the *thing* precedes, קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה אֶקְרָא *my voice—I cry unto the Lord*, i. e. *I cry aloud unto the Lord*, Ps. 3, 5. 27, 7. 142, 2; פִּי־קָרָאתִי *my mouth—I cried*, i. e. *I cried aloud*, Ps. 66, 17 (comp. 17, 10); Is. 26, 9 נַפְשִׁי with *my soul*, i. e. *fervently*, and parallel with it אַף־רוּחִי; but נַפְשִׁי Ps. 57, 5 is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. *I*.

(*b*) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צְוַחְלִי קוֹלֶךָ *cry—thy voice* (i.e. aloud), Is. 10, 30; so also after an imperative, Ps. 17, 13 (חַרְבֶּךָ) and 14 (יָדֶךָ); 60, 7. 108, 7 (יְמִינְךָ); after a perfect, Hab. 3, 15 (סוּסֶיךָ); after a cohortative, Ps. 108, 2 (אַף־כְּבוֹדִי). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in Ps. 44, 3 אַתָּה יָדְךָ[1].

n Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another person; comp. e.g. Gen. 40, 22 (41, 13). 41, 14. 43, 34 (*and he commanded to set before them*, &c.); 46, 29. 2 Sam. 12, 9.

o 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 Sam. 24, 11 after וַתָּחֶס either עֵינִי has dropped out (through confusion with עָלֶיךָ) or we should read with the LXX וְאָחֶס. In 2 Sam. 13, 39 (וַתְּכַל דָּוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

p 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language[2] there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd pers. (i. e. from an address to a statement), Gen. 49, 4 (?). Is. 22, 19. 31, 6 (?). 42, 20. Mal. 2, 15 (where, however, for יִבְגֹּד we should undoubtedly read תִּבְגֹּד); Ps. 22, 9; in a relative clause, Is. 54, 1, comp. also Is. 22, 16. 52, 14 sq. 61, 7. √ From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Deut. 32, 15. Is. 1, 29 (?). 5, 8. Jer. 29, 19. Job 16, 7, comp. also Deut. 32, 17. From the 1st to the 3rd pers., Lam. 3, 1 (in a relative clause). In Job 13, 28 the 3rd pers. וְהוּא is probably employed *δεικτικῶς* for the 1st.

§ 145. *Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.*

a **1.** As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in genera conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it i

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[1] In several of the examples quoted above it might naturally be suppose that the subject denoting the thing (especially when it follows the verb) is to b explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i. e. as an accusative, analogous to th adverbial accusatives treated in § 118. *q*. But although it is true that the subjec denoting the thing often defines more closely the manner in which the actio is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, Ps. 89, 2. 109, 3 Job 19, 16, בְּ occurs with בְּ *instrumentale*, the explanation given above mu nevertheless be accepted.

[2] In prose, Lev. 2, 8; but וְהִקְרִיבָהּ here is hardly the original reading. Differe from this is Gen. 26, 7, where there is a transition to direct narration.

a pronoun, e. g. זֹאת בְּרִיתִי *this is my covenant*, Gen. 17, 10). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see letters *b–l* below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) *before* the subject.

2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123. *a*), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123. *b*), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons. *b*

Examples:—

(*a*) Of collectives proper: (*α*) with the predicate preceding, Gen. 30, 38 תָּבֹאנָה הַצֹּאן (comp. verse 39. 31, 8 and 33, 13); Jud. 1, 22 sq. בֵּית representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mic. 4, 3 גּוֹי; 2 Ki. 25, 5 חֵיל *army;* Prov. 11, 26 לְאֹם *the people;* Num. 10, 3 כָּל־הָעֵדָה *all the congregation* (comp. 1 Ki. 8, 5); 1 Ki. 1, 40. Is. 9, 8. 25, 3. Amos 1, 5 עַם; 1 Sam. 17, 47. Ezra 10, 12 קָהָל *assembly.* Comp. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122. *i*), e. g. 1 Ki. 20, 20 וַיָּנֻסוּ אֲרָם *and the Syrians fled;* 1 Sam. 4, 5.—(*β*) with the predicate following, 1 Ki. 8, 5 צֹאן וּבָקָר *sheep and oxen,* construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the cattle* (cows) *were ploughing;* 2 Sam. 3, 1 and 1 Chron. 10, 6 בַּיִת =*family*, and in a place-name, 1 Sam. 6, 13; Hos. 11, 7. Ezra 4, 4 עַם; Ps. 68, 11 חַיָּה *herd;* Is. 26, 19 נְבֵלָה *a heap of dead bodies;* Is. 27, 11 קָצִיר *boughs;* 1 Sam. 4, 1 יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular. *c*

(*b*) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (*α*) with the predicate preceding, Gen. 34, 24 זָכָר; Jud. 9, 55. 15, 10 אִישׁ; Is. 16, 4 רֹמֵס *the treader down.*—(*β*) with the predicate following, Job 8, 19 אַחֵר = *others;* Ezek. 28, 3 סָתוּם *a secret.* *d*

(*c*) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (*α*) with the predicate preceding, 1 Sam. 17, 46 וְיֵדְעוּ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *that all the earth may know,* i. e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Deut. 9, 28. Ps. 66, 1. 96, 1. 9, &c.; Amos 1, 8 שְׁאֵרִית *remnant.*—(*β*) with the predicate following, Gen. 41, 57. 2 Sam. 15, 23. 1 Ki. 10, 24. Ps. 33, 8 (כָּל־הָאָרֶץ); Gen. 48, 6 מוֹלֶדֶת *issue;* 1 Sam. 2, 33 כָּל־מַרְבִּית *all the increase;* Job 30, 12 פִּרְחָה *rabble.* In Hag. 2, 7 read חֶמְדַּת with the LXX. *e*

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gen. 35, 11. Ex. 10, 24. 14, 10. Deut. 1, 39, &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141. *c.* *f*

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially when the predicate precedes; see letter *o* below), but is carried on, after the collective *g*

subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e. g. Ex. 1, 20 וַיִּרֶב הָעָם וַיַּעַצְמוּ מְאֹד *and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty;* 33, 4.

h **3.** On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning (§ 124. *a*) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124. *g–i*; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132. *h*), as אֱלֹהִים Gen. 1, 1. 3, &c. (see, however, the Rem.), אֲדֹנִים *master*, Ex. 21, 4, בְּעָלִים *master*, *owner*, Ex. 21, 29; comp., moreover, פָּנִים with the singular, 2 Sam. 10, 9. Job 16, 16 *K^e^th.*, רַחֲמִים Prov. 12, 10.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e. g. Eccles. 12, 9 הָיָה קֹהֶלֶת חָכָם *the preacher was wise.*

i Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים *God* with the plural of the predicate may be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 Ki. 19, 2. 20, 10, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *E* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; comp. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124. *g*, note 2. So Gen. 20, 13 (but in conversation with a heathen); 31, 53. 35, 7, comp. also Jos. 24, 19. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh. 9, 18 compared with Ex. 32, 4. 8, and 1 Chron. 17, 21 compared with 2 Sam. 7, 23. Cf. Strack's excursus in *Die Bücher Gen. Exod. Lev. und Num.*, Munich, 1894, p. 67 sq.

k **4.** Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate[1] (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122. *s*); thus Joel 1, 20 בַּהֲמוֹת שָׂדֶה תַּעֲרֹג *the beasts of the field long;* Jer. 12, 4 (where the predicate precedes), comp. also Job 12, 7; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 Sam. 24, 13. Is. 34, 13. Jer. 4, 14. 51, 29. Ps. 18, 35. 37, 31. 73, 2 *K^e^th.* 103, 5. Job 14, 19. 27, 20; with the predicate following, Gen. 49, 22 (בָּנוֹת = *branches*); Deut. 21, 7. 1 Sam. 4, 15 (עֵינָיו קָמָה)[2].

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[1] Comp. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate *τὰ πρόβατα βαίνει*; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as *τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον*. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (collective forms).

[2] On the possibility of explaining forms like קָמָה as 3rd plural feminine, cf. above, § 44. *m*; but this explanation would not apply to all the cases under this head, cf. Joel 1, 20. Ps. 37, 31. 103, 5.

Is. 59, 12. Jer. 2, 15 *K^eth.*; 4, 14. 48, 41. 49, 24. Prov. 15, 22. 20, 18. Job 20, 11. 41, 10[1].

l **5.** Moreover, the plurals of persons (especially in the participle) are sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gen. 27, 29 (Num. 24, 9) אֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר וּמְבָרֲכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ *those that curse thee, cursed be* every one of them, *and those that bless thee, blessed be* every one of them; Ex. 31, 14. Lev. 17, 14 and 19, 8 (in both places the Samaritan has אֹכְלָו); Is. 3, 12 unless נֹגְשָׂיו is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124. *g*; Prov. 3, 18. 35 (?). 18, 21 (?). 21, 27 *b*. 27, 16. 28, 1 *b*. 28, 16 *K^eth.*

m Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent[2] use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; comp. the *verbal*-suffixes in Deut. 21, 10. 28, 48. Amos 6, 10; and the noun-suffixes in Is. 2, 8. 30, 22. Jer. 31, 15. Hos. 4, 8. Zech. 14, 12. Ps. 5, 10 (where, however, פִּימוֹ is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62, 5. 141, 10 (?). Job 38, 32. Eccles. 10, 15; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is. 2, 20 אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ־לוֹ *which they made* each one *for himself*; according to others, *which they* (*the makers*) *made for him*; 5, 26. 8, 20. Job 24, 5, in each case לוֹ; in Gen. 2, 19 לוֹ refers to the collectives חַיָּה and עוֹף; comp. further, Is. 5, 23 מִמֶּנּוּ after צַדִּיקִים, and 1 Sam. 5, 10 אֵלַי after הָעֶקְרֹנִים. Conversely in Mic. 1, 11 עִבְרִי לָכֶם [cf. Jer. 13, 20 *K^eth.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

n **6.** Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88. *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַיִם, Gen. 29, 17 וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת *and Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 Sam. 24, 3. Is. 30, 20. Jer. 14, 6. Mic. 7, 10. Ps. 18, 28. 38, 11 (on the other hand, in 1 Sam. 4, 15 the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mic. 4, 11 *before* it; comp. for both, letter *k* above); so also אָזְנַיִם *ears*, 2 Chron. 6, 40; יָדַיִם *hands*, Is. 1, 15. Job 10, 8. 20, 10 (in Ex. 17, 12 even with the plural masculine כְּבֵדִים; cf. letter *p*); שְׂפָתַיִם *lips*, 1 Sam. 1, 13. Job 27, 4; שָׁדַיִם *breasts*, Hos. 9, 14.

o **7.** Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, letter *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting

[1] In Prov. 14, 1 an abstract plural חָכְמוֹת (to be read thus with 9, 1, &c., instead of חַכְמוֹת) is construed with the singular; but comp. § 124. *e*.

[2] In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*Revue des études juives*, xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally.

animals or things[1]). The speaker or writer begins with the most simple form of the predicate, the uninflected 3rd singular masculine, and leaves us without indication as to which of the following subjects (and so which gender or number) is to define the predicate thus left temporarily indefinite[2]. Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is. 2, 17 וְשַׁח גַּבְהוּת הָאָדָם *and bowed down shall be the loftiness of man;* 9, 18. 14, 11. 28, 18. 47, 11; 1 Sam. 25, 27 (see note 1 below); 1 Ki. 8, 31. 22, 36. 2 Ki. 3, 26. Jer. 51, 46. Eccles. 7, 7; with a following plural masc., Is. 13, 22 וְעָנָה אִיִּים *and there shall cry wolves*, &c.; Jud. 13, 17 *K^eth.* 20, 46. 1 Sam. 1, 2. 4, 10. 2 Sam. 24, 15. 1 Ki. 13, 33. Jer. 51, 48. Ps. 124, 5. Est. 9, 23 (see note 1 below); Gen. 1, 14 יְהִי מְאֹרֹת *let there be lights;* with a following plural feminine, Deut. 32, 35. Is. 8, 8. Jer. 13, 18. Mic. 2, 6. Ps. 57, 2; before collectives and mixed subjects, e.g. Gen. 12, 16. 13, 5. 30, 43. 32, 6, &c.; before a following dual, Is. 44, 18. Ps. 73, 7 (where, however, with the LXX עֵינֵמוֹ should be read).

p Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Jud. 21, 21. 1 Ki. 11, 3), of animals (Gen. 30, 39) or of things (Lev. 26, 33. Jer. 13, 16. Hos. 14, 7. Ps. 16, 4. Job 3, 24. Cant. 6, 9), or before a dual (2 Sam. 4, 1. Zeph. 3, 16. 2 Chron. 15, 7) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under letter *o*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf. (for this is the only form concerned in the above examples; comp., however, Nah. 3, 11 תִּהְיִי instead of תִּהְיֶי); comp. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under letters *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110. *k*.

q 2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; comp. Gen. 5, 23 sqq. 39, 5. Deut. 21, 3 (according to the accents); 22, 23. Is. 18, 5 וּבֹסֶר גֹּמֵל יִהְיֶה נֵצָה *and a ripening grape the flower becometh.*

r (*b*) The adjective in a noun-clause, e. g. Ps. 119, 137 יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *upright* are *thy judgements;* comp. verse 155[3]. In German also the adjective as predicate remains uninflected.—On the other hand,

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[1] Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 Sam. 25, 27 (but הֻבִיאָה should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est. 9, 23 (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Job 42, 15 are to be explained according to § 121. *a*.

[2] In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau*, &c.

[3] This does not include such cases as Job 24, 7. 10, where עָרוֹם is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118. *n*.

רֹעֶה in רֹעֶה צֹאן עֲבָדֶיךָ *thy servants are shepherds*, Gen. 47, 3, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for רֹעֵי.

Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is *s* carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e. g. Gen. 1, 14 יְהִי מְאֹרֹת . . . וְהָיוּ (see letter *o* above); Num. 9, 6. Ezek. 14, 1; comp. also Gen. 30, 39 (see letter *p* above).

2. The dislike mentioned in letter *p* above, of using the feminine form (comp., *t* further, § 144. *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, letter *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine; thus in Is. 14, 9 רַגְּזָה, and afterwards עוֹרֵר; 33, 9 אָבַל אֻמְלְלָה אֶרֶץ *mourneth, languisheth the land.* Comp. Jer. 4, 30, and the examples (§ 47. *k*) where only the earlier of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. are provided with the afformative *î*, Is. 57, 8. Jer. 3, 5. Ezek. 22, 4. 23, 32 (תִּהְיֶה after תִּשְׁתִּי); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Nah. 3, 15, comp. § 110. *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lev. 2, 1. 5, 1. 20, 6, where נֶפֶשׁ *person* (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

3. The instances in which the gender or number of the *following* predicate *u* appears to differ from that of the subject, are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e. g. Gen. 32, 9 read with the Samaritan הָאֶחָד instead of הָאַחַת; וְהִיָה then follows correctly; 1 Sam. 2, 20 read with Wellhausen שָׁאַל, according to 1, 28, instead of שָׁאַל; 1 Sam. 16, 4 read וַיֹּאמְרוּ; 2 Sam. 14, 10 read וַהֲבֵאתִו; Ezek. 18, 29 instead of יִתָּכֵן read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ezek. 20, 38 for יָבוֹא[1], and in Job 6, 20 for בָּטַח; in Lam. 5, 10 read נִכְמָר, and comp. in general, § 7. *d*, note 2; 1 Chron. 2, 48 read יָלְדָה; in Jer. 48, 15 the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The variations in Is. 49, 11. Hos. 14, 1. Prov. 1, 16 (after רַגְלָיו), Ps. 11, 4 (after עֵינָיו), Prov. 5, 2. 10, 21. 32. 18, 6. 26, 23. Job 15, 6 (all after שִׂפְתַיִם), Prov. 3, 2 (after מִצְוֹתַי), Ps. 102, 28. Job 16, 22 (after שָׁנוֹת), Dan. 11, 41 (read וְרִבּוֹת), and perhaps Gen. 20, 17 are also to be explained (see letter *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer. 44, 19. Prov. 26, 23 even the plur. masc. of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gen. 31, 8 sq. יִהְיֶה, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate[2].—In Gen. 4, 7 רֹבֵץ is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gen. 47, 24 יִהְיֶה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Ex. 12, 49. 28, 7. 32. Num. 9, 14. 15, 29. Jer. 50, 46. Eccles. 2, 7 (הָיָה לִי) as if the sentence began afresh, *and servants born in my*

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[1] יבוא probably an error for יבאו. The Masora on Lev. 11, 34 reckons fourteen instances of יָבֹא, where we should expect the plural.

[2] So also the pronoun הוּא emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141. *h*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos. 13, 14 אִשֵּׁי יְהוָה . . . הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ *the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance;* in number and gender, Lev. 25, 33 *Qᵉrê;* Jer. 10, 3.

house . . . there fell to my lot this possession also).—In Job 20, 26 לֹא־נֻפַּח may (unless אֵשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122. *o*) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown* upon it.—In Is. 16, 8 and Hab. 3, 17 the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שַׁדְמוֹת (see letter *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in Ps. 87, 3. Prov. 2, 10. 12, 25. 29, 25. Job 8, 7.

§ 146. *Construction of Compound Subjects.*

a **1.** When the subject is composed of a nomen regens (in the construct state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the nomen regens, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject[1]. Thus 1 Sam. 2, 4 קֶשֶׁת גִּבֹּרִים חַתִּים *the bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken;* Ex. 26, 12. Lev. 13, 9. 1 Ki. 1, 41. 17, 16. Is. 2, 11. 21, 17. Job 15, 20. 21, 21. 29, 10. 32, 7 (רֹב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38, 21; with the predicate preceding, 2 Sam. 10, 9, unless it is to be explained according to § 145. *k*.

b Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e. g. Gen. 4, 10 *the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. *as crying*, § 108. *p*) . . . ! = *hark! thy brother's blood is crying*, &c.; Lev. 13, 9. Is. 13, 4. 66, 6. In Is. 52, 8 an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen!* in Jer. 10, 22 and Cant. 2, 8 an independent noun-clause; in Is. 40, 3 קוֹל קֹרֵא *the voice of one that crieth!* i. e. *hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by the direct discourse; in Mic. 6, 9 קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144. *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

c 2. When the substantive כֹּל (כָּל־) *entirety* is used in connexion with a genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֹּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e. g. with the predicate preceding, Gen. 5, 5 וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were*, &c. (in 9, 29 וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads ויהיו here also); Ex. 15, 20; with the predicate following, Ps. 150, 6 and elsewhere. Exceptions are, e. g. Lev. 17, 14 (but cf. § 145. *l*). Is. 64, 10. Prov. 16, 2. Nah. 3, 7. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex. 12, 16 the agreement of the predicate with כָּל־ is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא being equivalent to *nothing at all of work*.

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[1] Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually *d*

(*a*) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e. g. Gen. 8, 22 *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁבָּתוּ); after subjects of different genders in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132. *d*), e. g. Gen. 18, 11 אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זְקֵנִים *Abraham and Sarah* were *old;* Deut. 28, 32. 1 Ki. 1, 21.

Rem. Rare exceptions are Prov. 27, 9 שֶׁמֶן וּקְטֹרֶת יְשַׂמַּח־לֵב *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine שֶׁמֶן; on the other hand, in Ex. 21, 4 (where הָאִשָּׁה וְיָלְדָיהָ are the subjects) it agrees with הָאִשָּׁה as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is. 9, 4, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding[1]. *e*

(*b*) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gen. 40, 1. Job 3, 5 and elsewhere); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gen. 9, 23. 11, 29. 21, 32. 24, 50. 34, 20. Jud. 14, 5; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e. g. Gen. 3, 8. 24, 55 *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother;* 33, 7; before a masculine singular and a plural, e. g. Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and Noah went in, and his sons*, &c.; Gen. 8, 18 (where feminines plural also follow); 44, 14. Ex. 15, 1. 2 Sam. 5, 21; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 Sam. 12, 2. *f*

Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e. g. Gen. 31, 14 וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה *then answered Rachel and Leah;* before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e. g. Gen. 24, 61; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Num. 12, 1 וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *then spake Miriam and Aaron;* Jud. 5, 1; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e. g. Gen. 33, 7 (comp., on the other hand, Ps. 75, 4 נְמוֹגִים אֶרֶץ וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֶיהָ *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Amos 8, 13.—In Jer. 44, 25 for אַתֶּם וּנְשֵׁיכֶם read אַתֶּם הַנָּשִׁים with the LXX, and cf. verse 19. *g*

(*c*) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; comp. Ex. 21, 32. 24, 61. 31, 4. 33, 7, &c., and § 145. *s*. *h*

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[1] Similarly with a mixed object, Gen. 33, 2 *he put . . . Leah and her children after;* אַחֲרֹנִים agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

a **1.** Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context[1]. Besides the instances enumerated in § 116. *s* (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152. *u*, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see letter *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see letter *c* below).

b **2.** The demonstrative particle הֵן, הִנֵּה *en*, *ecce* may be used either absolutely (as a kind of interjection, comp. § 105. *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gen. 28, 15 וְהִנֵּה אָנֹכִי עִמָּךְ *and, behold! I am with thee;* 37, 7. 48, 21. Ex. 3, 13. 34, 10, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100. *o*. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100. *p*. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle *'inna* (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant[2]. If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116. *p* and *q*) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate[3]. Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the subject and copula (as Gen. 18, 9 הִנֵּה בְאֹהֶל *behold* she is *in the tent;* 42, 28), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to הִנֵּה with the suffix, as in the frequent use of הִנֵּנִי, הִנֶּנִּי *here am I*, in answer to

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[1] This does not apply to such cases as Gen. 33, 8, where an infinitive with לְ appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; comp. also Gen. 26, 7, where הִיא must again be supplied after אִשְׁתִּי.

[2] On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after *'inna*), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

[3] That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. מֵת in הִנְּךָ מֵת Gen. 20, 3) cannot be taken as a second accusative (something like *ecce tu moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after *'inna* with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הִנֵּה (or הֵן Gen. 11, 6. Job 31, 35), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e. g. Gen. 22, 7 הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *here is the fire and the wood*, &c.; 12, 19 *behold* thou hast *thy wife!* Ex. 24, 8; with reference to the past, e. g. Amos 7, 1 וְהִנֵּה לֶקֶשׁ וגו׳ *and, lo*, it was *the latter growth*, &c. By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Job 9, 19 *lo, here am I!*

c **3.** Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(*a*) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e. g. Jud. 7, 20 *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon!* (verse 18 without חֶרֶב); 2 Sam. 20, 1 and 2 Chron. 10, 16 (comp. also 1 Ki. 22, 36) *every man to his tents, O Israel!* (i. e. *let every man go to* or *remain in his tent*); the same exclamation without אִישׁ 1 Ki. 12, 16; moreover, Is. 1, 28. 13, 4 (on the exclamatory קוֹל equivalent to *hark!* cf. § 146. *b*); 28, 10. 29, 16 (הַפִּכְּכֶם *O your perversity!* i. e. how great it is!); Jer. 49, 16 (if תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee!*); Joel 4, 14. Mal. 1, 13 (הִנֵּה מַתְּלָאָה *behold what a weariness!*); Job 22, 29; perhaps also Gen. 49, 4 פַּחַז כַּמַּיִם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אַתָּה (*thou wast*).—(*b*) With suppression of the subject, Job 15, 23 אַיֵּה *where* sc. is bread?—(*c*) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Jud. 7, 18 (see above); 1 Ki. 12, 16 (see above); 2 Ki. 9, 27 גַּם אֹתוֹ *him also!* explained immediately afterwards by הַכֵּהוּ *smite him!* Hos. 5, 8 *after thee, Benjamin!* sc. is the enemy (differently in Jud. 5, 14); Ps. 6, 4. 90, 13. Hab. 2, 6 עַד־מָתַי; Ps. 74, 9 עַד־מָה.—On וְלֹא *and if not*, 2 Sam. 13, 26. 2 Ki. 5, 17, see § 159. *dd*.

d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections אֲהָהּ, אוֹי, הוֹי, הֵם[1]; comp. § 105. The object of the *threat* or *imprecation* (with אוֹי) follows regularly (except Ezek. 24, 6. 9) with לְ (comp. *vae tibi*), e. g. אוֹי לָנוּ *woe unto us!* 1 Sam. 4, 8. Is. 6, 5; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (with הוֹי) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (comp. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, הוֹי אָחִי *alas, my brother!* 1 Ki. 13, 30. Jer. 22, 18; הוֹי גּוֹי חֹטֵא *ah sinful nation!*

[1] We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e. g. הֵם Jud. 3, 19. Amos 6, 10) stand quite disconnectedly (so always אָח and הֶאָח).

Is. 1, 4. 5, 8. 11. 18. 20. 22, &c. (with אֶל Jer. 48, 1; עַל 50, 27. Ezek. 13, 3; לְ Ezek. 13, 18). אֲהָהּ occurs in the expression (יְהוָה) אֲהָהּ אֲדֹנָי יֱהוֹה Jos. 7, 7, &c. (10 times); and in אֲהָהּ לַיּוֹם *alas for the day!* Joel 1, 15. For הֵם comp. Hab. 2, 20. Zeph. 1, 7. Zech. 2, 17 absolutely, Jud. 3, 19. Am. 6, 10. 8, 3.

e 2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner may perhaps occur in יְדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם Ps. 115, 7, for יָדַיִם לָהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; comp. verses 5 and 6 פֶּה־לָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ Gen. 22, 24, and וְחַלְיוֹ Eccles. 5, 16 (but hardly נְבִיאֶכֶם Num. 12, 6; cf. § 128. *d* above) are to be regarded in the same way.

II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

§ 148. *Exclamations.*

a The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations expressing wonder or indignation = *O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by נָא or זֹאת according to § 136. *c*.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מָה Job 31, 1) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!* in Joel 1, 18 by מָה.

Examples:—

b מָה (or מַה־ with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gen. 27, 20 (מַה־זֶּה); 38, 29. Num. 24, 5 (*how goodly are . . .!*); Cant. 7, 2; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gen. 28, 17. Ps. 8, 2; mockingly before the verb, 2 Sam. 6, 20 (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer. 22, 23. Job 26, 2 sq.; indignantly, Gen. 3, 13 מַה־זֹּאת; 4, 10. 20, 9. 31, 26 *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gen. 26, 9. Ps. 73, 19; in scornful exclamation, Is. 14, 4. 12; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה), 2 Sam. 1, 25. 27; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gen. 39, 9. 44, 8. Ps. 11, 1. 137, 4; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mic. 2, 4.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is. 1, 21. Lam. 1, 1; with the imperfect, Lam. 2, 1. 4, 1.

c Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mic. 7, 18 מִי־אֵל כָּמוֹךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see § 151. *a*.

d 2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion of a corroborative כִּי *verily*, *surely*, before the predicate, Gen. 18, 20; comp. 33, 11. Is. 7, 9, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences § 159. *ee*.

§ 149. *Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.*

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gen. 22, 16) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as חַי־יְהוָה, חֵי־נַפְשְׁךָ[1], חַי אָנִי, בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 2 Sam. 20, 20. Job 27, 5 after חָלִילָה לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According *b* to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it;* then naturally אִם־לֹא properly *if I do it not* equivalent to *I certainly will do it.* It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations spoken by Yahweh, as in Deut. 1, 34 sq. Is. 14, 24. 22, 14. Jer. 22, 6. Ezek. 3, 6. 35, 6. Ps. 95, 11. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם־לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not.*—In 1 Sam. 25, 22, where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְאֹיְבֵי דָוִד with the LXX for לָאֹיְבֵי דָוִד.

Examples:—

(*a*) The particles אִם and אִם־לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after *c* formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 Sam. 11, 11 (see note on letter *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי נַפְשֶׁךָ אִם־אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing;* 1 Sam. 14, 45. 2 Ki. 5, 16 (after חַי יְהוָה; in 1 Sam. 14, 39 and 28, 6 חַי־ is followed by a simple כִּי); Cant. 2, 7. 3, 5 (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); comp. also Gen. 14, 23. 21, 23. 26, 29; spoken by Yahweh, Deut. 1, 34 sq. 1 Sam. 3, 14. Ps. 95, 11; similarly אִם־לֹא Gen. 24, 37 sq.; spoken by Yahweh, Is. 14, 24, where אִם־לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106. *n*, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer. 22, 6; in Gen. 31, 52 the negative oath introduced by אִם־אָנִי, אִם־אַתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ezek. 34, 10 the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם־לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.

(*b*) אִם and אִם־לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 Sam. 3, 17 כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ *d* אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־תְּכַחֵד מִמֶּנִּי דָּבָר וגו׳ *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me*, &c.; comp. 1 Sam. 25, 22. On the other hand, כִּי introduces the facts sworn to, in 1 Sam. 14, 44. 1 Ki. 2, 23 (here with a perfect), and in 2 Sam. 3, 35 כִּי אִם; in 1 Sam. 25, 34 the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 Sam. 20, 13 the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.

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[1] Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי נַפְשֶׁךָ 1 Sam. 20, 3. 25, 26 *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul* (i.e. *thou*) *liveth!* (Also in 2 Sam. 11, 11 read חַי־יהוה instead of the impossible חַיָּךְ). On חַי and חֵי in these noun-clauses (prop. *living* is *the Lord*, &c.), cf. § 93. *aa*, note.

e (*c*) אִם and אִם־לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Jud. 5, 8 מָגֵן אִם־יֵרָאֶה וְרֹמַח וגו׳ *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen*, &c.; Is. 22, 14. Job 6, 28 (in the middle of the sentence); after חָלִילָה *absit*, twice repeated, 2 Sam. 20, 20; אִם־לֹא with the perfect, Job 22, 20.

§ 150. *Interrogative Sentences.*

a **1.** A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently the natural emphasis upon the words (especially when the most emphatic word is placed at the beginning of the sentence) is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; comp. Gen. 27, 24 אַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי עֵשָׂו *thou art my son Esau?* Gen. 18, 12. Ex. 33, 14 (פָּנַי ׳); 1 Sam. 11, 12 שָׁאוּל יִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 Sam. 22, 7. 2 Sam. 16, 17. 18, 29 שָׁלוֹם לַנַּעַר *is it well with the young man?* 1 Sam. 16, 4. 1 Ki. 1, 24. Zech. 8, 6 (*should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?*). So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by וְ, e.g. Jon. 4, 11 וַאֲנִי לֹא אָחוּס *and I should not have pity?* Ex. 8, 22 *will they not stone us?* Jud. 11, 23. 14, 16. 1 Sam. 20, 9. 24, 20. 25, 11. 2 Sam. 11, 11. Is. 37, 11. Jer. 25, 29. 45, 5. 49, 12. Ezek. 20, 31. Job 2, 10. 10, 9; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with לֹא for הֲלֹא *nonne?*), e.g. 2 Sam. 23, 5 כִּי־לֹא יַצְמִיחַ *verily will he not make it to grow?* 2 Ki. 5, 26. Lam. 3, 38[1].

b Rem. The omission of the interrogative particle (הֲ, הַ) occurs especially before a following guttural for the sake of euphony (comp. § 126. *z*); thus before א, Gen. 18, 12. 27, 24. 1 Sam. 30, 8. 1 Ki. 1, 24. 21, 7. Job 14, 3 (as Dan. 5, 13 in Aramaic) before ה, 1 Sam. 22, 15. 2 Sam. 19, 23. Hab. 2, 19. Job 38, 18; before ח, 1 Sam 21, 16; before ע, Gen. 19, 12. Ex. 9, 17. Job 2, 9; but comp. also Job 37, 18 and 39, 2 (before ת); 40, 30 (before י).

c **2.** As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *H interrogative* הֲ (הַ; as to its form, cf. § 100. *k–n*) *ne? num?* th disjunctive question by הֲ (*num? utrum?*) in the first clause, and אִם (also וְאִם, less frequently אוֹ) *an?* in the second[2], e.g. 1 Ki. 22, 1, נֶחֱדַל׃ אִם חֲנֵלְךְ . . . אִם *shall we go . . . or shall we forbear?*

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[1] But in 1 Sam. 27, 10 instead of אַל־ (which according to the usual explanatio would expect a negative answer) read either עַל־מִי אֶל־מִי) with the LXX, better, אָן (אַנָּה) *whither*, with the Targum.

[2] Quite exceptional is the use of the particle אַיִן *num?* (common in Aramai in 1 Sam. 21, 9 וְאַיִן יֶשׁ־פֹּה *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubted

The particular uses are as follows :—

(*a*) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e. g. Gen. 43, 7 הַעוֹד אֲבִיכֶם חַי הֲיֵשׁ לָכֶם אָח *is your father yet alive? have ye* another *brother?* for הֲיֵשׁ comp. Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 9, 11; for הֲכִי *is it that?* Job 6, 22; for הֲכִי יֶשׁ־ *is there yet?* 2 Sam. 9, 1 (but in 2 Sam. 23, 19 for הֲכִי read הֲנוֹ with 1 Chron. 11, 25); for הַאֵין *is there not?* 1 Ki. 22, 7 and elsewhere; or before verbal-clauses, e. g. Job 2, 3 *hast thou considered* (הֲשַׂמְתָּ לִבְּךָ) *my servant Job?* In other cases הֲ (equivalent to *num?*) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e. g. Job 14, 14 *if a man die,* הֲיִחְיֶה *shall he* indeed *live* again? Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal[4], e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 5 הַאַתָּה תִּבְנֶה־לִּי בַיִת *shalt thou build me an house?* (in the parallel passage 1 Chron. 17, 4 לֹא אַתָּה וגו׳ *thou shalt not,* &c.); Gen. 4, 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי *am I my brother's keeper?* comp. 2 Ki. 5, 7, and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (*constr.* Job 34, 18, *absol.* Job 40, 2; comp. for both, § 113. *ee*, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 Ki. 16, 31 for הֲנָקֵל (after וַיְהִי) read הַנָּקֵל. *d*

Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gen. 27, 36 הֲכִי קָרָא prop. *is it so that one names?* &c., equivalent to *of a truth he is rightly named Jacob;* Gen. 29, 15 *verily thou art my brother;* 1 Sam. 2, 27 *I did indeed;* &c.; 1 Ki. 22, 3 *ye know surely . . .*; Job 20, 4.—In 1 Sam. 23, 19 (comp. Ps. 54, 2) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Amos 9, 7 a concession is expressed by הֲלוֹא *I have, it is true,* &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הִיא כְתוּבָה Jos. 10, 13 or הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים equivalent to *surely it is, they are* written (the latter in 1 Ki. 11, 41. 14, 29, and very often elsewhere in the Books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הִנֵּה כְתוּבָה 2 Sam. 1, 18, and הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים 1 Ki. 14, 19. 2 Ki. 15, 11. 2 Chron. 27, 7. 32, 32. *e*

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corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading רְאֵה הֲיֵשׁ.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with מָה *what?* such as כַּמָּה *how many?* לָמָּה *why?* (see § 102. *k*), מַדּוּעַ *why?* (§ 99. *e*), or by אַיֵּה *where?* אֵיפֹה, אֵיכָה *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵ, see the Lexicon.

[3] On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107. *t;* on the so-called *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106. *n.*

[4] Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מָה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Cant. 8, 4 מַה־תָּעִירוּ *why should ye stir up?* comp. also Job 31, 1; see above, § 148.

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e. g. 2 Sam. 2, 22 *turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground?* i. e. *otherwise I will* (or *must*) *smite*, &c.; cf. 1 Sam. 19, 17, and Driver on the passage; 2 Chron. 25, 16; also Gen. 27, 45. Ex. 32, 12 (Joel 2, 17. Ps. 79, 10. 115, 2); Cant. 1, 7. Eccles. 5, 5. 7, 17. Dan. 1, 10.

f 2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by אִם (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 Ki. 1, 27. Is. 29, 16. Job 6, 12. 39, 13.

g (*b*) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by הַ—אִם (*utrum—an?*) or sometimes by וְאִם[1]—הַ, e. g. Joel 1, 2. Job 21, 4 (even with הַ repeated after וְאִם in a question which implies disbelief, Gen. 17, 17). In Job 34, 17. 40, 8 sq. special emphasis is given to the first member by הַאַף prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by אוֹ *or* in Job 16, 3. 38, 28. 31. 36, in each case before מ, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination אִם מ׳.

h Double questions with (וְאִם) הַ—אִם need not always be mutually exclusive; frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but comp. also e. g. Gen. 37, 8) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Job 4, 17 *shall mortal man be just before God? or* (אִם) *shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Job 6, 5 sq. 8, 3. 10, 4 sq. 11, 2. 7. 22, 3. Is. 10, 15. Jer. 5, 29. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple וְ, e. g. Job 13, 7. 15, 7 sq. 38, 16 sq. 22. 32. 39; comp. also Ps. 8, 5 after מָה; Job 21, 17 sq. after בַּמָּה; or even without a conjunction, Job 8, 11. 22, 4; after מָה Ps. 144, 3.

i (*c*) With regard to *indirect* questions[2] after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining[3], &c., simple questions of this kind take either הַ *whether*, Gen. 8, 8[4] or אִם Gen. 15, 5. 2 Ki. 1, 2. Cant. 7, 13; even before a noun-clause, Jer. 5, 1 in 1 Sam. 20, 10 the indirect question is introduced by וְאוֹ, i. e. probably *if per*

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[1] וְאִם occurs in Prov. 27, 24 after a negative statement; we should, however with Dyserinck read וְאַיִן. Not less irregular is הֲלֹא instead of אִם לֹא in th second clause of Jud. 14, 15, but the text can hardly be correct (comp. Moore *Judges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 Sam. 23, 11 the second הַ introduce a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Num. 17, 2 and in the third clause of Job 6, 13, הַאִם is best taken with Ewald in the sens of הֲלֹא, since אִם from its use in oaths (see above, § 149. *b*) may simply mea *verily not.*

[2] It should here be remarked that the distinction between direct and indire questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same exte as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the tv kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position the words (as in English). Comp. also § 137. *c.*

[3] In Gen. 43, 6 the הַ after לְהַגִּיד is explained from the fact that the latt according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question.*

[4] Also in Eccles. 3, 21 we should read הָעֹלָה and הַיֹּרֶדֶת (*whether—wheth* instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

chance. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) אִם—הֲ Num. 13, 18 at the end (or הֲ—אִם־לֹא Gen. 24, 21. 27, 21. 37, 22. Ex. 16, 4), and הֲ—הֲ Num. 13, 18, which is followed by הֲ—אִם; also אוֹ—הֲ Eccles. 2, 19. The formula מִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם has an affirmative force, *who knows whether ... not*, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. 4, 14.

In Jon. 1, 7 and 8 the relative pronouns שֶׁ and אֲשֶׁר owing to the following לְמִי have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?* *k*

(*d*) זֶה and הוּא (comp. § 136. *c*) immediately after the interrogative serve to give vividness to the question; so also אֶפוֹא (for which אֵפוֹ five times in Job) *then, now*, Gen. 27, 33 מִי־אֶפוֹא הוּא *who then is he?* Jud. 9, 38. Is. 19, 12. Job 17, 15; אַיֵּה אֵפוֹ *where then is ...?* However, אֶפוֹא may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex. 33, 16. Is. 22, 1; also Hos. 13, 10, since either אֵיֵּהי is a dialectical form of אַיֵּה, or אַיֵּה should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gen. 27, 37[1]. *l*

(*e*) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is. 5, 4 after מַדּוּעַ *wherefore looked I ... and it brought forth*, equivalent to, wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is. 50, 2; after הֲ Num. 32, 6. Jer. 8, 4, also Num. 16, 22 (read הָאִישׁ); after הֲלֹא Jos. 22, 20; after לָמָּה Is. 58, 3. 2 Chron. 32, 4[2]. But הֲ Job 4, 2 and הֲלֹא 4, 21 are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause. *m*

3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gen. 24, 58. 27, 24. 29, 5. Jud. 13, 11), Gen. 29, 6. 37, 32 sq. 1 Sam. 23, 11. 26, 17. 1 Ki. 21, 10. Jer. 37, 17. (On וַיֵּשׁ *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 Ki. 10, 15, see § 159 *dd*.) As a negative answer the simple לֹא is sometimes sufficient, as in Gen. 19, 2 and elsewhere; comp. § 152. *c*; and in Jud. 4, 20 the simple אַיִן equivalent to *no* or *no one*. *n*

§ 151. *Desiderative Sentences.*

A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107. *n*), cohortative (§ 108, especially with נָא § 108. *c*), jussive (§ 109; with נָא § 109. *b*), imperative (§ 110. *a*), perfect consecutive (§ 112. *aa*) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116. *r*, note, and § 141. *g*) but also in the following ways:— *a*

[1] On the other hand, in Job 9, 24 and 24, 25 אֵפוֹ is not prefixed to the מִי, but appended to the conditional sentence.

[2] Comp. the analogous sentences after יַעַן *because*, Is. 65, 12. Jer. 35, 17; after causal אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 26, 23; after כִּי Is. 12, 1; likewise after גַּם § 153 at the end; after פֶּן Deut. 8, 12–14. 25, 3. Jos. 6, 18.

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses[1], e.g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 מִי־יְשִׂמַנִי שֹׁפֵט *who maketh me judge?* i. e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 Sam. 20, 10. 2 Sam. 23, 15. Especially frequent is the use of מִי־יִתֵּן (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see letter *b*).—In Mal. 1, 10 the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause מִי גַם־בָּכֶם וְיִסְגֹּר דְּלָתַיִם *would that one were among you and would shut the doors*, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

b Rem. Sometimes the original sense of מִי־יִתֵּן is still plainly discernible, e. g. Jud. 9, 29 מִי־יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְיָדִי *who gives this people into my hand?* equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! comp. Ps. 55, 7. In these examples, however, מִי־יִתֵּן is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, מִי־יִתֵּן having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). The construction is either—

(*a*) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Deut. 28, 67 *would that it were even! . . . morning!* Jud. 9, 29. Ps. 14, 7 (53, 7). 55, 7; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Job 11, 5; with two accusatives, Num. 11, 29. Jer. 8, 23; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex. 16, 3. 2 Sam. 19, 1 מִי־יִתֵּן מוּתִי אֲנִי תַחְתֶּיךָ *would that I had died for thee* (for אֲנִי cf. § 135. *f*); of a participle, Job 31, 35; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Job 29, 2 (with a following כְּ; but מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי Is. 27, 4 and Jer. 9, 1 with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to מִי־יִתֵּן לִי, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; comp. § 117. *ff*).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning מִי־יִתֵּן is used with an adjective in Job 14, 4 *could a clean thing but come out of an unclean!* i. e. *how can a clean thing come*, &c.; similarly in Job 31, 31 *who can find one that hath not been satisfied!*

c (*b*) With a following perfect, Job 23, 3 (comp. § 120. *e*); with a perfect consecutive, Deut. 5, 26 *O that they had such an heart!*

d (*c*) With a following imperfect, Job 6, 8. 13, 5. 14, 13; in Job 19, 23 the imperfect is twice added with *Wāw* (comp. letter *a* above, on Mal. 1, 10).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, comp. § 108. *f*.

e **2.** The wish may also be expressed by the particles אִם (Ps. 81, 9. 95, 7. 139, 19. Prov. 24, 11. 1 Chron. 4, 10; always with a following imperfect) and לוּ (for which in Ps. 119, 5 we have אַחְלַי, 2 Ki. 5, 3 אֶחֱלֶי, from אָח *ah!* and לַי = לוּ; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si! utinam*[2]. לוּ is followed by the imperfect, Gen. 17, 18.

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[1] The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e. g. in Num. 11, 4 *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i. e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

[2] Comp. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Num. 22, 29 *if there were* (לוּ יֶשׁ־) *a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!*

Job 6, 2; by the jussive, Gen. 30, 34 (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (comp. § 106. *p*), Num. 14, 2 לוּ מַתְנוּ *would that we had died;* 20, 3 and Jos. 7, 7 (both times וְלוּ); on the other hand, Is. 48, 18 and 63, 19 (both times לוּא) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On לוּ with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gen. 23, 13 comp. § 110. *e.* On the perfect after כִּי אִם Gen. 40, 14. 2 Ki. 5, 20, comp. § 106. *n*, note 2.

§ 152. *Negative Sentences.*

1. Independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא *a* (Job 6, 21 *K^e'ib.* perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek *οὐ*, *not*, אַל־=the Greek *μή* (Job 24, 25 as a substantive), אֵין (*it is*) *not;* טֶרֶם *not yet*, אַפֶס, אַפְסִי (comp. § 90. *m*) *not.* The forms בַּל, בְּלִתִּי *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and אֵין the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see letter *e*) are regularly negatived by לֹא (besides its use as negativing *single* words[1]), while אֵין is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

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[1] Especially in compounds, e. g. לֹא־אֵל lit. *a not-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is anything but really a god, Deut. 32, 21; לֹא אֱלֹהַּ verse 17, comp. Jer. 5, 7. 2 Chron. 13, 9; לֹא־עַם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Deut. 32, 21; לֹא דָבָר *a nothing*, Amos 6, 13; לֹא עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is. 10, 15; לֹא־אִישׁ, לֹא־אָדָם lit. *not-man*, *superhuman* (of God), Is. 31, 8; לֹא־צֶדֶק *unrighteousness*, Jer. 22, 13, comp. Ezek. 22, 29; לֹא־סְדָרִים *disorder*, Job 10, 22; לֹא־חָמָס *not-violence*, 16, 17; after לְ Job 26, 2 sq. (לֹא־כֹחַ, לֹא־עֹז *helplessness*, לֹא חָכְמָה *insipientia*); comp. also Is. 55, 2 בְּלוֹא לְשָׂבְעָה *for what is unsatisfying;* Ps. 44, 13. Job 8, 11. 15, 32. 1 Chron. 12, 33.—In Num. 20, 5 a construct state with several genitives is negatived by לֹא.—לֹא is also used with an infinitive, Num. 35, 23; with an adjective, לֹא חָכָם *unwise*, Deut. 32, 6. Hos. 13, 13; לֹא־חָסִיד *impius*, Ps. 43, 1; לֹא־עָז and לֹא־עָצוּם *not strong*, Prov. 30, 25 sq.; לֹא־כֵן *unsuitably*, 2 Ki. 7, 9; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is. 65, 2. Ezek. 20, 25, &c.; לֹא טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Chron. 30, 17; with a participle, e. g. Jer. 2, 2 (*unsown*); 6, 8. Ezek. 4, 14. 22, 24. Zeph. 2, 1. 3, 5; the Masora, however, requires נֶחָמָה in Is. 54, 11, נֶעֱזָבָה in 62, 12, נוֹשָׁבָה in Jer. 6, 8, רֻחָמָה in Hos. 1, 6, i. e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause = *she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is. 54, 11. Hos. 1, 6, and especially 2, 25) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81. *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see letter *u* below.

b The conjunctions פֶּן־ and לְבִלְתִּי *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (less frequently לוֹא), like *οὐ*, *οὐκ*, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107. *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109. *d*.—On לֹא for הֲלֹא *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, comp. § 150. *a*. In connexion with כֹּל־, כָּל־ (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (comp. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order כֹּל . . . לֹא, e. g. Gen. 3, 1 לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9, 11. Ex. 10, 15. 20, 10. Lev. 7, 23. Deut. 8, 9. Jer. 13, 7. 32, 17 (לֹא . . . כָּל־דָּבָר *nothing at all*; comp. the same statement in a rhetorical question, Jer. 32, 27); Prov. 12, 21. 30, 30 מִפְּנֵי־כֹל . . . לֹא and turneth *not* away *for any*; 2 Chron. 32, 15; but comp. also the inverted order, Ex. 12, 16 כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12, 43. 15, 26. 22, 21. Lev. 16, 17. Job 33, 13. Dan. 11, 37. The meaning is different when כֹּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e. g. Num. 23, 13 כֻּלּוֹ לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see them all*, but only a part.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא is the use of אִישׁ . . . לֹא Gen. 23, 6 and elsewhere, in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*.

c Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e. g. Gen. 19, 2 (לֹא according to the context for לֹא נָסוּר &c.); 23, 11. 42, 10. Hag. 2, 12. Job 23, 6, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gen. 19, 2 (see above); Jos. 5, 14. 1 Ki. 3, 22.

d 2. The negation of *noun*-clauses by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation by אֵין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (comp. e. g. Ezek. 36, 32), than upon the whole clause. In 2 Sam. 3, 34 יָדֶיךָ לֹא־אֲסוּרוֹת *thy hands* were *not bound*, a participle is thus specially negatived by לֹא; cf. Ps. 74, 9, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אִתָּנוּ, and Job 12, 3. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negatived by לֹא, Gen. 20, 12. Num. 35, 23 (Deut. 4, 42. 19, 4) 1 Sam. 15, 29. 2 Sam. 21, 2. Jer. 4, 22. Ps. 22, 7. Job 28, 14, parallel with אֵין generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e. g. Ex. 4, 10 לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אָנֹכִי *I* am *not a man of words*; Amos 5, 18.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gen. 29, 7. Num. 23, 19. Is. 22, 2. 44, 19. Hag. 1, 2. Ps. 22, 3. Job 9, 32 18, 17. 21, 9. 22, 16. 36, 26 (with וְ of the apodosis); 41, 2; in Job 9, 33 even לֹא יֵשׁ *non est* is used instead of אֵין.—In Prov. 18, 5 לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 Sam. 20, 26 (where a preceding noun-clause is negatived by בִּלְתִּי) read לֹא טָהֹר with the LXX, for לֹא טָהוֹר. On לֹא for אֵין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see letter *u* below.

e 3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Job 22, 7. Eccles. 10, 10 before the object and verb; Num. 16, 29 before the subject and verb; Deut. 8, 9. 2 Sam. 3, 34. Ps. 49, 18. 103, 10. Job 13, 1

34, 23, before a complementary adjunct. In Deut. 32, 5 לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנָיו are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113. *v.*

(*b*) אַל־ is used like *μή* and *ne* to express a *subjective* and *conditional* negation, and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109. *c* and *e*) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On אַל־ with the imperfect, see § 107. *p*; on 2 Ki. 6, 27, see § 109. *h*. *f*

Rem. 1. אַל־ (like לֹא, see letter *a*, note, above) may be used to form a compound word, as in Prov. 12, 28 אַל־מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אֶל־מָוֶת. The instances in which אַל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like *μή* for *μὴ γένηται*), e. g. Ruth 1, 13 אַל בְּנֹתַי *nay, my daughters*, and Gen. 19, 18. 33, 10 (אַל־נָא), are also due (see letter *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 Sam. 13, 25 such a clause is repeated immediately afterwards); thus in 2 Sam. 1, 21. Is. 62, 2. Ps. 83, 2 יְהִי is evidently to be supplied, and in Joel 2, 13. Amos 5, 14. Prov. 8, 10 the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives (in Prov. 17, 12 from the preceding infinitive absolute). *g*

2. אַל־, like לֹא, regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is. 64, 8. Jer. 10, 24. 15, 15. Ps. 6, 2. 38, 2 before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence[1]. *h*

(*c*) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted form, cf. שְׁנֵים for שְׁנַיִם) of אַיִן *not-being* (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of יֵשׁ *being;* comp., for example, Gen. 31, 29 with Neh. 5, 5. As יֵשׁ (*he, she, it is, was*, &c.) includes the idea of *being* in all tenses, so אַיִן, אֵין includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence— *i*

(1) The absolute state אַיִן, with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always *follows* the word negatived, e. g. Is. 37, 3 (2 Ki. 19, 3) וְכֹחַ אַיִן לְלֵדָה *and strength does not exist to bring forth;* Gen. 2, 5 אַיִן *was not* present; Ex. 17, 7 אִם־אַיִן *or is he not?* after הֲיֵשׁ *is he . . .?* (cf. Num. 13, 20); Lev. 26, 37. Num. 20, 5. Jud. 4, 20 (אָיִן *no*). In 1 Sam. 9, 4 and 10, 14 אַיִן is used in reference to a plural; 1 Ki. 18, 10. Is. 41, 17. 45, 21. 59, 11. Mic. 7, 2. Prov. 13, 4. 25, 14. Job 3, 9 וְאַל־אַיִן *and let there be none, let none come!* (comp. Prov. 5, 17); Eccles. 3, 19.—Also comp. finally אִם־אַיִן *if it be not so*, Gen. 30, 1. Ex. 32, 32. Jud. 9, 15. 2 Ki. 2, 10.—Quite anomalous is אַיִן Job 35, 15 before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct. *k*

(2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negatived. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e. g. 1 Sam. 26, 12 וְאֵין רֹאֶה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ וְאֵין מֵקִיץ *and there was not one seeing*, &c., i. e. *and no man* *l*

[1] In Jer. 51, 3 the pointing אֶל־ occurs twice instead of אַל־, and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against* him that *bendeth;* but undoubtedly we should read אַל־.

saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וְאֵין with a participle in subordinate *circumstantial* or *descriptive clauses*, such as Is. 5, 29 וַיְפַלֵּיט וְאֵין מַצִּיל *and he shall carry it away*, while there is none delivering, i. e. *without any one's delivering* it; Ps. 7, 3, &c.; Lev. 26, 6 and elsewhere, וְאֵין מַחֲרִיד *without any one's making you afraid;* comp. § 141. *e*. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e. g. Gen. 39, 23. Num. 14, 42 אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם *the Lord is not among you;* Gen. 37, 29 אֵין־יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר *Joseph was not in the pit.*

m (3) When the subject which is to be negatived is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין, according to § 100. *o*, e. g. אֵינֶנִּי *I am not, was not, shall not be;* אֵינְךָ, fem. אֵינֵךְ, *thou art not*, &c.; אֵינֶנּוּ, fem. אֵינֶנָּה *he, she is not*, &c.; also absolutely, Gen. 42, 13 *he is* (5, 24 *he was*) *no* longer *alive;* אֵינָם *they are not*, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see letter *l*) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e. g. Ex. 5, 10 אֵינֶנִּי נֹתֵן *I will not give;* 8, 17. Deut. 1, 32.

n Rem. In Neh. 4, 17 אֵין אֲנִי for אֵינֶנִּי is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין־אֲנַחְנוּ.—In Hag. 2, 17 אֵין אֶתְכֶם the pronominal complement of אֵין appears to follow with the sign of the accusative[1]; but most probably we should read with the LXX שְׁבֻכֶם for אֶתְכֶם.

o (4) The fact that אֵין (like אַיִן) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not, was not*, &c.) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. letter *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e. g. בּוֹ Is. 1, 6, לוֹ Lev. 11, 10. 12, לָהּ Gen. 11, 30, גַּם Ps. 14, 3, שָׁם Jud. 18, 10. Ex. 12, 30; but comp. also Ps. 5, 10. 6, 6. 32, 2, and אֵין used absolutely in Ex. 22, 2. 1 Ki. 8, 9. Ruth 4, 4.—Hence, finally, the transposition of אֵין and its noun was even possible, e. g. Gen. 40, 8 and 41, 15 וּפֹתֵר אֵין אֹתוֹ *and there is none that can interpret it;* Gen. 47, 13. Jud. 14, 6. 1 Sam. 21, 2. Is. 1, 30. Jer. 30, 13. Hab. 2, 19. Prov. 5, 17 (וְאֵין = *neve sint;* comp. letter *k* above, on Job 3, 9); 30, 27. In Gen. 19, 31. Ex. 5, 16 אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

p Rem. 1. Like כֹּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . כֹּל (see letter *b* above) so also אֵין כֹּל expresses an *absolute* negation, e. g. Eccles. 1, 9 אֵין כָּל־חָדָשׁ *there is no new thing*, &c.; Dan. 1, 4 (comp. also אֵין מְאוּמָה *there is nothing*, 1 Ki. 18, 43. Eccles. 5, 13); as also אֵין . . . כָּל־ Hab. 2, 19; comp. אֵין מְאוּמָה Jud. 14, 6.

q 2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אִי occurring in the two compounds אִי כָבוֹד (as a proper name, 1 Sam. 4, 21; Baer אִי־כָבוֹד) and אִי־נָקִי *not innocent*, Job 22, 30; but the proper name אִיתָמָר is doubtful, and the fem. אִיזֶבֶל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אִי is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

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[1] According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, יְשׁוּעָתָה Ps. 3, 3 is also an accusative after אֵין.

(*d*) טֶרֶם *not yet*, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107. *c*), with the imperfect, Gen. 2, 5 כֹּל ... טֶרֶם *none ... yet*; see letters *b* and *p* above; Gen. 19, 4. 24, 45. Jos. 2, 8. 1 Sam. 3, 3; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex. 10, 7 הֲטֶרֶם תֵּדַע *knowest thou not yet?* Ex. 9, 30. *r*

(*e*) אָפֵס (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) *no longer*, including the verbal idea of *existing*, comp. Deut. 32, 36. Is. 45, 6. 14. 46, 9; used absolutely, Amos 6, 10; used interrogatively הַאֶפֶס עוֹד אִישׁ *is there none left?* &c., 2 Sam. 9, 3; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with י paragogic (§ 90. *m*) אַפְסִי Is. 47, 8. 10. Zeph. 2, 15 אֲנִי וְאַפְסִי עוֹד *I* am, *and there is none else*. *s*

(*f*) בַּל[1], in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, is used with the imperfect, e. g. Is. 26, 14. 33, 20. 23 (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Hos. 7, 2. Ps. 49, 13. Prov. 10, 30 (but Is. 14, 21 before the jussive, equivalent to אַל־); before an adjective, Prov. 24, 23. *t*

(*g*) בְּלִי with a perfect, Gen. 31, 20. Is. 14, 6; with an imperfect, Job 41, 18; to negative a participle, Hos. 7, 8. Ps. 19, 4; to negative an adjective, 2 Sam. 1, 21.

(*h*) בִּלְתִּי to negative an adjective, 1 Sam. 20, 26; on בִּלְתִּי Ezek. 13, 3, see letter *x*; on לְבִלְתִּי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114. *s*; on בִּלְתִּי as a conjunction, see letter *x* below.

On אִם as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149. *c* above.

Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of בְּלִי, לֹא *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause, e. g. 2 Sam. 23, 4 בֹּקֶר לֹא עֲבוֹת *a morning* when there are *not clouds*, i. e. *a cloudless morning*; comp. Job 12, 24. 26, 2 *b*. 38, 26 (לֹא־אִישׁ *where no man is*, i. e. *uninhabited*); 1 Chron. 2, 30. 32 לֹא בָנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e. g. Job 24, 10 and אֵין e. g. Ps. 88, 5 *I am as a man* אֵין־אֵיל *there is not help*, i. e. *like a helpless man*; Is. 47, 1. Hos. 7, 11; אֵין־מִסְפָּר *countless*, Cant. 6, 8, &c., but usually (Ps. 104, 25, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (comp. § 141. *e*) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין־מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (comp. § 155. *e*), e. g. Job 30, 13 לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ they *for whom there is no helper*, i. e. *the helpless* (but probably עֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29, 12, and we should read עֹצֵר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29, 12 translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in Ps. 72, 12 וְאֵין־ע׳ is used in the same sense); Hab. 1, 14; with אֵין Is. 45, 9 *thy work* is that of a man *who hath no hands*; Zech. 9, 11 *out of the waterless pit*[2]. *u*

How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Joel 1, 6. Ps. 72, 12. Job 29, 12; comp. also Is. 59, 10, where בְּאֵין־עֵינַיִם is *v*

[1] Evidently from בָּלָה *to waste away*, from which stem also בְּלִי and בֶּלֶת (whence בִּלְתִּי § 90. *m*), originally substantives, are formed.

[2] In Prov. 9, 13 (perhaps also 14, 7; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal-clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

parallel with כְּעוֹרִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e. g. Is. 40, 29 (= *and to the powerless*); Job 26, 2 *a*. 3. Neh. 8, 10.

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w (*i*) פֶּן־ *lest*, *that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gen. 32, 12 and elsewhere (comp. δείδω μή, *vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמֶר, הִזָּהֵר Gen. 24, 6. 31, 24 and elsewhere, *taking care*, 2 Ki. 10, 23, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which פֶּן־ depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e. g. Gen. 19, 19 *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), פֶּן־תִּדְבָּקַנִי הָרָעָה *lest some evil overtake me;* Gen. 26, 9. 38, 11; also in Gen. 44, 34 from the rhetorical question *how shall I . . .?* we must understand *I cannot*, governing פֶּן. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case פֶּן־ is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); comp. e. g. Gen. 11, 4. 19, 15. Num. 20, 18 (where פֶּן־ *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Jud. 15, 12 after *swear unto me;* Prov. 24, 18.—In Gen. 3, 22 *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., פֶּן־ is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gen. 26, 7. 31, 31. 42, 4. Ex. 13, 17. 1 Sam. 13, 19. 27, 11. Ps. 38, 17, in every case after כִּי אָמַר, כִּי אָמַרְתִּי &c. = *I thought*, &c., *I must beware lest*, &c.

Rem. According to § 107. *q*, פֶּן־ is naturally followed by the imperfect (or jussive); for the exceptions, 2 Sam. 20, 6. 2 Ki. 2, 16, see § 107. *q*, note 3; comp., moreover, 2 Ki. 10, 23 וְרְאוּ פֶּן־יֵשׁ־פֹּה *look lest there be here*, &c.

x (*k*) לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14 (in Jer. 23, 14 read the infinitive שׁוּב for שָׁבוּ, in 27, 8 יָבוֹא for בֹּאוּ). In Ezek. 13, 3 בִּלְתִּי רָאוּ is a relative clause governed by לְ = *according to* things which *they have not seen*.

y **2.** Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδείς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. 1 Ki. 10, 21 אֵין כֶּסֶף לֹא נֶחְשָׁב . . . לִמְאוּמָה *silver was accounted as nothing at all* (in 2 Chron. 9, 20 without לֹא); Zeph. 2, 2 (if the text is correct) בְּטֶרֶם לֹא־יָבוֹא *before there shall* (not) *come*. This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of אֵין or בְּלִי with מִן־ *without* (§ 119. *y*), e. g. Is. 5, 9 (6, 11) מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב (for which in Jer. 2, 15 מִבְּלִי יֹשֵׁב), prop. *without no inhabitant*, i. e. *so that no inhabitant is left there*. On the other hand, in Is. 50, 2 מֵאֵין מַיִם the מִן־ is causative, *because there is no water;* as also in Ex. 14, 11 הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין־ *is it because there were no . . .?* 2 Ki. 1, 3. 6. 16. In Eccles. 3, 11 מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא *except that* (*yet so that man cannot*, &c.).

z **3.** The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not

have *Wāw*); e.g. 1 Sam. 2, 3 *talk not so much arrogancy; let* (not) *boasting come out of your mouth;* Ex. 28, 43. Lev. 19, 12. 22, 9. 15 sq. Num. 16, 14. 23, 19. Deut. 7, 25. Is. 23, 4. 28, 27. 38, 18. 47, 14. Ezek. 16, 47. Ps. 9, 19. 13, 5. 35, 19. 38, 2. 44, 19. 75, 6. Job 28, 17 (so לָמָּה לֹא *why . . . not?* in Job 3, 11 also affects the parallel clause).

§ 153. *Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.*

The particles אַךְ, רַק *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and גַּם, אַף *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed, that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אַךְ Gen. 7, 23. 34, 15; רַק Gen. 6, 5. Amos 3, 2; even הֲרַק אַךְ *hath he indeed only?* Num. 12, 2; גַּם Gen. 27, 34. Job 7, 11; אַף Deut. 15, 17), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אַךְ, e.g. Num. 14, 9. 1 Ki. 17, 13. Prov. 17, 11. Job 13, 15. 14, 22. 16, 7. 23, 6; רַק Gen. 20, 11. 24, 8. Ps. 32, 6. Prov. 13, 10; גַּם Gen. 27, 33. 32, 21 (גַּם הִנֵּה); 1 Sam. 22, 7. 28, 20. Zech. 9, 11. Prov. 17, 26. 20, 11; אַף Job 14, 3. 15, 4.—In Mal. 1, 10 and Job 2, 10 גַּם is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Comp. the analogous examples in § 150. *m*.

§ 154. *Sentences connected by Wāw.*

Wāw copulativum[1] (וְ) serves to connect together two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104. *d–g*). *a*

[1] For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 sqq. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gen. 25, 34, five perfects with וְגַם) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the interconnexion of single *nouns* by וְ (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made :—

(*a*) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gen. 12, 16 wāw copulativum six times, 24, 35 seven times, 15, 19 sqq. nine times, and in Jos. 7, 24 ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gen. 5, 32. 10, 1. 11, 26. 13, 2. 14, 1. 30, 39, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer. 2, 26); less frequently only the first two, Ps. 45, 9; cf. § 132. *d*. The formula תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם *yesterday* (and) *the day before yesterday*, Ex. 5, 8 and elsewhere, is always without the copula.

Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining together sentences which are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gen. 17, 21. 19, 19. Lev. 2, 12. Job 6, 25, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of וְ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141. *e* and § 142. *d;* introducing causal clauses, § 158. *a;* comparative clauses, § 161. *a;* final clauses, § 165. *a;* consecutive clauses, § 166. *a.* On *wāw apodosis*, comp. § 143. *d*, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, comp. § 134. *s*.

On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e. g. Jud. 5, 27 *at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay;* Ex. 15, 9. 1 Sam. 15, 6. Jer. 4, 7. Amos 5, 21. Ps. 14, 1. Job 20, 19. 28, 4. 29, 8. Cant. 2, 11. 5, 6.

(*b*) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also *explanatory* (like *isque, et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English *to wit*), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e. g. Gen. 4, 4 *and* (i. e. *namely*) *of the fat thereof;* Ex. 24, 12. 25, 12 (*to wit two*); 27, 14. 28, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 34 *and that too with the bear;* 2 Sam. 13, 20. Is. 57, 11. Jer. 17, 10. Amos 3, 11. 4, 10. Zech. 9, 9. Prov. 3, 12. Neh. 8, 13. 2 Chron. 23, 10 (but in 1 Sam. 28, 3 the וּ before בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as מִן—וְעַד *from . . . and even to . . .*, Gen. 13, 3. 14, 23. 19, 4. 11, &c.—In 1 Sam. 6, 11 (see Driver on the passage), 2 Sam. 1, 23, &c., וְ is equivalent to *yea, and;* in Is. 32, 7 *even;* 1 Ki. 1, 21. Job 6, 14 *else*.—וְ is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e. g. in Gen. 3, 16 וְהֵרֹנֵךְ; Is. 2, 1. Ps. 18, 1, perhaps also in Job 10, 17 *yea, a* whole *host;* 2 Chron. 16, 14.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Job 41, 12 *a seething pot* וְאַגְמֹן *with* burning *rushes;* cf. Ex. 10, 10 (*with your little ones*), 12, 8. Lev. 1, 12. Is. 42, 5. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative. וְ—וְ is used in the sense of *both—and* in Ps. 76, 7. Dan. 1, 3. 8, 13. On וְ—וְ as meaning *sive—sive*, comp. § 162. *b*.

(*c*) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as גַּם *also, moreover*, summing up a number, e. g. גַּם־שְׁנֵיהֶם *both together*, Gen. 27, 45. Prov. 17, 15; גַּם־כֹּל *all together;* as an intensive *and*, e. g. Gen. 30, 8. 37, 7. 1 Sam. 30, 8; comp. also such examples as 1 Sam. 24, 12 *see, yea see!* גַּם—גַּם or וְגַם—וְגַם Gen. 24, 44 = *both—and;* גַּם occurs three times in Gen. 24, 25 and 32, 20; also אַף, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also, in addition to this, even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, Ps. 44, 10 and elsewhere; and אַף—אַף (also three times repeated), equivalent to *both—and;* comp. וְאַף גַּם *and even*, Lev. 26, 44; אַף־כִּי prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

Rem. Sometimes wāw copulativum joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially וְ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 Ki. 2, 22 וְשַׁאֲלִי *ask now rather;* Ezek. 18, 32 *for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . .,* וְהָשִׁיבוּ *wherefore turn yourselves.* Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex. 2, 20. 2 Sam. 18, 11. 24, 3. 2 Ki. 4, 14. 41. 7, 13. 2 Chron. 25, 9; comp. also Jos. 7, 7 (וְלוּ). Ps. 2, 10. 4, 4. Is. 8, 7. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow itself time as it were for the full expression of the thought; this is especially illustrated by Num. 12, 14. 20, 3 (וְלוּ). 1 Sam. 10, 12. 15, 14. 22, 14. 28, 16. 2 Sam. 18, 12. 24, 3. 1 Ki. 2, 22 (וְלָמָּה). 2 Ki. 1, 10. 7, 19 (comp. verse 2); Is. 3, 14. Zech. 2, 10. Ps. 2, 6 (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas I = and yet I have*, &c.); comp. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וּמִי Num. 11, 29. Jud. 9, 29; on the disconnected use of וְלֹא and וְיֵשׁ cf. § 159. *dd*. *b*

§ 155. *Relative Clauses.*

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above).

1. By § 138. *a, e*, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses. *a*

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under letter *n*), are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר; see further in § 138. *e*. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by אֲשֶׁר, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138. *a* and *g–k*. Very frequently, however, especially in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination[1]. *b*

The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, &c.; see § 138. *f*. *c*

In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*ṣila*), and those which are attached to an *d*

[1] The old view that all these cases arise from the *omission* of אֲשֶׁר is unsatisfactory. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter* (which) *he wrote to me*.

indeterminate substantive (*ṣifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladî*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after indeterminate substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Deut. 28, 49 גּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִשְׁמַע לְשֹׁנוֹ *a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand;* cf. Is. 66, 13, and especially 1 Sam. 3, 11), the addition of אֲשֶׁר is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive[1], *a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue.* On the other hand, in poetic style at least, אֲשֶׁר is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Chron. 12, 23. 29, 1. 2 Chron. 15, 11; after כָּל־ 1 Chron. 29, 3. 2 Chron. 30, 18 sq. 31, 19. Ezra 1, 5); so Ex. 18, 20. Jud. 8, 1. 20, 15. 1 Ki. 13, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Chron. 18, 23. Neh. 13, 23; after a pronominal subject, 1 Sam. 6, 9.

e **2.** If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(*a*) Of a noun-clause, e. g. 2 Sam. 20, 21 *a man of the hill country of Ephraim* שְׁבַע שְׁמוֹ *whose name was Sheba;* 1 Ki. 13, 2. Zech. 6, 12. Job 1, 6. 3, 15 *with princes* זָהָב לָהֶם *that had gold;* Ps. 11, 4. Prov. 22, 11; when referring to a noun-suffix, e.g. Ps. 49, 14 זֶה דַרְכָּם כֶּסֶל לָמוֹ *this is the way of them who have* (self-)*confidence.*—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Job 38, 26 עַל־אֶרֶץ לֹא־אִישׁ *on a land* where *no man* is, see § 152. *u*, and comp. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gen. 15, 13 בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם *in a land* that is *not theirs;* Deut. 32, 17 (לְשֵׁדִים לֹא אֱלֹהַּ); Hab. 1, 6. Prov. 26, 17 (לֹא־לוֹ).

f (*b*) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

(1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the verb; so after a determinate substantive, Ps. 34, 9 *happy is the man* יֶחֱסֶה־בּוֹ *that trusteth in him;* Job 3, 3 *b* הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said;* after הוּא 1 Sam. 6, 9. Is. 50, 9. Job 13, 19; after כָּל־ Ps. 71, 18; after an indeterminate substantive, e. g. Job 31, 12 *it is a fire* (that *devoureth unto Abaddon;* Deut. 32, 17 *b*. Is. 55, 13. 56, 2. Ps. 68, 31. 78, 6. Prov. 30, 17. Lam. 1, 10. 2 Chron. 28, 9; referring to the preceding suffix in הִנֵּנִי Is. 28, 16, prop. *behold me, who have laid* &c.; 29, 14. 38, 5. Ezek. 25, 7; depending on a vocative, Is. 54, 1

[1] So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 sq., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch,* ii. 80.

on a noun-suffix (see letter *e* above), Ps. 16, 4. The relative clause is used in this way, especially to supply the place of an adjective, e. g. Gen. 49, 27 וְאֵב יִטְרָף *a wolf* that *ravineth*, i. e. *a ravining wolf;* Is. 51, 12; to express a negative quality, e. g. Is. 40, 20. Hos. 4, 14 עָם לֹא־יָבִין *an undiscerning people.*

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives which have the particle of comparison כְּ, e. g. Job 7, 2 כְּעֶבֶד יִשְׁאַף־צֵל *as a servant* that *earnestly desireth the shadow*, &c.; Deut. 32, 11. Is. 62, 1. Jer. 23, 29. Hos. 6, 3. Ps. 42, 2. 83, 15. 125, 1. Job 9, 26. 11, 16; so also after כְּמוֹ Ps. 58, 5; after a determinate substantive, e. g. Is. 53, 7. 61, 10 sq. Hab. 2, 14. Ps. 49, 13. 21; see also the examples under letter *h*. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain כְּ (for כַּאֲשֶׁר; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161. *b*) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards Ps. 90, 5. 125, 1. Is. 53, 7. 61, 11. In all such cases, however, the Masora has provided rightly for the correct understanding of the passage by the use of greater or lesser distinctives; at the same time, in judging the accents, the rule mentioned in § 15. *o*, as to the change of certain distinctives into conjunctives, must not be forgotten. *g*

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138. *b*. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Deut. 32, 17 אֱלֹהִים לֹא יְדָעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); Jer. 5, 15; after a substantive with כְּ (see above, letter *g*), Jer. 23, 9. Job 13, 28. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Jud. 8, 1. 1 Ki. 13, 12 (2 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Chron. 18, 23); Ps. 33, 12 (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר); Prov. 23, 8. Job 23, 17. 28, 1. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is. 15, 7 (יִתְרַת עָשָׂה, for which Jer. 48, 36 יִתְרַת עָשָׂה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130. *d*), Ps. 7, 16. 51, 10. Lam. 1, 21.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e. g. Is. 6, 6 רִצָּפָה בְּמֶלְקָחַיִם לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar;* Ex. 15, 17. Is. 42, 16 (48, 17. Ps. 25, 12, all after דַּרְכּוֹ; but Ps. 32, 8 בַּדֶּרֶךְ־זוּ תֵלֵךְ); Is. 64, 2; Eccles. 10, 5 (in 6, 1 the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer. 14, 18 read with the LXX אֶל־אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land that they know not.* *h*

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer. 2, 6 end. Thus after a determinate substantive, Ps. 18, 3 צוּרִי אֶחֱסֶה־בּוֹ *i*

my rock in which I take refuge; Ex. 18, 20. Is. 42, 1; in Job 3, 3 *a* also, the omission of the article with יוֹם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer. 2, 6, last clause but one; Ps. 32, 2.

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is. 51, 1 *look unto the rock* חֻצַּבְתֶּם (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit* נִקַּרְתֶּם (whence) *ye were digged;* Job 21, 27 *the devices* (wherewith) *ye act violently against me.*—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Job 38, 19 *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth?* cf. 38, 24.

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130. *d*, cf. the following: after בְּיוֹם Lev. 7, 35. Ps. 56, 10; after מְיוֹם Jer. 36, 2; after simple יוֹם Ps. 56, 4 (יוֹם אִירָא *on the day* when *I am afraid*); after בְּעֵת 2 Chron. 29, 27 (בְּעֵת הֵחֵל לָעֵת *at the time* when *the burnt offering began*); 20, 22. 24, 11; after הָעוֹלָה Deut. 32, 35. Job 6, 17; after עַד־עֵת Mic. 5, 2; after מֵעֵת Ps. 4, 8 *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time* (when) *their corn and their wine are increased.* In a wider sense also Job 8, 12 *it is yet in its greenness,* (while) *it is not cut down.*

m 2. The agreement (§ 138. *d*) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 Sam. 26, 14 *who art thou* (that) *criest?* Cf., however, Is. 63, 19 *we are become* as they *over whom* (בָּם not בָּנוּ) *thou never barest rule.*

n **3.** Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even *independent* relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138. *e.* The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(*a*) As subject, Is. 41, 24 *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you,* Job 30, 13, cf. § 152. *u.*

(*b*) As object, Is. 41, 2, with a retrospective pronoun; Mal. 2, 16 וְכִסָּה *and* him *that covereth;* Job 29, 12 *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and* him *that had none to help him.*

(*c*) In the genitive governed by a substantive, Ex. 4, 13 שְׁלַח־נָא בְיַד־תִּשְׁלָח *send, I pray thee, by the hand of* him *whom thou wilt send* i.e. by the hand of some one else; Ps. 65, 5 and Prov. 8, 32, verbal clauses after אַשְׁרֵי *O the happiness of* the man, &c.; Ps. 81, 6. 141, 9

Job 29, 16. Lam. 1, 14; after כָּל־ Gen. 39, 4, but in verse 5 כְּכָל־אֲשֶׁר יֶשׁ־לוֹ; Ex. 9, 4; verbal-clauses after כָּל־ 1 Chron. 29, 3. 30, 18 sq. 31, 19. Ezra 1, 5.

(*d*) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אַחֲרֵי Jer. 2, 8; after אֶל־ (=*to the place where*), 1 Chron. 15, 12, but Ex. 23, 20 before the same verb אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר; after בְּ Jer. 8, 11. 2 Chron. 1, 4 (=*in the place where*); after לְ Is. 65, 1 לְלוֹא שָׁאֲלוּ by them *that asked not* for me . . . לְלֹא בִקְשֻׁנִי them *that sought me not;* Ezek. 13, 3 that which *they have not seen;* after עַל Ps. 119, 136, cf. § 158. *b;* after עִם 2 Chron. 16, 9.—A noun-clause follows לְ in Neh. 8, 10[1].

§ 156. *Circumstantial Clauses.*

a **1.** The statement of the particular circumstances under which a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141. *e*), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142. *d*). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see letter *c*), or as verbal-clauses (see letters *d–g*).

b Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Gen. 16, 12; also statements of weight, Gen. 24, 22; of name, Job 1, 1 (also introduced by וּשְׁמוֹ Gen. 24, 29. 1 Sam. 1, 1, and elsewhere, or וְשֵׁמָהּ Gen. 16, 1. 22, 24, and elsewhere); of a condition of body, Jud. 1, 7, and others.—Noun-clauses which begin with *wāw* and the *predicate* have a somewhat more independent character than those introduced by *wāw* and the *subject*[2] (Gen. 19, 1, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a *condition* which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is. 3, 7 *I will not be an healer,* וּבְבֵיתִי אֵין לֶחֶם *while in my house is neither bread nor clothing;* Is. 6, 6 (Amos 7, 7); 2 Sam. 13, 18. 16, 1.

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[1] An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezra 5, 14 *to* one *whose name was Sheshbazzar.*

[2] In Deut. 32, 31 this form of sequence appears to be selected for another purpose, *and indeed our enemies are judges* thereof, with *wāw emphatic;* to take it as a circumstantial clause is too artificial.

c **2.** Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun*-clauses are Gen. 12, 8 *and pitched his tent* בֵּית־אֵל מִיָּם וְהָעַי מִקֶּדֶם *with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east;* Num. 22, 24. 2 Sam. 18, 14 *through the heart of Absalom,* עוֹדֶנּוּ חַי while *he* was *yet alive;* Jer. 30, 6. Ezek. 9, 2 (comp. Cant. 3, 8). Nah. 3, 8. Zech. 14, 5. 2 Chron. 23, 10; with the predicate preceding, e. g. 1 Sam. 26, 13. Ps. 32, 8. — In Gen. 41, 29 a noun-clause serves to announce a future condition. — We may also include here certain set phrases, as פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים *face to face* (prop. while *face* was turned *towards face*), Gen. 32, 31. Ex. 33, 11. Deut. 34, 10, and elsewhere[1]; so also *to cast oneself down,* אַפַּיִם אַרְצָה *the face* being turned *to the earth,* Gen. 19, 1, and elsewhere (for אַרְצָה we find אֶרֶץ in 1 Ki. 1, 31. Is. 49, 23)[2]. — Comp. finally the formula אֵם עַל־בָּנִים *mother with children,* Gen. 32, 12; comp. Hos. 10, 14 and § 119. *aa,* note 3.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), comp. § 152. *u.*

d **3.** As circumstantial *verbal*-clauses[3], we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see letter *f*), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see letter *g*).

Examples of (1) Is. 5, 11 *b* woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, יַיִן יַדְלִיקֵם *while wine inflames them;* Is. 30, 31. Jer. 7, 26. 20, 15. Ps. 4, 3. 5, 12. 62, 5. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, e. g. Gen. 44, 12. 48, 14 = *crossing his hands;* Deut. 2, 27. Jud. 6, 19; antithetically, 1 Ki. 13, 18 כְּחֵשׁ לוֹ *wherewith however he lied unto him.* The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in Ps. 7, 7 מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ *since thou hast commanded judgement;* a consequence in Ps. 103, 5.

e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קוּם), see § 120. *c.* Comp. also

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[1] The expression הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים *to look one another in the face* (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 Ki. 14, 8. 11. 2 Chron. 25, 17. 21 is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים.

[2] That אַרְצָה (אֶרֶץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפַּיִם, and not אַפַּיִם as a *casus instrumenti,* is seen from Is. 49, 23, where אֶרֶץ אַפַּיִם precedes the verb.

[3] Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120. *a–c.*

examples like Is. 5, 11 *a that they may follow strong drink;* Hab. 3, 16 יְגוֹדֲנוּ *that he may invade them;* Job 16, 8. 30, 28.

Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by *without* and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e. g. Lev. 1, 17 לֹא יַבְדִּיל *without dividing* it *asunder;* Job 31, 34; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gen. 44, 4. Ex. 34, 28. 1 Sam. 30, 2. Job 20, 26 (*without its being blown upon it*). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, e. g. Is. 27, 9 לֹא־יָקֻמוּ *so that they shall rise up no more.*—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without* doing, &c.) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; comp. 1 Sam. 20, 2. Job 24, 22. 42, 3; in a concessive sense, Is. 33, 1. Ps. 44, 18. *f*

Of (3), comp. לֹא יָדַע (prop. *he knows it not*) *unawares*, Ps. 35, 8. Prov. 5, 6 לֹא יָחְמֹל *unsparingly*, Is. 30, 14 (after an infinitive absolute); Hab. 1, 17. Job 6, 10 (but וְלֹא יַחְמֹל Job 16, 13. 27, 22; see letter *f* at the end); לֹא כִחֲדוּ (prop. *they hide not*) *openly*, Is. 3, 9 (but Job 15, 18 וְלֹא כִחֲדוּ); בְּלִי חָשָׂךְ (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is. 14, 6; בַּל־יִמּוֹט Job 41, 15 (Ps. 93, 1 בַּל־תִּמּוֹט) and לֹא יִמּוֹט Is. 40, 20 equivalent to *without tottering, immovably;* comp. also לֹא אֶמְעָד *without wavering*, Ps. 26, 1. *g*

§ 157. *Object-Clauses.*

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are called the *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think*, &c., may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120. *a*), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *wāw copulative* (§ 120. *d–h*). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*. *a*

Examples:—

(*a*) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under letter *e*) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentiendi* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e.g. Gen. 12, 13 אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ *say, I pray thee, thou* art *my sister;* Zech. 8, 23 (after שָׁמַע); Ps. 9, 21 (after יָדַע); verbal-clauses, e. g. Ps. 50, 21 *thou thoughtest* הָיוֹת־אֶהְיֶה כָמוֹךָ *I was altogether like thyself;* Gen. 41, 15. Jud. 9, 48 *what ye have seen me do;* Is. 48, 8. Hos. 7, 2.

(*b*) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gen. 6, 5 וַיַּרְא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great*, &c.—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ὅτι recitativum;* frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gen. 26, 9. 27, 20), e. g. Gen. 21, 30. 22, 16 sq. 26, 22. 29, 32. 37, 35. Jos. 2, 24, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gen. 4, 25. *b*

32, 31. 41, 51 sq. Ex. 18, 4.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117. *h*[1].

c (*c*) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Est. 3, 4 כִּי־הִגִּיד לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר־הוּא יְהוּדִי *for he had told them that he was a Jew;* 1 Sam. 18, 15. Ezek. 20, 26. Eccles. 8, 12[2], even before direct narration, 1 Sam. 15, 20. 2 Sam. 1, 4. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by the *nota accusativi* אֵת־ (equivalent to *the circumstance, the fact, that*), e.g. Jos. 2, 10. 1 Sam. 24, 11. 19. 2 Sam. 11, 20. Is. 38, 3, but in Gen. 30, 29. Deut. 29, 15 equivalent to *the way in which.*

§ 158. *Causal Clauses.*

a A complete clause, which assigns the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw copulative*, e.g. Ps. 60, 13 *give us help against the adversary, and* (for) *vain is the help of man;* Gen. 22, 12. Ex. 23, 9. Job 22, 12, perhaps also Ps. 7, 10; or even without *Wāw*, e.g. Gen. 17, 14. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.

b The most common causal conjunctions are יַעַן כִּי Is. 3, 16 and elsewhere, and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *because*, prop. *on account of the fact that;* both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יַעַן Num. 20, 12 and elsewhere, or to כִּי *because*, Gen. 3, 14. 17 and elsewhere, or to אֲשֶׁר Gen. 30, 18. 31, 49. 34, 13. 27. 1 Sam. 15, 15. 20, 42. 26, 16. 23. 1 Ki. 3, 19. 8, 33. Hos. 14, 4. Zech. 1, 15; also בַּאֲשֶׁר Gen. 39, 9. 23. On the other hand, the simple יַעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יַעַן וּבְיַעַן (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lev. 26, 43. Ezek. 13, 10 (without וּ 36, 3); also עַל־אֲשֶׁר 2 Sam. 3, 30, and עַל־כִּי[3] Deut. 31, 17. Jud. 3, 12. Mal. 2, 14 *on the ground that;* עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר *because of the circumstance that*, Deut. 23, 5; עַל־כָּל־אֹדוֹת אֲשֶׁר *for this very cause that*, Jer. 3, 8. But just as the simple יַעַן is used for יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל־ with the perfect stands for עַל־אֲשֶׁר Ps. 119, 136. Ezra 3, 11; comp. עַל־בְּלִי Gen. 31, 20

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[1] Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e.g. Num. 21, 23 וְלֹא־נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבֹר בִּגְבֻלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border;* 20, 21; followed by an infinitive with לְ, e.g. Gen. 20, 6. 31, 7. Ex. 3, 19. Comp. also the analogous examples in Deut. 28, 56 (after נִסָּה *to venture;* see § 113. *d*); Jud. 11, 20 (after הֶאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 Ki. 19, 4 (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

[2] In Jer. 28, 9 a *subject*-clause is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

[3] Also כִּי־עַל־כֵּן prop. *for therefore*, Gen. 18, 5. 19, 8. 33, 10. 38, 26. Num. 10, 31. 14, 43. 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Qᵉrê*, and אֲשֶׁר עַל־כֵּן Job 34, 27 always mean *forasmuch as.*

and מִבְּלִי Deut. 28, 55, both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not.*—Comp. further, עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר Gen. 22, 18. 26, 5. 2 Sam. 12, 6, all with the perfect, and עֵקֶב כִּי (2 Sam. 12, 10 with the perfect; Amos 4, 12 with the imperfect) prop. *in return* for the fact *that;* similarly again the simple עֵקֶב Num. 14, 24 with the perfect, and Deut. 7, 12. 8, 20 with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is. 43, 4 *arising from* the fact *that*, = *because;* תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 26, 21 and elsewhere, and תַּחַת כִּי Deut. 4, 37. Prov. 1, 29 *for the reason that.*

Rem. 1. The preposition עַל־ (*because of, on account of*) with the infinitive (§ 114. *e*) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; comp., e. g. Amos 1, 3. 6. 13. 2, 1. 6. Such a construction with the infinitive may, however, according to § 114. *r*, be continued by means of a finite verb, in which case עַל־ governs the verb as a conjunction; e. g. Amos 1, 9 עַל־הַסְגִּירָם . . . וְלֹא זָכְרוּ *because they delivered up . . . and remembered not*, &c.; 1, 11. 2, 4; without *Wāw*, Is. 30, 14. *c*

2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 sqq., viz. the perfect (comp. especially § 106. *f*) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; comp. e. g. Deut. 7, 12. 8, 20. 1 Ki. 8, 33, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Comp. further, § 111. *h* on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112. *nn* on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses. *d*

§ 159. *Conditional Sentences.*

Comp. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Dissertation).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 sqq.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment.* On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 sqq.[1] In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (letter *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (letter *l*). *a*

[1] It may, moreover, happen that a different idea is introduced in the apodosis, from that with which the protasis started—a source of many further variations.

b **2.** The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general, as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

c (*a*) *Imperfect* (comp. § 107. *x*) in protasis and apodosis, Jos. 22, 18. Ps. 104, 28 sqq. תִּתֵּן לָהֶם יִלְקֹטוּן[1] *if thou givest unto them, they gather*, &c.; Ps. 139, 18. Job 20, 24. Eccles. 1, 18. Neh. 1, 8; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Jud. 13, 12; with the jussive, Job 10, 16; with the cohortative, Prov. 1, 23; with the perfect, Is. 26, 10 (*yet will he not learn righteousness;* the apodosis forcibly denies what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; comp. Hos. 8, 12); with the perfect consecutive, Gen. 47, 25. Ex. 33, 5; with the protasis suppressed, Job 5, 8 (see § 107. *x*).

d (*b*) *Jussive* in protasis (comp. § 109. *h*, *i*) and apodosis, Ps. 104, 20 תָּשֶׁת־חֹשֶׁךְ וְיִהִי לָיְלָה *if thou makest darkness, it is night;* imperfect in the apodosis, Ps. 104, 29 *b*. Also in Ex. 7, 9 יְהִי לְתַנִּין *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down;* so in 2 Ki. 5, 10 וְיִשָּׁב is the apodosis to a protasis *if thou wash*, contained in what precedes.

e (*c*) *Cohortative* (see § 108. *e*) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis, Ps. 40, 6. imperfect consecutive, Job 19, 18 אָקוּמָה וַיְדַבְּרוּ־בִי *if I arise, they speak against me;* on the cohortative in the apodosis, comp. § 108. *f*.

f (*d*) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111. *x*), Ps. 139, 11 וְאֹמַר *if I say*, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 Sam. 2, 16.

g (*e*) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112. *kk* and *ll*), Gen. 44, 22 וְעָזַב אָבִיו וָמֵת *and should he leave his father, his father would die;* 9, 15. 44, 29. Ex. 4, 14. 12, 13. 1 Sam. 16, 2. 19, 3. 2 Sam. 13, 28. 1 Ki. 8, 30; with frequentative perfects, Ex. 16, 21 (referring to the past, Jer. 20, 9) with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by לֹא), Num. 23, 20.

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[1] On the termination ן comp. § 47. *m*. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׂבְּעוּן is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28–30 and Ps. 139, 18 can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that ן in Num. 32, 23 appears after אִם־לֹא even in the protasis. In Num. 16, 29. 32, 20 ן before א (as in Job 31, 10 in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

Job 5, 24; separated by an infinitive absolute, 1 Ki. 2, 37; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lev. 10, 19; a noun-clause, Ps. 37, 10. Job 7, 21.

(*f*) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Prov. 18, 22 מָצָא אִשָּׁה מָצָא טוֹב *has one found a wife he has found a good thing;* 24, 10; an imperfect in the apodosis, Job 19, 4. 23, 10; an imperfect consecutive, Ex. 20, 25. Prov. 11, 2. Job 3, 25. 23, 13*b*. 29, 11; an interrogative clause, Num. 12, 14. Job 7, 20 *if I have sinned* (prop., well, now I have sinned!) *what can I do unto thee?* 21, 31. 35, 6. Amos 3, 8; a noun-clause, Job 27, 19. *h*

(*g*) *A participle* as *casus pendens* (comp. § 143.*d*, and the sections of the Grammar there referred to) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw apodosis*, e. g. Prov. 23, 24 *K^eth.* יוֹלֵד חָכָם וְיִשְׂמַח בּוֹ *if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him;* with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 Sam. 2, 13 and elsewhere; but also with a simple imperfect, e. g. Ex. 21, 12 (comp. § 112. *n*); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 Ki. 7, 2. 19; with an interrogative perfect, Jud. 6, 13. *i*

(*h*) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (comp. § 112. *mm*), e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 14 sqq. בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ וְהֹכַחְתִּיו וגו׳ *if he commit iniquity, I will correct him with the rod of men;* Ex. 34, 34 sq. (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis). *k*

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate *imperatives*, see § 110. *f*.

3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes הֵן, see below, letter *w*) and לוּ[1] (1 Sam. 14, 30. Is. 63, 19 לוּא; Eccles. 6, 6. Est. 7, 4 אִלּוּ, from לוּ אִם) *if*, negative אִם לֹא and לוּלֵא (לוּלֵי) *unless;* כִּי *supposing that* (Lat. *ut*), *in case that*, sometimes used almost in the same sense as אִם. With regard to the difference between אִם (אִם לֹא) and לוּ (לוּלֵא), it is to be observed, as a fundamental rule, that אִם is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case, אִם is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek ἐάν with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, לוּ (לוּלֵא) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as not having occurred or never occurring. In the former case, לוּ and לוּלֵא are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the *l*

[1] On לוּ cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 sqq.

apodosis) corresponding to the Greek εἰ with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjective. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

m Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgment of the speaker (see letter *a*), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between אִם and לוּ is not always consistently observed. Although naturally לוּ and לוּלֵא cannot take the place of אִם and אִם לֹא (on the strange use of לוּ in Gen. 50, 15, see below), yet conversely אִם is sometimes used where לוּ would certainly be expected; comp. e. g. Ps. 50, 12. 137, 5. 139, 8. Hos. 9, 12 (comp. verse 11). These examples, indeed (אִם with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of לוּ with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to לוּ) a still open possibility. But אִם is also used for לוּ in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by אִם, e. g. Ps. 7, 4 sqq. אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת . . . יִרְדֹּף וגו׳ *if I have done this . . ., let the enemy pursue my soul*, &c., comp. Job 31, 9 sqq. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with אִם, see § 113. *o* above.

Examples:—

n A. אִם 1. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have been completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106. *o*). The apodosis[1] takes—

(*a*) A *perfect* also, e. g. Prov. 9, 12 אִם־חָכַמְתָּ חָכַמְתָּ לָךְ *if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself;* Ps. 73, 15 (see below on לוּ).

(*b*) *Imperfect*, e. g. Deut. 32, 41 אִם־שַׁנּוֹתִי *if I whet my glittering sword . . .* אָשִׁיב *I will render vengeance*, &c.; Job 9, 15 sq. and 30 (in both cases we should expect לוּ rather than אִם־; so also Ps. 44, 21 sq., with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Job 11, 13 (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(*c*) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e. g. Job 31, 9 sqq. (see letter *m* above); Gen. 18, 3.

o (*d*) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112. *gg*), e. g. Gen. 43, 9 אִם־לֹא הֲבִיאֹתִיו וגו׳ *if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned*, &c.; Jud. 16, 17. 2 Sam. 15, 33. 2 Ki. 7, 4. On the other hand, e. g. Gen. 47, 6. Mic. 5, 7. Job 7, 4 refer to actions already completed; in Gen. 38, 9 and Num. 21, 9 the perfect with וְ is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.

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[1] We are not here concerned with the fact that the logical apodosis (the consequence of the condition) is sometimes mentioned before the condition; as in Gen. 18, 28. 30. Jud. 11, 10. Ps. 63, 6 sq. 137, 6, and according to Dillmann Is. 4, 4.

(*e*) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111. *q*), e. g. Job 8, 4 *if thy children have sinned* (חָטְאוּ) . . . , וַיְשַׁלְּחֵם *he has delivered them*, &c.

(*f*) *Imperative*, e. g. Gen. 50, 4 אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם דַּבְּרוּ־נָא וגו׳ *if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you*, &c.; the imperative precedes in Gen. 47, 16 and Job 38, 4. 18.

(*g*) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e. g. Jer. 14, 18 (a vivid realization of the future) *if I have gone forth into the field* (= *if I go*, &c.), *then, behold, the slain with the sword!* &c.; Prov. 24, 14 (וְיֵשׁ with *wāw apodosis*). *p*

2. אִם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107. *b*) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes— *q*

(*a*) The *perfect*, e. g. Num. 32, 23 וְאִם־לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן כֵּן הִנֵּה חֲטָאתֶם *but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned;* here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Job 20, 12–14. On the other hand, Num. 16, 29 (as also 1 Sam. 6, 9 and 1 Ki. 22, 28) is a case of a pregnant construction, *if these men die as all men die, then* (it will follow from this) *the Lord hath not sent me.*

(*b*) The *imperfect*, e. g. 2 Ki. 7, 4 אִם־יְחַיֵּנוּ נִחְיֶה *if they save us alive, we shall live*, &c.; Gen. 13, 16. 18, 28. 30. 28, 20 sqq. Ex. 20, 25 (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is. 1, 18. 10, 22. Amos 9, 2–4. Ps. 50, 12 (where אִם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Job 8, 5 sq. (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9, 3. 20. 14, 7; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gen. 31, 8 אִם־כֹּה יֹאמַר *if* (ever) *he said thus* . . . , וְיָלְדוּ *then they bare* . . .; Ex. 40, 37. In Gen. 42, 37 the consequence (on תָּמִית cf. § 107. *s*) precedes the condition. *r*

(*c*) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e. g. Ps. 137, 5; comp. § 109. *h*.

(*d*) The *cohortative*, e. g. Gen. 13, 9. Job 31, 7; comp. § 108. *f*.

(*e*) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112. *ff* and *gg*), e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 אִם־פָּקֹד יִפְקְדַנִי אָבִיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ *if thy father miss me at all, then shalt thou say*, &c.; Gen. 24, 41. Jud. 4, 20; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gen. 31, 8 *if he said* (as often happened) . . . , *then*, &c. *s*

(*f*) The *imperfect consecutive;* so perhaps Ps. 59, 16, if וָלִינוּ is to be explained according to § 111. *t*.

(*g*) The *imperative*, e. g. Gen. 31, 50. 1 Sam. 20, 21 (with *wāw apodosis*, but in verse 22 simply לֵךְ). 21, 10. Job 33, 5.

(*h*) A noun-clause, e. g. Gen. 4, 7. Ps. 139, 8. Job 8, 6. 31, 26 sq. *t*

3. אִם with *cohortative*, e. g. Gen. 30, 31; comp. the passages in § 108. *e*.

4. אִם with *infinitive*, Job 9, 27 אִם־אָמְרִי prop. *if my saying is* (probably, however, we should read אָמַרְתִּי). *u*

5. אִם with a noun-clause, e. g. Deut. 5, 22 (in the apodosis a perfect with *wāw apodosis*), Gen. 27, 46. Jud. 9, 15 (imperative in the apodosis); 11, 9 (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 Sam. 12, 8 (cohortative in the apodosis); Hos. 12, 12; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to יֵשׁ, in a negative sentence to אַיִן (comp. on both, § 100. *o*), while the predicate (cf. § 116. *q*) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e. g. Jud. 6, 36 sq. אִם־יֶשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ *v*

if thou wilt save, &c.; Gen. 24, 49 אִם־יֶשְׁכֶם עֹשִׂים *if ye will deal*, &c.; 1 Sam. 23, 23. In Gen. 24, 42 sq. the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of נָא. With אַיִן Gen. 43, 5 וְאִם־אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ *but if thou wilt not send*, &c.; 20, 7 (with imperative in the apodosis); Ex. 8, 17. 9, 2 sq. 1 Sam. 19, 11 (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But יֵשׁ and אַיִן may also be used after אִם without a suffix; thus יֵשׁ Gen. 23, 8. 1 Sam. 20, 8. 2 Ki. 9, 15, and elsewhere, אִם־אַיִן (*if it be not the case*) Gen. 30, 1. Ex. 32, 32. Jud. 9, 15. 2 Ki. 2, 10; comp. also אִם־כֵּן *if it be so*, Gen. 25, 22.

w B. הֵן *if*, according to the common opinion originally identical with הֵן *behold!* Probably, however, הֵן *if*, is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning *behold*, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with הֵן or הִנֵּה. Comp. Ex. 8, 22. Is. 54, 15. Jer. 3, 1. 2 Chron. 7, 13. But in Job 12, 14 and 23, 8 the meaning *behold* is to be preferred.

x C. לוּ *if*, לוּלֵא (לוּלֵי) *if not.*

1. With *perfect* in the protasis and apodosis (comp. § 106. *p*), e.g. 1 Sam. 14, 30 אַף כִּי לוּא אָכֹל אָכַל הַיּוֹם הָעָם וגו׳ *how much more, if the people had eaten freely . . ., had there not been a great* (= *much greater*) *slaughter?* &c.; Jud. 8, 19; אִלּוּ is used in the same sense as לוּ in Est. 7, 4, comp. Eccles. 6, 6 (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after לוּלֵא Gen. 31, 42. 43, 10. Jud. 14, 18. 1 Sam. 25, 34. 2 Sam. 2, 27. Is. 1, 9. On the other hand, in Deut. 32, 29 לוּ with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, *if they were wise, they would understand this;* in Mic. 2, 11 by a perfect consecutive.

y 2. With *imperfect* after לוּלֵא Deut. 32, 27, אָנוּר probably as the *modus rei repetitae*, *were it not that I ever and again feared*, &c.; so also the imperfect after לוּ with the apodosis suppressed, Gen. 50, 15 *supposing that Joseph should hate us;* since, according to the context, the danger was real, the use of לוּ here is strange; conversely in other cases, e.g. Ps. 73, 15. Job 9, 15 sq. 30, לוּ would be more natural than אִם.

z 3. A noun-clause occurs after לוּ 2 Sam. 18, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 14. Ps. 81, 14, all with imperfect in the apodosis; Job 16, 4 לוּ יֵשׁ, with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. כִּי *supposing that, if*:—

aa 1. כִּי with *perfect* in the protasis, e.g. Num. 5, 20 וְאַתְּ כִּי שָׂטִית *but thou, if thou hast gone astray*, &c.; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Job 7, 13 sq.; with an imperfect consecutive, Job 22, 29.

bb 2. כִּי with *imperfect* in the protasis, e.g. Ps. 23, 4 גַּם כִּי־אֵלֵךְ *yea, though I walk* (have to walk) . . ., *I will fear no* (לֹא־אִירָא) *evil;* 37, 24; Ex. 21, 2 כִּי־תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד עִבְרִי וגו׳ *if thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve* (but in verses 3–5 a series of definite conditions with definite consequences is introduced by אִם; so also the כִּי in verse 7 is followed in verses 8–11 by the special cases with אִם; cf. also verse 17 sqq.); comp. Gen. 4, 24. 24, 41. Job 38, 5 with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gen. 32, 18 sq. Ex. 18, 16; with a noun-clause, Is. 1, 15.

3. כִּי with a *noun-clause* (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 Sam. 19, 8.

Remarks.

cc 1. In 2 Ki. 5, 13 the particle אבי (Masora אָבִי, probably in the sense of *my father*) appears exceptionally for לוּ; its meaning here is unquestionable, but its origin is obscure. Comp. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Job 34, 36, where this אבי appears to be used as a desiderative particle.— Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of אוֹ *or*, e. g. Ex. 21, 36 אוֹ נוֹדַע וגו׳ *or* (another possible case) *it is known that*, &c., i. e. *but if it be known*, &c., LXX ἐὰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem;* comp. Lev. 4, 23. 28. 5, 1. 25, 49. 2 Sam. 18, 13; with a following imperfect, Ezek. 14, 17 sq.—On the hypothetical use of אֲשֶׁר (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lev. 4, 22 (in verses 3 and 27 אִם), Deut. 11, 27 (verse 28 אִם), Jos. 4, 21, see the Lexicon.

dd 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; comp. Gen. 13, 9. 24, 49. 1 Sam. 2, 16 וְאִם־לֹא *and if not*, equivalent to *and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take* it (perfect according to § 106. *n*) *by force;* comp. 1 Sam. 6, 9. The use of וְיֵשׁ alone in Jud. 6, 13 is peculiar, as also in 2 Ki. 10, 15 (where we should read with the LXX וַיֵּשׁ וַיֹּאמֶר יֵהוּא) וְיֵשׁ in the sense of *if it be so;* so in 2 Sam. 13, 26. 2 Ki. 5, 17 וְלֹא alone is used in the sense of *if really . . . not*, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to *may there at least*, &c. (cf. § 143. *d*).—In 1 Sam. 13, 13. Job 3, 13 the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by כִּי עַתָּה (Job 31, 28 by כִּי, 2 Ki. 13, 19 by אָז).—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e. g. Gen. 4, 24. Is. 43, 2) or is entirely suppressed, e. g. Gen. 30, 27. 38, 17. 50, 15 (see letter *y* above), Ex. 32, 32. Ps. 27, 13. Job 38, 5, where properly הַגֵּד must be supplied with כִּי תֵדַע as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167. *a.*—In Ps. 8, 4, instead of the apodosis *I exclaim* which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

ee 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected, is frequently emphasized by the insertion of כִּי Is. 7, 9; כִּי אָז 2 Sam. 2, 27. 19, 7. Job 11, 15; or כִּי עַתָּה *now verily*, Num. 22, 29. 1 Sam. 14, 30 after לוּ, Gen. 31, 42. 43, 10 after לוּלֵי, Job 8, 6 after אִם. On this *corroborative* כִּי comp. such passages as Gen. 18, 20, &c., and § 148. *d.*

ff 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of אִם Prov. 9, 12. Job 10, 15. 16, 6. 22, 23, and כִּי Is. 43, 2.

gg 5. In Ex. 33, 20 a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, *for a man doth not see me and live*, instead of *for if a man sees me, he does not live;* comp. the similar passages, Deut. 22, 1. 4 *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, instead of *if thou seest . . . thou shalt not hide thyself.*

§ 160. *Concessive Clauses.*

a Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110. *a*) or mockingly (§ 110. *f*), and of

concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141. *e*, § 142. *d*, and § 156. *f*), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(*a*) By a simple אִם *if:* thus Job 9, 15 with perfect, *if* (=*though*) *I had been in the right;* Is. 1, 18 and 10, 22 with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

b (*b*) By גַּם כִּי *yea though*, Is. 1, 15 with imperfect; for which we find simply גַּם in Is. 49, 15 with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .;* on the other hand, with perfect, Jer. 36, 25. Ps. 95, 9. Neh. 6, 1; finally כִּי גַם *even if, though*, Eccles. 4, 14.

c (*c*) By the preposition עַל־ governing a complete noun-clause, as Job 16, 17 עַל לֹא־חָמָס בְּכַפָּי *notwithstanding* that *no violence is in mine hands*, or a verbal-clause, Is. 53, 9. On עַל־ with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to *in addition to the fact* that = *notwithstanding* that), comp. § 119. *aa*, note 2.

§ 161. *Comparative Clauses.*

a **1.** A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by simply uniting them with *wāw copulative*, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e. g. Job 5, 7 *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Job 12, 11 (in an interrogative form; in 34, 3 the same comparison as a statement); more commonly in the opposite order, 14, 11 sq. Prov. 17, 3. 25, 3. 26, 3. 9. 14. 27, 21, &c.[1] Even without the connecting וְ Job 24, 19 *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, שְׁאוֹל חָטְאוּ so doth *Sheôl* those who *have sinned* (comp. § 155. *n*); comp. Jer. 17, 11.

b **2.** The conjunction בַּאֲשֶׁר (comp. § 155. *g*; the simple אֲשֶׁר occurs in the same sense in Ex. 10, 6. 14, 13. 34, 18) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Obad. 15), frequently with כֵּן *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is. 31, 4. 52, 14 sq. Sometimes, however, כֵּן (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is. 55, 9. Jer. 3, 20. — Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Eccles. 5, 15 by כְּכָל־עֲמַת שֶׁ· *in all points as.*

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[1] On this *wāw adaequationis*, and in general on these *figurative* maxims of comparison, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 sq. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e. g. Prov. 25, 12. 25 sq. (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions נֶחְשַׁב עִם prop. *to be counted with some one*, Ps. 88, 5, and נִמְשַׁל עִם *to be likened with some one*, Ps. 28, 1. 143, 7, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of עִם cf. Job 9, 26, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

Rem. On the use of כְּ *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce comparisons, comp. § 118. *s;* on the alleged use of כְּ as a conjunction (equivalent to כַּאֲשֶׁר), comp. § 155. *g.*—It is to be further remarked that כְּ—כְּ when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e. g. Lev. 7, 7. Is. 24, 2. Hos. 4, 9; also *so—as*, Gen. 18, 25. 44, 18; in Jos. 14, 11. 1 Sam. 30, 24 וּכְ—כְּ; Ps. 127, 4 כֵּן—כְּ, comp. Joel 2, 4), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; כָּכֶם כַּגֵּר יִהְיֶה Num. 15, 15 properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i. e. *your duty shall be* (also) *the stranger's duty;* cf. Lev. 24, 22. *c*

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by אוֹ *or*, e. g. Ex. 21, 36, equivalent to the Latin *vel;* but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 Ki. 2, 16; so Is. 27, 5 אוֹ = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere אוֹ כִּי. *a*

In the sense of *sive—sive* we find אוֹ—אוֹ, or אִם—אִם, or אִם—וְאִם (see the examples in the Lexicon), also וְ—וְ Lev. 5, 3. Num. 9, 14. Deut. 24, 7. Is. 2, 13 sqq. Jer. 32, 20. Ps. 76, 7. Job 34, 29, perhaps also Ex. 21, 16 (but not Prov. 29, 9; comp. Delitzsch on the passage), and לְ—לְ (see § 143. *e*); cf. also גַּם—גַּם (in Gen. 24, 44 וְגַם—גַּם) *both—and;* but גַּם לֹא—גַּם לֹא (in Gen. 21, 26 וְגַם לֹא—וְגַם לֹא; Zech. 1, 18 גַּם לֹא—גַּם) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150. *g*. *b*

§ 163. *Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.*

1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by כִּי אִם, e. g. 1 Sam. 8, 19 *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us;* Ps. 1, 2 and elsewhere; frequently also by כִּי alone, e. g. Gen. 18, 15. 19, 2, or even simply connected by וְ, Gen. 17, 5, וְהָיָה as perfect consecutive; 42, 10; cf. Ex. 5, 18. *a*

Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e. g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mic. 6, 3 sq.) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Job 31, 18); כִּי or כִּי אִם in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*. *b*

2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by אֶפֶס כִּי *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see letter *a* above) כִּי אִם[1] *unless;* especially כִּי אִם with the perfect (equivalent *c*

[1] Very probably this use of כִּי אִם arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (כִּי in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex. 22, 22 as a forcible

to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e. g. Gen. 32, 27 *I will not let thee go, except thou hast* previously *blessed me;* Lev. 22, 6. Is. 55, 10. 65, 6. Amos 3, 7. Ruth 3, 18. Finally, בִּלְתִּי אִם *unless*, Amos 3, 4 (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply בִּלְתִּי Gen. 43, 3 with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you;* Is. 10, 4 after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

d Rem. The principal statement, to which כִּי אִם appends an exception, must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gen. 40, 14 (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember*, &c. (comp. § 106. *n*, note 2). Comp. Mic. 6, 8, where כִּי אִם, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Job 42, 8, equivalent to *only*, before a noun.

§ 164. *Temporal Clauses.*

a **1.** The relations of time existing between two different actions or events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition :—

(*a*) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by וְ (or וְהִנֵּה), e. g. Gen. 7, 6 *and Noah* was *six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה *and* (i. e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by עוֹד *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e. g. Job 1, 16 sq. עוֹד זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא וגו׳ *he* was *yet speaking, and there came another*, &c.; see the numerous examples in § 111. *g* and § 116. *u*. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after כָּל־ with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one . . .*, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ זָבַח וּבָא וגו׳ *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came*, &c.; 2 Sam. 2, 23 and elsewhere; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116. *w*.

b (*b*) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition (1) of two imperfects consecutive, e. g. Gen. 24, 19 וַתְּכַל לְהַשְׁקֹתוֹ וַתֹּאמֶר *and when she had done giving him drink, she said*, &c.; 28, 8 sq. 29, 31. 30, 9. 32, 26, &c.; comp. § 111. *d;* (2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by וְ, e. g. Gen. 38, 25; comp. § 116. *v;* in Gen. 49, 29 an imperative follows without וְ; (3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession[1] of the two actions or events in past time), e. g. Gen. 19, 23 . . . הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא

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resumption of the preceding אִם. Thus, e. g. Jud. 15, 7 is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease*, equivalent to, I will not cease until I have, &c. When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e. g. Ruth 3, 18 *surely* (or *for*) *when he has finished it* (then the man will rest). It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with כִּי אִם *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see letter *a* above.

[1] This secondary idea is implied here by the mere co-ordination of two independent *verbal*-clauses, just as the idea of simultaneous occurrence (according to § 116. *u*

וְלוֹט בָּא וגו׳ *the sun was just risen . . ., and Lot came*, &c., comp. 1 Sam. 9, 5. 2 Sam. 2, 24; Gen. 44, 3 sq. Jud. 3, 24. 15, 14. 20, 39 sq.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand, (4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e. g. Gen. 44, 4 וְהִשַּׂגְתָּם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם *and when thou dost overtake them* (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), *thou shalt say unto them*. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112. *kk* and § 159. *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111. *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וַיְהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111. *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex. 16, 6, cf. § 112. *oo*. — In 1 Sam. 29, 10 an imperative with וְ follows the perfect consecutive.

(5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by טֶרֶם (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107. *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gen. 24, 15[1]), is then connected by וְ (or וְהִנֵּה) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e. g. Gen. 19, 4 (comp. Jos. 2, 8) טֶרֶם יִשְׁכָּבוּ וְאַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר . . . נָסַבּוּ וגו׳ *they had not yet lain down, and* (= when) *the men of the city . . . compassed*, &c.; Gen. 24, 25. *c*

2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are כִּי and אֲשֶׁר[2] *when* (כִּי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, Ps. 8, 4); less frequently אִם[3] (joined with a perfect), e. g. Gen. 38, 9. Num. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3. Ps. 41, 7. 94, 18, comp. also Is. 24, 13 = *quotiescunque;* also in the same sense with an imperfect, Num. 36, 4; with a perfect equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is. 4, 4. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds כְּמוֹ *when*, Gen. 19, 15; כַּאֲשֶׁר *when, after that;* עַד־אֲשֶׁר, עַד־כִּי *until* (also the simple עַד, e. g. Gen. 38, 11. Jos. 2, 22. 1 Sam. 1, 22 [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 Sam. 10, 5]; 2, 5 and elsewhere; especially in the formula עַד־בִּלְתִּי הִשְׁאִיר לוֹ *until there was none left remaining to him*, Num. 21, 35. Deut. 3, 3. Jos. 8, 22. 11, 8; but 1 Sam. 14, 19 *while, as long as*); עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא *before that*, Eccles. 12, 1. 2. 6 with an imperfect, as in Prov. 8, 26 עַד with a perfect; עַד־אֲשֶׁר אִם, עַד־אִם *until the time when;* אַחֲרֵי־אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ezek. *d*

note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a noun-clause with another clause. In Gen. 27, 30 the immediate succession is especially emphasized by אַךְ and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came;* in Ps. 48, 6 by כֵּן and the addition of two more perfects without וְ.

[1] On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, comp. § 107. *c*.

[2] On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138. *a;* hence עַד־אֲשֶׁר נָשׁוּב s properly *up to that* (moment)—*we shall return.*

[3] Analogous to the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. *if*] for *wann* [= *when*] in German.

40, 1 אַחַר־אֲשֶׁר; Lev. 25, 48. 1 Sam. 5, 9 simply אַחֲרֵי; Lev. 14, 43. Jer. 41, 16. Job 42, 7 simply אַחַר) *after that;* מֵאָז (prop. *since that time;* the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138. *e*) *since*, Gen. 39, 5; בְּטֶרֶם (and simply טֶרֶם § 107. *c*) *before;* קִדְמַת (for קִדְמַת אֲשֶׁר) *before*, Ps. 129, 6.

e Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158. *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106. *f*, and in the latter to the Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106. *o*), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On טֶרֶם, בְּטֶרֶם, and עַד with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, comp. § 107. *c*.

f 2. Clauses introduced by עַד, עַד־כִּי, or עַד־אֲשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or condition described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַד with the imperfect, Ps. 110, 1; עַד־כִּי with the perfect, Gen. 26, 13; עַד־אֲשֶׁר with the perfect, Gen. 28, 15; with the imperfect, Ps. 112, 8.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עַד may even introduce a main clause; e. g. Ex. 15, 16 עַד־יַעֲבֹר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—*they passed over*, i. e. *so they passed over*.

g 3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114. *d*, *e*) is very frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בְּ may usually be rendered in English by *when*, *as*, or *whilst;* the infinitive with כְּ by *when*, *as soon as* (in Prov. 10, 25 followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if;* the infinitive after מִן by *since*. According to § 111. *g* such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 Sam. 17, 55 (cf. Driver on the passage) וְכִרְאוֹת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, comp. § 112. *v*, and in general, § 114. *r*.—With the participle בְּ appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in בְּמֵשִׁיב *as he drew back*, Gen. 38, 29 (unless we should read בְּהָשִׁיב), and in כְּפָרְחַת *when it budded*, 40, 10.

§ 165. *Final Clauses*[1].

a **1.** Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw copulative* to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the connexion: (*α*) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of וְ, Lam. 1, 19, see § 107. *q;* with an interrogative sentence, 2 Sam.

[1] Comp. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig 1879.

9, 1. 3. Job 38, 24; with an optative, Ps. 51, 9; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by וְ, Gen. 29, 21. 1 Sam. 15, 16, or a jussive, Neh. 2, 5 (§ 108. *d*); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by וְ, Ex. 9, 1. 2 Sam. 16, 11. 1 Ki. 5, 20. Ps. 59, 14. 86, 17; with a jussive, Job 21, 19, or cohortative, § 109. *f*, *g* (comp. also 2 Sam. 24, 21 the infinitive with לְ, Jon. 1, 11 מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Chron. 29, 10 עִם־לְבָבִי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by וְ, § 110. *i*; (ε) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lev. 14, 36; after an imperfect, § 112. *m* and *p*; similarly after a jussive, § 112. *q*; after an imperative, § 112. *r*.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex. 28, 43. 30, 20; and 2 Sam. 13, 25 after אַל־נָא with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109. *g*. In Ex. 28, 32. 39, 23 the negative final clause is simply connected by לֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of commanding, where we should expect a final clause (e. g. Neh. 13, 9 *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Job 9, 7 a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא), comp. § 120. *f*.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without וְ) see § 120. *c*.

b **2.** Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that;* also simply לְמַעַן Gen. 12, 13. 27, 25. Ex. 4, 5. Ps. 51, 6 and elsewhere; בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gen. 27, 10, and simply בַּעֲבוּר Gen. 27, 4. Ex. 9, 14. 20, 20; also the simple אֲשֶׁר[1] Deut. 4, 10. 40. 6, 3. 32, 46. Jos. 3, 7. Neh. 8, 14 sq.; negatively, אֲשֶׁר לֹא Gen. 11, 7. 24, 3. 1 Ki. 22, 16; or שֶׁ Eccles. 3, 14; also negatively, עַל־דְּבָרַת שֶׁלֹּא *for the matter* (*purpose*) *that . . . not*, Eccles. 7, 14; לְבִלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14 *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of מִן (if the text be right) in Deut. 33, 11 מִן־יְקוּמוּן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִקּוֹם].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107. *q* (on Jos. 4, 24, see § 74. *g*).—On the negative conjunctions אַל and פֶּן *that not, lest*, see § 152. *f* and *w*. On the infinitive with לְ[2] (also לְמַעַן Gen. 18, 19. 37, 22 and elsewhere) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gen. 11, 5. 28, 4, &c.), see § 114. *f*, *h*, *p*. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114. *r*. On the negation of the final infinitive by לְבִלְתִּי, § 114. *s*. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gen. 31, 29. 1 Sam. 15, 23, &c.), see § 119. *x* and *y*.

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[1] In Ezek. 36, 27 a final clause is introduced by אֵת אֲשֶׁר, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

[2] On לְ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 Ki. 6, 19, see § 66. *i*.

§ 166. *Consecutive Clauses.*

a **1.** Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple *wāw copulative* with the jussive[1], especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e. g. Num. 23, 19 לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וְיִכְזָּב וּבֶן־אָדָם וְיִתְנֶחָם *God is not a man, that he should lie, and* (i. e. neither) *the son of man, that he should repent;* Is. 53, 2 וְנֶחְמְדֵהוּ; Hos. 14, 10 מִי חָכָם וְיָבֶן אֵלֶּה נָבוֹן וְיֵדָעֵם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* In Gen. 16, 10 a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex. 10, 5 after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Job 9, 32. 33 the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without *Wāw* to the preceding negative sentence (in verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, *for he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him*, that *we should come together in judgement*). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111. *l;* on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112. *n.*

b **2.** Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see § 157. *c*, note 2) כִּי and אֲשֶׁר=*so that;* especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107. *u;* comp. Num. 16, 11, כִּי with the imperfect, *that ye murmur;* on the other hand, in Gen. 20, 10 with the perfect in reference to an action already completed. On אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, comp. further Gen. 13, 16. 22, 14; with perfect and imperfect, 1 Ki. 3, 12 sq., with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on לֵב; on אֲשֶׁר לֹא = *ut non*, comp. Deut. 28, 35. 1 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Ki. 9, 37.

On מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119. *y*.

§ 167. *Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

a **1.** *Aposiopesis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense[2], and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially

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[1] That such examples as וְיִכְזָּב are to be regarded as jussive, is probable from the analogy of Hos. 14, 10 and Job 9, 33.

[2] On the other hand, those cases are not to be regarded as examples of aposiopesis, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with לְ; comp. § 147. *a*, note 1.

frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159. *dd*, cf. also Ex. 32, 32 (the LXX and Samaritan supply שָׂא); Num. 5, 20. Jud. 9, 16 (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 Sam. 12, 14 sq. 2 Sam. 5, 8 (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; comp. the addition in 1 Chron. 11, 6); 2 Sam. 23, 17. Ps. 27, 13. 1 Chron. 4, 10. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117. *l*, and especially § 147.—On Gen. 3, 22, comp. § 152. *w* at the end.

b **2.** *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gen. 20, 13. 31, 52 and Ezek. 34, 10 (comp. § 149 at the end); Num. 14, 21 sqq. 32, 20 sqq. Deut. 17, 2 sqq. 24, 1 sqq. 29, 21 sqq. Jud. 10, 11 (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is suppressed); perhaps also Is. 66, 18 (comp., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt)[1]. On Gen. 23, 13 (לִי with the imperative), see § 110. *e*.

c **3.** We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gen. 24, 14 and 42 sqq., and Gen. 28, 6 sqq.

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[1] On the other hand, from the Semitic point of view the various kinds of compound sentences are *not* to be regarded as instances of anacoluthon, e. g. Gen. 17, 14. 17, nor even Gen. 31, 40 (comp. § 143).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 19, note 2, line 9, *after* '*ZDMG.* 1895, 1 sqq.' *add* 'and 335 sqq.'

§ 5. *k*, compare Dalman, *Aramäische Grammatik*, p. 99, note 1, and especially König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 230 sqq.

§ 9. *e*, line 5, *omit* ĕ.

§ 10. *g*, last line, *for* הַבְּרָכָה *read* חַבְּרָכָה (חַבְּרָ on p. 64, line 2, is a various reading).

§ 15. *a*, *add* 'J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der heiligen Schrift*, Frankfurt, 1896.'

§ 28. *a*, line 11, *for* '*w*ᵉ*yehûdā*' *read* '*w*ᵉ*yᶜhûdā*.'

§ 45. *b*, line 4, *read* 'according to § 84*a. e*, goes back to the ground-form *qŭṭŭl*.'

§ 45. *g*, line 7, *after* '(Baer לְכֶבֶשׁ)' *add* 'in 2 Chron. 34, 10 Baer and Ginsburg read לִבְדוֹק.'

§ 49. *e*, line 8, *omit* 28, 15.

§ 49. *l*, line 5, *after* '2 Sam. 15, 33' *add* 'but Baer and Ginsburg read וְהָיִתָ.'

§ 51. *m*, תִּנָּבְאוּ Amos 2, 10 (for תִּנָּבְאוּ) should also have been mentioned.

§ 55. *c*, line 2; § 55. *d*, line 9; § 55. *f*, line 2; § 66. *e*, line 6; § 67. *e*, line 3, *for* ע״י *read* ע״ו.

§ 58. *g*, line 5, *after* 'Deut.' *add* '6, 17 צָוֹךָ.'

§ 62, line 8, *read* '64. *e*.'

§ 63. *e*, line 2 end, *read* 'letter *q*'; in line 6, *read* '§ 67. *n*.'

P. 234, line 1, *after* 'Ps. 118, 14' *read* 'but this is probably for,' &c.

§ 90. *d*, line 2, *read* מַחֲנִימָה.

P. 285, line 1, *read* 'plur. מְזֻבָּחוֹת.'

P. 289, *under* רְקָמָתַיִם *read* '*a double piece of richly woven stuff*.'

P. 296, *under* מַיִם 3rd plur. masc. *read* מֵימֵיהֶם.

P. 308, line 5, *for* הַנָּנוּ *read* הִנָּנוּ.

THE PARADIGMS.

In the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e. g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָה is the model for קָטְלוּ, which likewise has only a vocalic afformative, and קָטַלְתְּ is the model for קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתִּי and קָטַלְנוּ, which in the same way have a toneless afformative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטַלְתֶּם and קָטַלְתֶּן, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves. — In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the foot-note there. — The bracketed forms (from Paradigm G onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun, or *Pronomen separatum.*	Accusative of the Pronoun,
	A. Simple form.
Sing. 1. *comm.* אָנֹכִי, in pause אָנֹכִי; אֲנִי, in pause אָנִי *I.*	נִי ; ֵנִי ; ֶנִי *me.*
2. *m.* אַתָּה (אַתְּ), in pause אָתָּה; *f.* אַתְּ (אַתִי) *thou.*	ךָ ; ָךָ, in pause ֶךָ, ָךְ; ךְ ; ָךְ ; ֶךָ, ֵךְ *thee.*
3. *m.* הוּא *he.*	הוּ, וֹ ; ֵהוּ (ֹה), וֹ; ֶהוּ *him.*
f. הִיא *she.*	הָ ; ָהּ ; ֶהָ *her* (*eam*).
Plur. 1. *comm.* אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ) *we.*	נוּ ; ֵנוּ ; ֶנוּ *us.*
2. *m.* אַתֶּם; *f.* אַתֶּן, אַתֵּנָה *you.*	כֶם ; ָכֶם; (כֶן ; ָכֶן) *you.*
3. *m.* הֵם, הֵמָּה; *f.* הֵנָּה *they.*	(הֶם), ם ; ֵם, ֶם, מוֹ*; ֶם, (ָם), מוֹ* *them* (*eos*). (הֶן), ן ; ֵן, ֶן; (ֶן) *them* (*eas*).

Pronoun[1].

of *Suffixum Verbi.*	Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis* (*Pron. possessivum*).	
B. With *nûn energicum.*	*A.* Attached to a sing. noun.	*B.* Attached to a noun plur. or dual.
־ֵנִי; ־ֶנִּי	־ִי *my* (prop. gen. *mei*).	־ַי *my.*
־ְךָ, (־ֶךָּ)	־ְךָ, ־ֶךָ, in pause ־ֶךָ } *thy* (prop. *tui*).	־ֶיךָ } *thy.*
not found.	־ְךָ, ־ֶךָ, (־ֶךָּ)	־ֵיךְ
־ֵנְהוּ, ־ֶנּוּ; (־נוֹ)	־ֵהוּ, ו; ־ֵהוּ, וֹ (ה) *his* (*eius* and *suus*).	־ָיו, ־ָו, ־ֵיהוּ* *his.*
־ֶנָּה	־ָהּ; ־ֶהָ, ־ָהּ *her.*	־ֶיהָ *her.*
־ֵנוּ? (see § 58. *k*)	־ֵנוּ; ־ֵנוּ; (־ֶנּוּ) *our.*	־ֵינוּ *our.*
these forms are not found.	־ָכֶם; ־ֶכֶם } *your.* ־ָכֶן; ־ֶכֶן	־ֵיכֶם } *your.* ־ֵיכֶן
	־ָם; ־ֶם, ־ֵמוֹ* } *their.* ־ָן, ־ֶן, ־ָהֶן	־ֵימוֹ*, ־ֵיהֶם } *their.* ־ֵיהֶן

[1] Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses are rare.

B. Strong

		Qal.			*Niph'al.*	*Pi'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*קָטַל	*כָּבֵד	*קָטֹן	*נִקְטַל	*קִטֵּל, קִטַּל
	3. *f.*	*קָטְלָה	*כָּבְדָה	*קָטְנָה	*נִקְטְלָה	*קִטְּלָה
	2. *m.*	*קָטַלְתָּ	*כָּבַדְתָּ	*קָטַנְתָּ	*נִקְטַלְתָּ	*קִטַּלְתָּ
	2. *f.*	קָטַלְתְּ	כָּבַדְתְּ	קָטַנְתְּ	נִקְטַלְתְּ	קִטַּלְתְּ
	1. *c.*	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבַדְתִּי	קָטַנְתִּי	נִקְטַלְתִּי	קִטַּלְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	קָטְלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	קָטְנוּ	נִקְטְלוּ	קִטְּלוּ
	2. *m.*	קְטַלְתֶּם	כְּבַדְתֶּם	קְטַנְתֶּם	נִקְטַלְתֶּם	קִטַּלְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	קְטַלְתֶּן	כְּבַדְתֶּן	קְטַנְתֶּן	נִקְטַלְתֶּן	קִטַּלְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	קָטַלְנוּ	כָּבַדְנוּ	קָטַנּוּ	נִקְטַלְנוּ	קִטַּלְנוּ
Inf.		*כְּבֵד, קְטֹל			*הִקָּטֵל	*קַטֵּל
Inf. absol.		*קָטוֹל			*הִקָּטֹל, נִקְטֹל	*קַטֵּל, קַטֵּל
Imp. Sing.	2. *m.*	*קְטֹל	*כְּבַד		*הִקָּטֵל	*קַטֵּל
	2. *f.*	*קִטְלִי	*כִּבְדִי		*הִקָּטְלִי	*קַטְּלִי
Plur.	2. *m.*	קִטְלוּ	כִּבְדוּ		הִקָּטְלוּ	קַטְּלוּ
	2. *f.*	*קְטֹלְנָה	*כְּבַדְנָה		*הִקָּטַלְנָה	*קַטֵּלְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִקְטֹל	*יִכְבַּד	*יִקְטַן	*יִקָּטֵל	*יְקַטֵּל
	3. *f.*	תִּקְטֹל	תִּכְבַּד		תִּקָּטֵל	תְּקַטֵּל
	2. *m.*	תִּקְטֹל	תִּכְבַּד		תִּקָּטֵל	תְּקַטֵּל
	2. *f.*	*תִּקְטְלִי	*תִּכְבְּדִי		תִּקָּטְלִי	*תְּקַטְּלִי
	1. *c.*	אֶקְטֹל	אֶכְבַּד		אֶקָּטֵל	אֲקַטֵּל
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ		יִקָּטְלוּ	יְקַטְּלוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּקְטֹלְנָה	*תִּכְבַּדְנָה		*תִּקָּטַלְנָה	*תְּקַטֵּלְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ		תִּקָּטְלוּ	תְּקַטְּלוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּקְטֹלְנָה	תִּכְבַּדְנָה		תִּקָּטַלְנָה	תְּקַטֵּלְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִקְטֹל	נִכְבַּד		נִקָּטֵל	נְקַטֵּל
Shortened Impf. (*Jussive*).						
Part. act.		*קֹטֵל	כָּבֵד	קָטֹן	*נִקְטָל	*מְקַטֵּל
pass.		*קָטוּל				

Verb.

Pu'al.	*Hiph'il.*	*Hoph'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
*קֻטַּל	*הִקְטִיל	*הָקְטַל	*הִתְקַטֵּל
*קֻטְּלָה	*הִקְטִילָה	*הָקְטְלָה	*הִתְקַטְּלָה
*קֻטַּלְתָּ	*הִקְטַלְתָּ	*הָקְטַלְתָּ	*הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קֻטַּלְתְּ	הִקְטַלְתְּ	הָקְטַלְתְּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתְּ
קֻטַּלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הָקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קֻטַּלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הָקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
קֻטַּלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הָקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קֻטַּלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הָקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קֻטְּלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הָקְטְלוּ	הִתְקַטְּלוּ
wanting.	*הַקְטִיל	wanting.	*הִתְקַטֵּל
*קֻטַּל	*הַקְטֵל	*הָקְטַל	*הִתְקַטֵּל
	*הַקְטֵל		*הִתְקַטֵּל
	*הַקְטִילִי		*הִתְקַטְּלִי
wanting.	הַקְטִילוּ	wanting.	הִתְקַטְּלוּ
	*הַקְטַלְנָה		*הִתְקַטַּלְנָה
*יְקֻטַּל	*יַקְטִיל	*יָקְטַל	*יִתְקַטֵּל
תְּקֻטַּל	תַּקְטִיל	תָּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
תְּקֻטַּל	תַּקְטִיל	תָּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטֵּל
*תְּקֻטְּלִי	*תַּקְטִילִי	*תָּקְטְלִי	*תִּתְקַטְּלִי
אֲקֻטַּל	אַקְטִיל	אָקְטַל	אֶתְקַטֵּל
יְקֻטְּלוּ	יַקְטִילוּ	יָקְטְלוּ	יִתְקַטְּלוּ
*תְּקֻטַּלְנָה	*תַּקְטֵלְנָה	*תָּקְטַלְנָה	*תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה
תְּקֻטְּלוּ	תַּקְטִילוּ	תָּקְטְלוּ	תִּתְקַטְּלוּ
תְּקֻטַּלְנָה	תַּקְטֵלְנָה	תָּקְטַלְנָה	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה
נְקֻטַּל	נַקְטִיל	נָקְטַל	נִתְקַטֵּל
	*יַקְטֵל		
	*מַקְטִיל		*מִתְקַטֵּל
*מְקֻטָּל		*מָקְטָל	

C. Strong Verb

	Suffixes	1 *Sing.*	2 *Sing. m.*	2 *Sing. f.*	3 *Sing. m.*
Perf. Qal	3. *m.*	קְטָלַנִי / שְׁכֵבַנִי	קְטָלְךָ	קְטָלֵךְ	קְטָלָהוּ / קְטָלוֹ
	3. *f.*	קְטָלַתְנִי	קְטָלַתְךָ	קְטָלָתֶךָ	קְטָלַתְהוּ / קְטָלַתּוּ
	2. *m.*	קְטַלְתַּנִי	—	—	קְטַלְתָּהוּ / קְטַלְתּוּ
	2. *f.*	קְטַלְתִּינִי	—	—	קְטַלְתִּיהוּ
	1. *c.*	—	קְטַלְתִּיךָ	קְטַלְתִּיךְ	קְטַלְתִּיו / קְטַלְתִּיהוּ
Plur.	3. *c.*	קְטָלוּנִי	קְטָלוּךָ	קְטָלוּךְ	קְטָלוּהוּ
	2. *m.*	קְטַלְתֻּנִי	—	—	קְטַלְתֻּהוּ
	1. *c.*	—	קְטַלְנוּךָ	קְטַלְנוּךְ	קְטַלְנוּהוּ
Inf. Qal		קָטְלִי / קָטְלֵנִי	בְּקָטְלְךָ / קָטְלָךְ	קָטְלֵךְ	קָטְלוֹ
Imp. Qal 2. (from an *Imperf.* in *a* שְׁכָחֵנִי)		קָטְלֵנִי	—	—	קָטְלֵהוּ
Impf. Qal	3. *m.*	יִקְטְלֵנִי / יִלְבָּשֵׁנִי	יִקְטָלְךָ / יִלְבָּשְׁךָ	יִקְטְלֵךְ / יִלְבָּשֵׁךְ	יִקְטְלֵהוּ / יִלְבָּשֵׁהוּ
	3. *m.* with *Nûn energ.*	יִקְטָלֶנִּי	יִקְטָלְךָ	—	יִקְטָלֶנּוּ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִקְטְלוּנִי	יִקְטְלוּךָ	יִקְטְלוּךְ	יִקְטְלוּהוּ
Perf. Pi'ēl	3. *m.*	קִטְּלַנִי	קִטֶּלְךָ	קִטְּלֵךְ	קִטֵּלוֹ

with Suffixes.

3 *Sing. f.*	1 *Plur.*	2 *Plur. m.*	2 *Plur. f.*	3 *Plur. m.*	3 *Plur. f.*
קְטָלָהּ	קְטָלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קְטָלָם / לְבֵשָׁם	קְטָלָן
קְטָלַתָּה	קְטָלַתְנוּ	—	—	קְטָלָתַם	wanting.
קְטָלָתָּה	קְטָלָתָנוּ	—	—	קְטָלָתָם	wanting.
קְטָלָתִּיהָ	קְטָלָתִינוּ	—	—	קְטָלָתִים	wanting.
קְטָלָתִּיהָ	—	קְטָלָתִיכֶם	wanting.	קְטָלָתִים	קְטָלָתִין
קְטָלוֹהָ	קְטָלוֹנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קְטָלוֹם	קְטָלוֹן
wanting.	קְטָלָהֹנוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קְטָלָנָּהּ	—	קְטָלָנוּכֶם	wanting.	קְטָלָנוּם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנוּ	פָּתְבְּכֶם / קָטְלָכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלָן
קָטְלָהּ / קָטְלָה	קָטְלֵנוּ	—	—	קָטְלֵם	—
יִקְטְלָהּ / יִלְבְּשָׁהּ / יִקְטְלָה	יִקְטְלֵנוּ / יִלְבְּשֵׁנוּ	יִקְטְלֻכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטְלֵם	wanting.
יִקְטְלָנָּהּ	יִקְטְלֶנּוּ	—	—	—	—
יִקְטְלוֹהָ	יִקְטְלוֹנוּ	יִקְטְלוּכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטְלוּם	wanting.
קְטָלָהּ	קְטָלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קְטָלָם	קְטָלָן

D. Verbs primae gutturalis.

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'il.*	*Hoph'al.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	עָמַד	*נֶעֱמַד	*הֶעֱמִיד	*הָעֳמַד
	3. *f.*	עָמְדָה	*נֶעֱמְדָה	הֶעֱמִידָה	*הָעֳמְדָה
	2. *m.*	עָמַדְתָּ	נֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הָעָמַדְתָּ
	2. *f.*	עָמַדְתְּ	נֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הָעָמַדְתְּ
	1. *c.*	עָמַדְתִּי	נֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הָעָמַדְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	עָמְדוּ	נֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הָעָמְדוּ
	2. *m.*	*עֲמַדְתֶּם	נֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הָעָמַדְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	*עֲמַדְתֶּן	נֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הָעָמַדְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	עָמַדְנוּ	נֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הָעָמַדְנוּ
Inf.		*עָמֹד	*הֵעָמֵד	*הַעֲמִיד	
Inf. absol.		עָמוֹד	*נֵעָמוֹד, הֵאָסֵף	*הַעֲמֵד	*הָעָמֵד
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	עֲמֹד	*חֲזַק	*הָעֳמֵד	הָעָמֵד
	f.	עִמְדִי	חִזְקִי	הַעֲמִידִי	הָעָמִידִי
Plur.	*m.*	עִמְדוּ	חִזְקוּ	הָעֳמִידוּ	הָעָמִידוּ
	f.	*עֲמֹדְנָה	*חֲזֹקְנָה	הָעֳמֵדְנָה	הָעָמַדְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יַעֲמֹד	*יֶחֱזַק	*יָעֳמֵד	*יָעָמַד
	3. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹד	תֶּחֱזַק	תָּעֳמֵד	תָּעָמַד
	2. *m.*	תַּעֲמֹד	תֶּחֱזַק	תָּעֳמֵד	תָּעָמַד
	2. *f.*	*תַּעֲמְדִי	*תֶּחֱזְקִי	תָּעֳמְדִי	*תָּעָמְדִי
	1. *c.*	*אֶעֱמֹד	אֶחֱזַק	אָעֳמֵד	אָעָמַד
Plur.	3. *m.*	*יַעֲמְדוּ	*יֶחֱזְקוּ	יָעֳמִידוּ	יָעָמְדוּ
	3. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹדְנָה	תֶּחֱזַקְנָה	תָּעֳמֵדְנָה	תָּעָמַדְנָה
	2. *m.*	תַּעֲמְדוּ	תֶּחֱזְקוּ	תָּעֳמִידוּ	תָּעָמְדוּ
	2. *f.*	תַּעֲמֹדְנָה	תֶּחֱזַקְנָה	תָּעֳמֵדְנָה	תָּעָמַדְנָה
	1. *c.*	נַעֲמֹד	נֶחֱזַק	נָעֳמֵד	נָעָמַד
Shortened Impf. (Jussive).				יַעֲמֵד	
Part. act.		עֹמֵד	*נֶעֱמָד	*מַעֲמִיד	
pass.		עָמוּד			מָעֳמָד

wanting.

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Pi'ēl.*	*Pu'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	*בֵּרַךְ	*בֹּרַךְ	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
	3. *f.*	*שָׁחֲטָה	*נִשְׁחֲטָה	בֵּרְכָה	[בֹּרְכָה]	הִתְבָּרְכָה
	2. *m.*	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בֵּרַכְתָּ	בֹּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
	2. *f.*	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בֵּרַכְתְּ	בֹּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
	1. *c.*	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בֵּרַכְתִּי	בֹּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	*שָׁחֲטוּ	*נִשְׁחֲטוּ	בֵּרְכוּ	בֹּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *m.*	שְׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בֵּרַכְתֶּם	בֹּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	שְׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	בֵּרַכְתֶּן	בֹּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בֵּרַכְנוּ	בֹּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
Inf.		שְׁחֹט	הִשָּׁחֵט	*בָּרֵךְ	wanting.	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
Inf. absol.		שָׁחוֹט	נִשְׁחוֹט	*בָּרֵךְ		
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	שְׁחַט	*הִשָּׁחֵט	*בָּרֵךְ	wanting.	*הִתְבָּרֵךְ
	f.	*שַׁחֲטִי	*הִשָּׁחֲטִי	*בָּרֲכִי		[הִתְבָּרֲכִי
Plur.	*m.*	שִׁחֲטוּ	הִשָּׁחֲטוּ	בָּרֲכוּ		הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
	f.	שְׁחַטְנָה	*הִשָּׁחַטְנָה	*בָּרֵכְנָה		הִתְבָּרֵכְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִשְׁחַט	יִשָּׁחֵט	*יְבָרֵךְ	*יְבֹרַךְ	*יִתְבָּרֵךְ
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשָּׁחֵט	תְּבָרֵךְ	תְּבֹרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשָּׁחֵט	תְּבָרֵךְ	תְּבֹרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרֵךְ
	2. *f.*	*תִּשְׁחֲטִי	*תִּשָּׁחֲטִי	תְּבָרֲכִי	[תְּבֹרְכִי]	[תִּתְבָּרֲכִי]
	1. *c.*	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשָּׁחֵט	אֲבָרֵךְ	אֲבֹרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרֵךְ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִשְׁחֲטוּ	יִשָּׁחֲטוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יְבֹרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשָּׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרֵכְנָה	תְּבֹרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרֵכְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁחֲטוּ	תִּשָּׁחֲטוּ	תְּבָרֲכוּ	תְּבֹרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשָּׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרֵכְנָה	תְּבֹרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרֵכְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִשְׁחַט	נִשָּׁחֵט	נְבָרֵךְ	נְבֹרַךְ	נִתְבָּרֵךְ
Impf. with Suff.		יִשְׁחָטֵהוּ				
Part. act.		שֹׁחֵט	נִשְׁחָט	*מְבָרֵךְ		*מִתְבָּרֵךְ
pass.		שָׁחוּט			*מְבֹרָךְ	

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Pi"ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	*שִׁלַּח
	3. *f.*	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלְחָה	שִׁלְּחָה
	2. *m.*	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
	2. *f.*	*שָׁלַחַתְּ	*נִשְׁלַחַתְּ	*שִׁלַּחַתְּ
	1. *c.*	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
	2. *m.*	שְׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
	2. *f.*	שְׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
	1. *c.*	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
Inf.		*שְׁלֹחַ	*הִשָּׁלַח	*שַׁלֵּחַ
Inf. absol.		שָׁלוֹחַ	נִשְׁלוֹחַ	שַׁלֵּחַ
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*שְׁלַח	*הִשָּׁלַח	*שַׁלַּח
	f.	שִׁלְחִי	הִשָּׁלְחִי	*שַׁלְּחִי
Plur.	*m.*	שִׁלְחוּ	הִשָּׁלְחוּ	שַׁלְּחוּ
	f.	*שְׁלַחְנָה	הִשָּׁלַחְנָה	*שַׁלַּחְנָה
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִשְׁלַח	*יִשָּׁלַח	*יְשַׁלַּח
	3. *f.*	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשָּׁלַח	*תְּשַׁלַּח
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשָּׁלַח	תְּשַׁלַּח
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשָּׁלְחִי	תְּשַׁלְּחִי
	1. *c.*	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשָּׁלַח	אֲשַׁלַּח
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשָּׁלְחוּ	יְשַׁלְּחוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	*תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה	*תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשָּׁלְחוּ	תְּשַׁלְּחוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשָּׁלַחְנָה	תְּשַׁלַּחְנָה
	1. *c.*	נִשְׁלַח	נִשָּׁלַח	נְשַׁלַּח
Shortened Impf. (*Jussive*).				
Impf. with Suff.		יִשְׁלָחֵנִי		
Part. act.		*שֹׁלֵחַ	נִשְׁלָח	*מְשַׁלֵּחַ
pass.		*שָׁלוּחַ		

tertiae gutturalis.

Pu'al.	*Hiph'il.*	*Hoph'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
שֻׁלַּח	*הִשְׁלִיחַ	הָשְׁלַח	*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
שֻׁלְּחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	הָשְׁלְחָה	הִשְׁתַּלְּחָה
שֻׁלַּחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הָשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ
*שֻׁלַּחַתְּ	*הִשְׁלַחַתְּ	*הָשְׁלַחַתְּ	*הִשְׁתַּלַּחַתְּ
שֻׁלַּחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	הָשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי
שֻׁלַּחְנוּ	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	הָשְׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ
שֻׁלַּחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הָשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּם
שֻׁלַּחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הָשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּן
שֻׁלְּחוּ	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	הָשְׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ
	*הַשְׁלִיחַ		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	*הַשְׁלֵחַ	*הָשְׁלֵחַ	
	הַשְׁלַח		*הִשְׁתַּלַּח
	הַשְׁלִיחִי		הִשְׁתַּלְּחִי
wanting.	הַשְׁלִיחוּ	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ
	הַשְׁלַחְנָה		*הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
יֻשַּׁלַּח	*יַשְׁלִיחַ	יָשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תֻּשַּׁלַּח	תַּשְׁלִיחַ	תָּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תֻּשַּׁלַּח	תַּשְׁלִיחַ	תָּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תֻּשַּׁלְּחִי	תַּשְׁלִיחִי	תָּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁתַּלְּחִי
אֻשַּׁלַּח	אַשְׁלִיחַ	אָשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁתַּלַּח
יֻשַּׁלְּחוּ	יַשְׁלִיחוּ	יָשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלְּחוּ
תֻּשַּׁלַּחְנָה	תַּשְׁלַחְנָה	תָּשְׁלַחְנָה	*תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
תֻּשַּׁלְּחוּ	תַּשְׁלִיחוּ	תָּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלְּחוּ
תֻּשַּׁלַּחְנָה	תַּשְׁלַחְנָה	תָּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נֻשַּׁלַּח	נַשְׁלִיחַ	נָשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יַשְׁלַח		
	*מַשְׁלִיחַ		*מִשְׁתַּלֵּחַ
מֻשְׁלָח		מָשְׁלָח	

G. Verbs mediae geminatae

			Qal.	*Niph'al.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*		*סַבַּב, תַּם	*נָסַב, נֵמַס
	3. *f.*		סַבְּבָה, תַּמָּה	*נָסַבָּה
	2. *m.*		*סַבּוֹתָ	*נָסַבּוֹתָ
	2. *f.*		סַבּוֹת	נָסַבּוֹת
	1. *c.*		סַבּוֹתִי	נָסַבּוֹתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*		סַבְּבוּ, תַּמּוּ	נָסַבּוּ
	2. *m.*		סַבּוֹתֶם	נְסַבּוֹתֶם
	2. *f.*		סַבּוֹתֶן	נְסַבּוֹתֶן
	1. *c.*		סַבּוֹנוּ	נְסַבּוֹנוּ
Inf.			*סֹב	*הָסֵב
Inf. absol.			סָבוֹב	הָסֵס, הָסוֹב
Imp. Sing.	*m.*		*סֹב	הָסֵב
	f.		*סֹבִּי	*הָסַבִּי
Plur.	*m.*		סֹבּוּ	הָסַבּוּ
	f.		[סֹבֶּינָה]	[הָסַבֶּינָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*		*יָסֹב (יָקֹל § 67, Rem. 3) *יִסֹּב	*יִסַּב
	3. *f.*		תָּסֹב תִּסֹּב	תִּסַּב
	2. *m.*		תָּסֹב תִּסֹּב	תִּסַּב
	2. *f.*		*תָּסֹבִּי תִּסֹּבִי	*תִּסַּבִּי
	1. *c.*		אָסֹב אֶסֹּב	אֵסַּב
Plur.	3. *m.*		יָסֹבּוּ יִסֹּבוּ	יִסַּבּוּ
	3. *f.*		*תָּסֻבֶּינָה [תִּסֹּבְנָה]	[תִּסַּבֶּינָה]
	2. *m.*		תָּסֹבּוּ תִּסֹּבוּ	תִּסַּבּוּ
	2. *f.*		[תָּסֻבֶּינָה] [תִּסֹּבְנָה]	[תִּסַּבֶּינָה]
	1. *c.*		נָסֹב נִסֹּב	נִסַּב
Impf. with Wāw consec.			*וַיָּסָב (pause וַיָּסָב)	
Impf. with Suff.			*יְסֻבֵּנִי	
Part. act.			סֹבֵב	נָסָב
pass.			*סָבוּב	(*fem.* נְסַבָּה)

or double ע.

Hiphʿil.	*Hophʿal.*	*Poʿēl.*	*Poʿal.*
*הֵסַב, הֵסֵב	*הוּסַב	*סוֹבֵב	*סוֹבַב
*הֵסֵבָּה	הוּסַבָּה	סוֹבֲבָה	[סוֹבְבָה
*הֲסִבּוֹתָ	[הוּסַבּוֹתָ	סוֹבַבְתָּ	סוֹבַבְתָּ
הֲסִבּוֹת	הוּסַבּוֹת	סוֹבַבְתְּ	סוֹבַבְתְּ
הֲסִבּוֹתִי	הוּסַבּוֹתִי]	סוֹבַבְתִּי	סוֹבַבְתִּי
הֵסַבּוּ, הֵחֵלּוּ	הוּסַבּוּ	סוֹבְבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ
הֲסִבּוֹתֶם	[הוּסַבּוֹתֶם	סוֹבַבְתֶּם	סוֹבַבְתֶּם
הֲסִבּוֹתֶן	הוּסַבּוֹתֶן	סוֹבַבְתֶּן	סוֹבַבְתֶּן
הֲסִבּוֹנוּ	הוּסַבּוֹנוּ]	סוֹבַבְנוּ	סוֹבַבְנוּ]
*הָסֵב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסֵב		סוֹבֵב	[סוֹבַב]
*הָסֵב		סוֹבֵב	
הָסֵבִּי		[סוֹבֲבִי	
הָסֵבּוּ	wanting.	סוֹבְבוּ	wanting.
[הָסֵבֶּינָה]		סוֹבֵבְנָה]	
*יָסֵב, יַסֵּב	*יוּסַב, יֻסַּב	יְסוֹבֵב	[יְסוֹבַב
תָּסֵב	[תּוּסַב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבַב
תָּסֵב	תּוּסַב	תְּסוֹבֵב	תְּסוֹבַב
[תָּסַבִּי]	*תּוּסַבִּי	[תְּסוֹבְבִי	תְּסוֹבְבִי
אָסֵב	אוּסַב]	אֲסוֹבֵב]	אֲסוֹבַב
יָסֵבּוּ, יַסֵּבּוּ	יוּסַבּוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ	יְסוֹבְבוּ
*תְּסֵבֶּינָה	*[תּוּסַבֶּינָה	[תְּסוֹבֵבְנָה]	תְּסוֹבַבְנָה
תָּסֵבּוּ	תּוּסַבּוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ	תְּסוֹבְבוּ
תְּסֵבֶּינָה	תּוּסַבֶּינָה	[תְּסוֹבֵבְנָה	תְּסוֹבַבְנָה
נָסֵב	נוּסַב]	נְסוֹבֵב]	נְסוֹבַב]
וַיָּסֵב			
*יְסִבֵּנִי (יְסִבֻּכֶם)		יְסוֹבְבֵנִי	
*מֵסֵב		מְסוֹבֵב	
	מוּסָב		מְסוֹבָב

H. Verbs פ״נ.

		Qal.		*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'il.*	*Hoph'al.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	[נָגַשׁ]	נָפַל	*נִגַּשׁ	*הִגִּישׁ	*הֻגַּשׁ
	3. *f.*			נִגְּשָׁה	הִגִּישָׁה	הֻגְּשָׁה
	2. *m.*			נִגַּשְׁתָּ	הִגַּשְׁתָּ	הֻגַּשְׁתָּ
	2. *f.*			נִגַּשְׁתְּ	הִגַּשְׁתְּ	הֻגַּשְׁתְּ
	1. *c.*	regular.		נִגַּשְׁתִּי	הִגַּשְׁתִּי	הֻגַּשְׁתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*			נִגְּשׁוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ	הֻגְּשׁוּ
	2. *m.*			נִגַּשְׁתֶּם	הִגַּשְׁתֶּם	הֻגַּשְׁתֶּם
	2. *f.*			נִגַּשְׁתֶּן	הִגַּשְׁתֶּן	הֻגַּשְׁתֶּן
	1. *c.*			נִגַּשְׁנוּ	הִגַּשְׁנוּ	הֻגַּשְׁנוּ
Inf.		*גֶּשֶׁת	*נְפֹל	הָנָּגֵשׁ	*הַגִּישׁ	*הֻגַּשׁ
Inf. absol.		נָגוֹשׁ		נִגּוֹף, הָנָּגֵשׁ	*הַגֵּשׁ	*הֻגַּשׁ
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*גַּשׁ	*נְפֹל	הִנָּגֵשׁ	*הַגִּישׁ	wanting.
	f.	גְּשִׁי	נְפֹלִי	הִנָּגְּשִׁי	הַגִּישִׁי	
Plur.	*m.*	גְּשׁוּ	נְפֹלוּ	הִנָּגְּשׁוּ	הַגִּישׁוּ	
	f.	גַּשְׁנָה	נְפֹלְנָה	הִנָּגַּשְׁנָה	הַגִּשְׁנָה	
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִגַּשׁ	*יִפֹּל	[יִנָּגֵשׁ]	*יַגִּישׁ	*יֻגַּשׁ
	3. *f.*	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תַּגִּישׁ	תֻּגַּשׁ
	2. *m.*	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תַּגִּישׁ	תֻּגַּשׁ
	2. *f.*	תִּגְּשִׁי	תִּפְּלִי		תַּגִּישִׁי	תֻּגְּשִׁי
	1. *c.*	אֶגַּשׁ	אֶפֹּל		אַגִּישׁ	אֻגַּשׁ
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִגְּשׁוּ	יִפְּלוּ	regular.	יַגִּישׁוּ	יֻגְּשׁוּ
	3. *f.*	תִּגַּשְׁנָה	תִּפֹּלְנָה		תַּגִּשְׁנָה	תֻּגַּשְׁנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְּשׁוּ	תִּפְּלוּ		תַּגִּישׁוּ	תֻּגְּשׁוּ
	2. *f.*	[תִּגַּשְׁנָה]	[תִּפֹּלְנָה]		[תַּגִּשְׁנָה]	[תֻּגַּשְׁנָה]
	1. *c.*	נִגַּשׁ	נִפֹּל		נַגִּישׁ	נֻגַּשׁ
Shortened Impf. (*Jussive*).					*יַגֵּשׁ	
Part. act.		נֹגֵשׁ		*נִגָּשׁ	*מַגִּישׁ	
pass.		נָגוּשׁ				מֻגָּשׁ

I. Weak Verbs, פ״א.

	Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'al.*
Perf.	אָבַל	*נֵאָבַל	*הֵאֱבִיל	*הָאֳבַל

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis.*

Inf.		*אֱבֹל, אֲבֹל	הֵאָבֵל	הַאֲבִיל	הָאָבַל
Inf. absol.		אָבוֹל	הֵאָבֵל	wanting.	wanting.
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*אֱבֹל	הֵאָבֵל	הַאֲבֵל	
	f.	אִבְלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur.	*m.*	אִבְלוּ			
	f.	[אֱבֹלְנָה]			
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יֹאבַל (in pause יֹאבֵל)	*יֵאָבֵל	*יַאֲבִיל	*יֵאָבַל
	3. *f.*	תֹּאבַל	&c.	&c.	&c.
	2. *m.*	תֹּאבַל			
	2. *f.*	תֹּאבְלִי			
	1. *c.*	*אֹאבַל			
Plur.	3. *m.*	יֹאבְלוּ			
	3. *f.*	תֹּאבַלְנָה			
	2. *m.*	תֹּאבְלוּ			
	2. *f.*	[תֹּאבַלְנָה]			
	1. *c.*	נֹאבַל			
Impf. with Wāw consec.		*וַיֹּאמֶר			
		*וַיֹּאבַל			
Part. act.		אֹכֵל	נֵאָבָל	מַאֲבִיל	
pass.		אָכוּל			מָאֳבָל

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	יָשַׁב	*נוֹשַׁב
	3. *f.*		*נוֹשְׁבָה
	2. *m.*		נוֹשַׁבְתָּ
	2. *f.*		נוֹשַׁבְתְּ
	1. *c.*	regular.	נוֹשַׁבְתִּי
Plur.	3. *c.*		נוֹשְׁבוּ
	2. *m.*		נוֹשַׁבְתֶּם
	2. *f.*		נוֹשַׁבְתֶּן
	1. *c.*		נוֹשַׁבְנוּ
Inf.		יָסֹד, *שֶׁבֶת	*הִוָּשֵׁב
Inf. absol.		יָשׁוֹב	wanting.
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*שֵׁב, דַּע	*הִוָּשֵׁב
	f.	שְׁבִי	הִוָּשְׁבִי
Plur.	*m.*	שְׁבוּ	הִוָּשְׁבוּ
	f.	שֵׁבְנָה	[הִוָּשַׁבְנָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יֵשֵׁב	*יִוָּשֵׁב
	3. *f.*	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּוָּשֵׁב
	2. *m.*	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּוָּשֵׁב
	2. *f.*	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִּוָּשְׁבִי
	1. *c.*	אֵשֵׁב	*אִוָּשֵׁב
Plur.	3. *m.*	יֵשְׁבוּ	יִוָּשְׁבוּ
	3. *f.*	תֵּשַׁבְנָה	[תִּוָּשַׁבְנָה]
	2. *m.*	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תִּוָּשְׁבוּ
	2. *f.*	[תֵּשַׁבְנָה]	[תִּוָּשַׁבְנָה]
	1. *c.*	נֵשֵׁב	נִוָּשֵׁב
Shortened Impf. (*Jussive*).			
Impf. with Wāw consec.		*וַיֵּשֵׁב	
Part. act.		יֹשֵׁב	*נוֹשָׁב
pass.		יָשׁוּב	

L. *Verbs properly* י"פ.

Hiph'íl.	*Hoph'al.*	*Qal.*	*Hiph'íl.*
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוּשַׁב	יָטַב	*הֵיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוּשְׁבָה		הֵיטִיבָה
הוֹשַׁבְתָּ	הוּשַׁבְתָּ		הֵיטַבְתָּ
הוֹשַׁבְתְּ	הוּשַׁבְתְּ		הֵיטַבְתְּ
הוֹשַׁבְתִּי	הוּשַׁבְתִּי		הֵיטַבְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוּשְׁבוּ	regular.	הֵיטִיבוּ
הוֹשַׁבְתֶּם	הוּשַׁבְתֶּם		הֵיטַבְתֶּם
הוֹשַׁבְתֶּן	הוּשַׁבְתֶּן		הֵיטַבְתֶּן
הוֹשַׁבְנוּ	הוּשַׁבְנוּ		הֵיטַבְנוּ
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוּשַׁב	יָטֹב	*הֵיטִיב
*הוֹשֵׁב		יָטוֹב	*הֵיטֵב
*הוֹשֵׁב			*הֵיטֵב
הוֹשִׁיבִי			הֵיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	wanting.		הֵיטִיבוּ
[הוֹשֵׁבְנָה]			[הֵיטֵבְנָה]
יוֹשִׁיב	*יוּשַׁב	*יִיטַב	*יֵיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוּשַׁב	תִּיטַב	תֵּיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוּשַׁב	תִּיטַב	תֵּיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיבִי	תּוּשְׁבִי	תִּיטְבִי	תֵּיטִיבִי
אוֹשִׁיב	אוּשַׁב	אִיטַב	אֵיטִיב
יוֹשִׁיבוּ	יוּשְׁבוּ	יִיטְבוּ	יֵיטִיבוּ
[תּוֹשֵׁבְנָה]	תּוּשַׁבְנָה	תִּיטַבְנָה	[תֵּיטֵבְנָה]
תּוֹשִׁיבוּ	תּוּשְׁבוּ	תִּיטְבוּ	תֵּיטִיבוּ
[תּוֹשֵׁבְנָה]	[תּוּשַׁבְנָה]	[תִּיטַבְנָה]	[תֵּיטֵבְנָה]
נוֹשִׁיב	נוּשַׁב	נִיטַב	נֵיטִיב]
*יוֹשֵׁב			יֵיטֵב
וַיּוֹשֶׁב		וַיִּיטַב	וַיֵּיטֶב
*מוֹשִׁיב		יֹטֵב	מֵיטִיב
	*מוּשָׁב	יָטוּב	

M. Weak

		Qal.		*Niph'al.*	*Hiph'il.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*קָם	*מֵת	*נָקוֹם	*הֵקִים
	3. *f.*	*קָמָה	*מֵתָה	*נָקוֹמָה	*הֵקִימָה
	2. *m.*	*קַמְתָּ	*מַתָּה	[נָקוּמוֹתָ]	*הֲקִימוֹתָ
	2. *f.*	קַמְתְּ	[מַתְּ]	נְקוּמוֹת]	הֲקִימוֹת
	1. *c.*	קַמְתִּי	מַתִּי	נְקוּמוֹתִי	הֲקִימוֹתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	קָמוּ	מֵתוּ	נָקוֹמוּ	הֵקִימוּ
	2. *m.*	קַמְתֶּם	[מַתֶּם]	נְקוֹמוֹתֶם	הֲקִימוֹתֶם
	2. *f.*	[קַמְתֶּן]	[מַתֶּן]	[נְקוֹמוֹתֶן]	[הֲקִימוֹתֶן]
	1. *c.*	קַמְנוּ	מַתְנוּ	נְקוּמוֹנוּ]	הֲקִימוֹנוּ
Inf.		*קוּם		*הֵקוֹם	*הָקִים
Inf. absol.		*קוֹם		*הֵקוֹם, נָסוֹג	*הָקֵם
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*קוּם		*הֵקוֹם	*הָקֵם
	f.	*קוּמִי		[הָקוֹמִי]	*הָקִימִי
Plur.	*m.*	קוּמוּ		הָקוֹמוּ	הָקִימוּ
	f.	*קֹמְנָה		[הָקֹמְנָה]	[הָקֵמְנָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יָקוּם, יָבוֹא		*יְקוֹם	*יָקִים
	3. *f.*	תָּקוּם		תְּקוֹם	תָּקִים
	2. *m.*	תָּקוּם		תְּקוֹם	תָּקִים
	2. *f.*	*תָּקוֹמִי		[תְּקוֹמִי]	*תָּקִימִי
	1. *c.*	אָקוּם		אֶקּוֹם	אָקִים
Plur.	3. *m.*	יָקוֹמוּ		יְקוֹמוּ	יָקִימוּ
	3. *f.*	*תְּקוּמֶינָה, תָּשֹׁבְנָה			*תָּקֵמְנָה, תְּקִימֶינָה
	2. *m.*	תָּקוֹמוּ		תְּקוֹמוּ	תָּקִימוּ
	2. *f.*	תְּקוּמֶינָה			[תָּקֵמְנָה]
	1. *c.*	נָקוּם		נְקוֹם	נָקִים
Shortened Impf.		*יָקָם			*יָקֶם
Impf. with Wāw consec.		וַיָּקָם (pause *וַיָּקָם)			*וַיָּקֶם
Impf. with Suff.		*יְקוֹמֵנִי			*יְקִימֵנִי
Part. act.		*קָם		*נָקוֹם	*מֵקִים
pass.		*קוּם			

Hoph'al.	*Pi'lēl.*	*Pu'lal.*	*Qal.*	*Niph'al.*
*הוּקַם	*קוֹמֵם	*קוֹמַם	*קָם	*נָכוֹן
[הָוְקְמָה	קוֹמְמָה	[קוֹמְמָה]	*קָמָה	[נָכֹנָה
הוּקַמְתָּ	קוֹמַמְתָּ	קוֹמַמְתָּ	*קַמְתָּ	נְכוֹנוֹתָ
הוּקַמְתְּ	[קוֹמַמְתְּ]	[קוֹמַמְתְּ]	קַמְתְּ	נְכוֹנוֹת]
הוּקַמְתִּי]	קוֹמַמְתִּי	קוֹמַמְתִּי	[קַמְתִּי]	נְכוֹנוֹתִי
הוּקְמוּ	קוֹמְמוּ	קוֹמַמוּ	קָמוּ	
[הוּקַמְתֶּם	[קוֹמַמְתֶּם	[קוֹמַמְתֶּם	[קַמְתֶּם	See
הוּקַמְתָּן	קוֹמַמְתָּן	קוֹמַמְתָּן	[קַמְתֶּן	Verbs ע״ו.
הוּקַמְנוּ]	קוֹמַמְנוּ]	קוֹמַמְנוּ]	קַמְנוּ	
*הוּקַם	קוֹמֵם		*כִּין	
			*כֹּן	
	קוֹמֵם		*כִּין	
	[קוֹמֵמִי	wanting.	כִּינִי	
	קוֹמֵמוּ		כִּינוּ	
	[קוֹמֵמְנָה		—	
*יוּגַם	יְקוֹמֵם	יְקוֹמַם	יָגֵיל	
תּוּגַם	תְּקוֹמֵם	[תְּקוֹמַם	תָּגֵיל	
[תּוּגַם	תְּקוֹמֵם	תְּקוֹמַם	תָּגֵיל	
תְּוּקְמִי	[תְּקוֹמְמִי	תְּקוֹמְמִי	תָּגִילִי	
אוּקַם]	אֲקוֹמֵם	אֲקוֹמַם]	אָגִיל	
יוּקְמוּ	יְקוֹמְמוּ	יְקוֹמַמוּ	יָגֵילוּ	
[הוּגַמְנָה	תְּקוֹמֵמְנָה	תְּקוֹמַמְנָה	תָּגֵלְנָה	
תּוּקְמוּ	[תְּקוֹמְמוּ	תְּקוֹמַמוּ	תָּגִילוּ	
תּוּקַמְנָה]	תְּקוֹמֵמְנָה	תְּקוֹמַמְנָה	תָּגֵלְנָה	
נוּקַם	[נְקוֹמֵם]	נְקוֹמַם]	נָגִיל	
			יָגֵל	
			וַיָּגֶל	
			יְרִיבֵנִי	
	מְקוֹמֵם			נָכוֹן
*מוּקָם		מְקוֹמָם		

Verbs, ע״ו. *N. Weak Verbs,* ע״י.

O. Weak

		Qal.		*Niph'al.*	*Pi'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*מָצָא	מָלֵא	*נִמְצָא	מִצֵּא
	3. *f.*	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	[מִצְּאָה]
	2. *m.*	*מָצָאתָ	מָלֵאתָ	*נִמְצֵאתָ	*מִצֵּאתָ
	2. *f.*	מָצָאת	מָלֵאת	נִמְצֵאת	[מִצֵּאת]
	1. *c.*	מָצָאתִי	מָלֵאתִי	נִמְצֵאתִי	מִצֵּאתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	מָצְאוּ	מָלְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מִצְּאוּ
	2. *m.*	מְצָאתֶם	מְלֵאתֶם	נִמְצֵאתֶם	מִצֵּאתֶם
	2. *f.*	[מְצָאתֶן]	[מְלֵאתֶן]	[נִמְצֵאתֶן]	[מִצֵּאתֶן]
	1. *c.*	מָצָאנוּ	מָלֵאנוּ	[נִמְצֵאנוּ]	מִצֵּאנוּ
Inf.		מְצֹא		הִמָּצֵא	מַצֵּא
Inf. absol.		מָצוֹא		נִמְצֹא	מַצֹּא
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*מְצָא		הִמָּצֵא	מַצֵּא
	f.	מִצְאִי		[הִמָּצְאִי]	[מַצְּאִי]
Plur.	*m.*	מְצְאוּ		הִמָּצְאוּ	מַצְּאוּ
	f.	*מְצָאנָה		[הִמָּצֶאנָה]	[מַצֶּאנָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִמְצָא		*יִמָּצֵא	יְמַצֵּא
	3. *f.*	תִּמְצָא		תִּמָּצֵא	תְּמַצֵּא
	2. *m.*	תִּמְצָא		תִּמָּצֵא	תְּמַצֵּא
	2. *f.*	תִּמְצְאִי		תִּמָּצְאִי	[תְּמַצְּאִי]
	1. *c.*	אֶמְצָא		אֶמָּצֵא	אֲמַצֵּא
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִמְצְאוּ		יִמָּצְאוּ	יְמַצְּאוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּמְצָאנָה		*תִּמָּצֶאנָה	*תְּמַצֶּאנָה
	2. *m.*	תִּמְצְאוּ		תִּמָּצְאוּ	[תְּמַצְּאוּ]
	2. *f.*	תִּמְצָאנָה		תִּמָּצֶאנָה	תְּמַצֶּאנָה
	1. *c.*	נִמְצָא		[נִמָּצֵא]	נְמַצֵּא
Shortened Impf. (*Jussive*).					
Impf. with Suff.		יִמְצָאֵךְ, יִמְצָאֵנִי			יְמַצְּאֵנִי
Part. act.		מֹצֵא		נִמְצָא	מְמַצֵּא
pass.		מָצוּא			

Verbs, ל״א.

Pu'al.	*Hiph'îl.*	*Hoph'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
קֻרָא [מֻצָּא	הִמְצִיא	[הָמְצָא]	[הִתְמַצֵּא
מֻצָּאָה	הִמְצִיאָה	הָמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצָּאָה
מֻצָּאת	*הִמְצִיאָת	*[הָמְצֵאת	*הִתְמַצֵּאת
מֻצֵּאת	הִמְצִאת	הָמְצֵאת	הִתְמַצֵּאת]
מֻצָּאתִי	הִמְצֵאתִי	הָמְצָאתִי	הִתְמַצָּאתִי
מֻצָּא	הִמְצִיאוּ	הָמְצְאוּ	הִתְמַצְּאוּ
מֻצְאוּ	הִמְצִיאָם	הָמְצְאָתָם	[הִתְמַצֵּאתָם
מֻצְאָתָם	[הִמְצֵאתָן	הָמְצָאתָן	הִתְמַצָּאתָן
מֻצָּאתָן	הִמְצֵאנוּ]	הָמְצֵאנוּ]	הִתְמַצֵּאנוּ]
מֻצָּאנוּ]			
	הַמְצִיא		הִתְמַצֵּא
wanting.	הַמְצֵא	wanting.	wanting.
			[הִתְמַצֵּא
	הַמְצֵא		הִתְמַצָּאִי
wanting.	הַמְצִיאִי	wanting.	הִתְמַצְּאוּ
	הַמְצִיאוּ		הִתְמַצֵּאנָה]
	[הַמְצֵאנָה]		
יְמֻצָּא	יַמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא	יִתְמַצֵּא
[תְּמֻצָּא	תַּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצֵּא
תְּמֻצָּא	תַּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצֵּא
תְּמֻצָּאִי	תַּמְצִיאִי	תִּמְצְאִי	[תִּתְמַצְּאִי
אֲמֻצָּא	אַמְצִיא	אֶמְצָא	אֶתְמַצֵּא]
יְמֻצְאוּ	יַמְצִיאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ	יִתְמַצְּאוּ
*תְּמֻצֶּאנָה	*תַּמְצֵאנָה	*תִּמְצֶאנָה	[תִּתְמַצֶּאנָה
תְּמֻצָּאנָה	תַּמְצֵאנָה	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּתְמַצְּאוּ
תְּמֻצֶּאנָה	תַּמְצֵאנָה	תִּמְצֶאנָה	[תִּתְמַצֶּאנָה
נְמֻצָּא]	נַמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	נִתְמַצֵּא]
	יַמְצֵא		
	יַמְצִיאֵנִי		
	מַמְצִיא		מִתְמַצֵּא
מְמֻצָּא		מִמְצָא	

P. Weak

		Qal.	*Niph'al.*	*Pi'ēl.*
Perf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*גָּלָה	*נִגְלָה	*גִּלָּה
	3. *f.*	*גָּלְתָה	*נִגְלְתָה	*גִּלְּתָה
	2. *m.*	*גָּלִיתָ	*נִגְלֵיתָ, ־יתָ	*גִּלִּיתָ
	2. *f.*	גָּלִית	נִגְלֵית	גִּלִּית
	1. *c.*	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלֵיתִי	גִּלִּיתִי, גִּלֵּיתִי
Plur.	3. *c.*	*גָּלוּ	נִגְלוּ	גִּלּוּ
	2. *m.*	גְּלִיתֶם	[נִגְלֵיתֶם]	גִּלִּיתֶם
	2. *f.*	גְּלִיתֶן	[נִגְלֵיתֶן]	[גִּלִּיתֶן]
	1. *c.*	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גִּלִּינוּ
Inf.		*גְּלוֹת	*הִגָּלוֹת	*גַּלּוֹת
Inf. absol.		גָּלֹה	נִגְלֹה, הִגָּלֵה	גַּלֵּה, גַּלֵּה
Imp. Sing.	*m.*	*גְּלֵה	*הִגָּלֵה	*גַּלֵּה, גַּל
	f.	*גְּלִי	*הִגָּלִי	*גַּלִּי
Plur.	*m.*	גְּלוּ	הִגָּלוּ	גַּלּוּ
	f.	*גְּלֶינָה	[הִגָּלֶינָה]	[גַּלֶּינָה]
Impf. Sing.	3. *m.*	*יִגְלֶה	*יִגָּלֶה	*יְגַלֶּה
	3. *f.*	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגָּלֶה	תְּגַלֶּה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגָּלֶה	תְּגַלֶּה
	2. *f.*	*תִּגְלִי	[תִּגָּלִי]	*תְּגַלִּי
	1. *c.*	אֶגְלֶה	אֶגָּלֶה, אִגָּ֫	אֲגַלֶּה
Plur.	3. *m.*	יִגְלוּ	יִגָּלוּ	יְגַלּוּ
	3. *f.*	*תִּגְלֶינָה	*תִּגָּלֶינָה	*תְּגַלֶּינָה
	2. *m.*	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגָּלוּ	תְּגַלּוּ
	2. *f.*	תִּגְלֶינָה	תִּגָּלֶינָה	תְּגַלֶּינָה
	1. *c.*	נִגְלֶה	[נִגָּלֶה]	נְגַלֶּה
Shortened Impf.		*יִגֶל	*יִגָּל	*יְגַל
Impf. with Suff.		יִגְלְךָ, *יִגְלֶנִּי		יְגַלְּךָ, *יְגַלֵּנִי
Part. act.		*גֹּלֶה	*נִגְלֶה	*מְגַלֶּה
pass.		*גָּלוּי		

Verbs, ל״ה.

Pu'al.	*Hiph'il.*	*Hoph'al.*	*Hithpa'ēl.*
*גֻּלָּה	*הִגְלָה	*הָגְלָה	*הִתְגַּלָּה
*גֻּלֵּתָה	*הִגְלֵתָה	*הָגְלֵתָה	[הִתְגַּלְּתָה]
*גֻּלֵּיתָ	*הִגְלֵיתָ, ־ֶ־ית	*הָגְלֵיתָ	*הִתְגַּלֵּיתָ
[גֻּלֵּית]	הִגְלֵית, ־ִ־ית	[הָגְלֵית]	[הִתְגַּלֵּית]
גֻּלֵּיתִי	הִגְלֵיתִי, ־ִ־יתִי	הָגְלֵיתִי	הִתְגַּלֵּיתִי
גֻּלָּה	הִגְלָה	הָגְלָה	הִתְגַּלָּה
[גֻּלִּיתֶם]	הִגְלֵיתֶם, ־ֶ־יתֶם	[הָגְלֵיתֶם]	הִתְגַּלִּיתֶם
גֻּלֵּיתֶן	[הִגְלֵיתֶן]	הָגְלֵיתֶן	[הִתְגַּלִּיתֶן]
[גֻּלֵּינוּ]	הִגְלֵינוּ	[הָגְלֵינוּ]	הִתְגַּלִּינוּ
*גֻּלּוֹת	*הַגְלוֹת		*הִתְגַּלּוֹת
	הַגְלֵה	*הָגְלֵה	
	*הַגְלֵה		[הִתְגַּלֵּה] הִתְגַּל
	*הַגְלִי		הִתְגַּלִּי
wanting.	הַגְלוּ	wanting.	הִתְגַּלּוּ
	[הַגְלֶינָה]		[הִתְגַּלֶּינָה]
*גֻּלָּה	*גַּלָּה	*[גָּלָה	*יִתְגַּלֶּה
תְּגֻלֶּה	תְּגַלֶּה	תָּגְלֶה	[תִּתְגַּלֶּה]
תְּגֻלֶּה	תְּגַלֶּה	תָּגְלֶה	תִּתְגַּלֶּה
[תְּגֻלִּי]	*תְּגַלִּי	*תָּגְלִי	*תִּתְגַּלִּי
אֲגֻלֶּה	אֲגַלֶּה	*אָגְלֶה	אֶתְגַּלֶּה
יְגֻלּוּ	יְגַלּוּ	יָגְלוּ	יִתְגַּלּוּ
*[תְּגֻלֶּינָה	*תְּגַלֶּינָה	*תָּגְלֶינָה	[תִּתְגַּלֶּינָה]
תְּגֻלּוּ	תְּגַלּוּ	תָּגְלוּ	תִּתְגַּלּוּ
תְּגֻלֶּינָה	תְּגַלֶּינָה	תָּגְלֶינָה	[תִּתְגַּלֶּינָה]
נְגֻלֶּה]	נְגַלֶּה	[נָגְלֶה]	נִתְגַּלֶּה
	*גָּלֵל		*יִתְגַּל
	יְגַלְּךָ, *יְגַלֶּכְנִי		
	*מַגְלֶה		*מִתְגַּלֶּה
*מְגֻלֶּה		*מָגְלֶה	

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37, 2 . . . . . 126 *z*
3 . . 112 *h*, 133 *b*
4 . . . . . 115 *c*
7 . . . 47 *l*, 116 *o*
8 . . 113 *q*, 150 *h*
15 . . . 107 *f*, 116 *s*
16 . . p. 481, N. 1
17 . . . . . 117 *f*
18 . . . . . 117 *w*
19 . . . . . 128 *u*
21 . . . . . 117 *ll*
23 . . . . 117 *cc*
29 . . . . . 152 *l*
30 . . 116 *p*, 143 *a*
33 . . . 60 *d*, 103 *w*
35 . . . . . 118 *n*
38, 5 . . . . 112 *uu*
9 . 13 *c*, 66 *i*, 159 *o*
11 . . 118 *g*, 152 *w*
17 . . . . 159 *dd*
21 . . . . . 126 *y*
24 . 20 *m*, 97 *c*, 116 *s*, 119 *y*, N. 1
25 . 32 *l*, 74 *i*, 116 *v*, 142 *e*
26 . . . 133 *b*, N. 3
28 . . . . . 144 *d*
29 . . . 20 *d*, 164 *g*
39, 1 . . . . . 142 *b*
4 . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*
5 . . . . . 145 *q*
6 . . . . . 128 *x*
8 . . . . . 137 *c*
9 . . 107 *t*, 112 *p*
10 . . . . . 123 *c*
11 . . . 35 *n*, 126 *s*
14 . . 2 *b*, 29 *g*, 64 *g*
16 . . . . . 72 *ee*
18 . . . . . 114 *r*
20 . . . . . 130 *c*
22 . . . . . 116 *s*
23 . . . 116 *o*, 152 *l*
40, 4 . . . . . 139 *h*
5 . . . . . 129 *h*
7 . . . 84 b *f*, 87 *t*

Genesis
40, 8 . . . . . 152 *o*
9 . . . 91 *e*, 143 *d*
10 . . . . . 164 *g*
13 . . . . . 72 *w*
14 . 105 *b*, N. 2, 106 *n*, N. 2, 163 *d*
15 . . . . . 2 *b*
16 . . . . . 135 *f*
20 . 69 *w*, 71, 121 *b*
22 . . . . . 144 *n*
41, 1 . 116 *s*, 119 *cc*, 131 *d*
6 . . . . . 116 *l*
8 . . . 64 *b*, 122 *i*
11 . . . . . 49 *e*
12 . . . . . 139 *c*
15 . . . 152 *o*, 157 *a*
21 . . . 91 *f*, 93 *ss*
25 . . . . . 116 *d*
26 . . 126 *x*, 141 *h*
28 . . . . . 53 *p*
29 . . . . . 156 *c*
30 . . . . . 112 *x*
33 . . . 75 *p*, 75 *hh*
39 . . . . . 115 *a*
40 . . . . . 118 *h*
42 . . . . . 117 *cc*
43 . 85 *h*, 113 *z*, 129 *h*
49 . . . . . 75 *ff*
51 . . . . . 52 *m*
57 . . . . . 145 *e*
42, 1 . . . . . 54 *f*
2 . . . . . 109 *g*
4 . . . . . 75 *rr*
6 . . . . . 126 *k*
7 . . . . . 122 *q*
9 . . . . . 114 *g*
10 . . . . . 163 *a*
11 . . . 32 *d*, 91 *f*
13 . 133 *g*, 141 *b*, 152 *m*
16 . . . . . 110 *c*
18 . . . . . 110 *f*
19 . . . . . 134 *d*
25 . 93 *m*, 116 *u*, 120 *f*, 124 *l*, 139 *c*
28 . . . . 119 *gg*
30 . . . 124 *i*, 126 *p*
33 . . . . . 134 *d*
35 . . . 111 *g*, 139 *c*
36 . . . 91 *f*, 135 *p*
37 . . . . . 159 *r*
43, 3 . . . 113 *n*, 163 *c*
5 . . . 116 *q*, 159 *v*
6 . . . 150 *i*, N. 3
7 . 107 *k*, 107 *l*, 113 *q*, 150 *d*
9 . . . . . 159 *o*
10 . . . . . 106 *p*
12 . 72 *bb*, 93 *pp*, 131 *c*
14 . . . 29 *u*, 106 *o*
15 . . . 20 *c*, 131 *q*

Genesis
43, 16 . . . . . 65 *b*
17 . . . . . 90 *c*
18 . . . . . 116 *d*
21 . . . . . 49 *e*
26 . . . . . 14 *d*
27 . . . 141 *c*, N. 4
28 . . . . . 67 *g*
29 . . . . . 67 *n*
33 . . . . 119 *gg*
34 . . 134 *r*, 144 *n*
44, 1 . . . 47 *m*, 138 *e*
2 . . . 135 *n*, N. 2
3 . . . 142 *e*, 144 *c*
4 . 138 *e*, 156 *f*, 164 *b*
5 . . . 119 *m*, N.
9 . . 112 *ii*, 138 *f*
12 . . . . . 156 *d*
16 . . . 20 *d*, 58 *k*
22 . . . . . 159 *g*
23 . . . . . 137 *b*
28 . . . . 113 *w*
29 . . . . 112 *kk*
33 . . . 69 *p*, 109 *b*
34 . . . . 152 *w*
45, 4 . . . . . 138 *d*
8 . . . . 119 *hh*
14 . . . . . 93 *pp*
23 . . . . . 102 *g*
46, 2 . . . . . 124 *e*
3 . . . . . 69 *m*
4 . . . . 113 *w*
22 . . . . . 121 *b*
27 . . . 121 *b*, 132 *g*
30 . . . . . 108 *b*
47, 3 . . . . . 145 *r*
6 . . . . . 120 *e*
9 . . . . . 128 *a*
11 . . . . . 69 *v*
17 . . . . . 93 *ss*
19 . . . . . 67 *p*
21 . 139 *e*, N. 3, 143 *c*
22 . . . . . 112 *l*
24 . . . . . 145 *u*
48, 1 . . . . . 144 *d*
2 . . . 144 *d*, N. 2
9 . 58 *g*, 60 *d*, 61 *g*
11 . . . 75 *n*, 115 *b*
14 . . 141 *e*, 156 *d*
22 . 96, 106 *m*, 130 *g*
49, 1 . . . . . 75 *rr*
3 . . . . . 29 *u*
4 . 53 *n*, 124 *b*, 144 *p*, 147 *c*
8 . . . . . 135 *e*
10 . . . . . 20 *h*
11 . 7 *c*, 52 *l*, 90 *l*, 91 *e*, 93 *v*, 96, 106 *k*, 116 *x*, 118 *p*
12 . . . 90 *l*, 93 *dd*
13 . . . . . 95 *i*

Genesis
49, 15 . . . 117 *b*, N. 2
17 . . . 20 *h*, 109 *k*
18 . . . . . 106 *g*
21 . . . . . 126 *b*
22 . 44 *m*, 80 *g*, 96, 145 *k*
23 . . . . . 67 *m*
25 . . 117 *ff*, 119 *c*
27 . 29 *l*, 29 *u*, 107 *g*, 155 *f*
30 . . . 138 *b*, N. 3
50, 13 . . . 138 *b*, N. 3
15 . . 117 *ff*, 159 *y*
18 . . . . . 58 *k*
20 . . . . . 75 *n*
25 . . . . . 116 *v*
26 . 73 *f*, 144 *d*, N. 2

Exodus
1, 1 . . . 49 *b*, N. 2
7 . 117 *z*, 121 *d*, 133 *k*
10 . 47 *k*, 75 *rr*, 112 *y*
12 . . . . . 107 *e*
14 . . . . . 119 *o*
16 . 67 *k*, 72 *w*, 76 *i*
18 . . . . . 47 *e*
19 . . . . 112 *oo*
20 . . . . . 145 *g*
21 . . . . . 135 *o*
22 . . . . . 127 *b*
2, 1 . . . . . 117 *d*
2 . . . . . 117 *k*
3 . 20 *h*, 58 *g*, 126 *m*
4 . . . . 69 *m*, 71
6 . . . . 131 *m*
9 . 69 *x*, 70 *e*, 135 *m*
10 . . . . . 111 *d*
16 . . . . . 75 *w*
17 . 60 *d*, 60 *h*, 135 *o*
20 . . . 46 *f*, 154 *b*
3, 2 . . . 52 *s*, 126 *r*
3 . . 108 *b*, 126 *v*
8 . . . . . 128 *x*
9 . . . . . 117 *r*
10 . . . . . 110 *i*
11 . . . . . 107 *u*
13 . . . . . 112 *t*
15 . . . . . 133 *l*
18 . . . 49 *l*, 118 *p*
19 . 69 *x*, 157 *b*, N. 1
20 . . . . . 63 *m*
22 . . . . . 139 *b*
4, 1 . . . . . 107 *i*
2 . . . . . 37 *c*
4 . . . 29 *g*, 64 *c*
10 . 61 *c*, 128 *t*, 152 *d*
12 . . . . . 75 *ee*
13 . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*
14 . . . . . 159 *g*
21 . . 112 *mm*, 143 *d*

Exodus

5, 5 . . . . . 112 *cc*
7 . . . . . 68 *h*
10 . . . . . 152 *m*
11 . . . . . 138 *e*
16 . 74 *g*, 116 *t*, 152 *o*
18 . . . . . 163 *a*
19 . . 57, N. 2, 135 *k*
21 . . . 66 *i*, 102 *f*
23 . . . . . 113 *v*
6, 3 . 119 *i*, 144 *l*, N. 3
6 . . . . . 112 *x*
10 . . . p. 70, N. 1
14 . . . . . 124 *r*
28 . . . 52 *o*, 130 *d*
7, 9 . . . 109 *h*, 159 *d*
11 . . . . . 131 *l*
20 . . . . . 119 *q*
27 . . . . . 52 *s*
8, 1 . . . 20 *m*, 75 *gg*
4 . . . . . 63 *o*
10 . . . . . 123 *e*
17 . . . . . 117 *z*
22 . . 150 *a*, 159 *w*
9, 4 . . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*
9 . . . . . 117 *z*
15 . . . . . 106 *p*
16 . . . . . 115 *e*
18 . . . 91 *e*, 127 *f*
23 . . . 63 *n*, 69 *x*
27 . . . . . 126 *k*
31 . . . . . 141 *d*
10, 1 . . . . . 126 *y*
3 . . . 51 *l*, 106 *h*
4 . . . . . 65 *e*
6 . . . . . 161 *b*
7 . . . . . 152 *r*
8 . . . . . 137 *a*
9 . . . . . 91 *k*
10 . . . . 154 *a*, N.
11 . . . . . 135 *p*
22 . . . . . 133 *i*
11, 6 . . . . . 135 *o*
8 . . . . . 9 *v*
12, 4 . . . 133 *c*, 139 *c*
5 . . . . . 128 *v*
6 . . . . . 88 *c*
8 . . . 154 *a*, N.
12 . . . . . 124 *g*
13 . . . . . 159 *g*
14 . . . . . 67 *n*
15 . 20 *g*, 116 *w*, 126 *w*
16 . . . 146 *c*, 152 *b*
18 . . . . . 134 *o*
21 . . . . . 46 *d*
23 . . . 126 *l*, N. 1
27 . . . . . 61 *a*
31 . . . . . 20 *g*
34 . . . . . 107 *c*
39 . . . . . 117 *ii*
43 . . . . . 119 *m*

Exodus

12, 48 . . . . . 113 *gg*
49 . . . . . 145 *u*
13, 2 . . . . . 52 *n*
3 . . . . . 113 *bb*
7 . . . 118 *k*, 121 *b*
8 . . . . . 138 *h*
18 . . . . . 67 *y*
21 . . . . . 53 *q*
14, 11 . . . 61 *c*, 152 *y*
20 . . . 139 *e*, N. 3
15, 1 . 2 *s*, 20 *e*, 91 *l*, 107 *c*, 146 *f*
2 . 58 *k*, 80 *g*, 117 *b*
4 . . . 47 *m*, 128 *r*
5 . . . 58 *g*, 75 *dd*
7 . . . . . 116 *i*
8 . . . . . 15 *c*
9 . 117 *z*, 120 *g*, N. 2, 154 *a*, N.
10 . . . . . 35 *g*
11 . . . 20 *e*, 20 *g*
12 . . . . . 107 *d*
13 . 20 *e*, 64 *d*, 138 *g*
15 . . . . . 107 *c*
16 . 20 *e*, 67 *g*, 90 *g*, 132 *c*, 138 *g*, 164 *f*
17 . . . 20 *h*, 155 *h*
20 . . . 47 *e*, 146 *c*
21 . . . . . 20 *e*
24 . . . . . 20 *c*
26 . . . . . 113 *o*
16, 2 . . . 51 *g*, 72 *ee*
6 . . . . . 112 *oo*
7 . 32 *d*, 72 *ee*, 141 *l*, N. 2
8 . . . . . 72 *ee*
12 . . . . . 88 *c*
14 . . . . . 55 *k*
16 . . . . . 118 *h*
20 . 27 *o*, 67 *n*, 121 *d*, N. 3, 139 *h*, N. 2
21 . . . 123 *c*, 159 *g*
22 . . . . . 134 *e*
23 . . . 63 *i*, 76 *d*
29 . . 9 *l*, 69 *p*, 139 *d*
32 . . . . . 117 *cc*
33 . . . 20 *l*, 125 *b*
17, 1 . . . . . 115 *f*
3 . . . 72 *ee*, 117 *e*
4 96
6 . . . . . 49 *k*
7 . . . . . 152 *k*
12 . . . 141 *d*, 145 *n*
14 . . . . . 126 *s*
18, 4 . . . . . 119 *i*
5 . . . . . 118 *g*
9 . . . . . 75 *r*
14 . . . . . 102 *b*
18 . . . 75 *n*, 133 *c*
20 . . . 155 *d*, 155 *i*

Exodus

18, 21 . . . . . 97 *h*
22 . . . . . 127 *b*
23 . . . . . 49 *i*
26 . . . 47 *g*, 112 *g*
19, 1 . . . . . 102 *f*
3 . . . . . 53 *n*
5 . 113 *o*, 134 *o*, N. 1
8 . . . . . 135 *r*
13 . . . . . 69 *t*
18 . . . . . 93 *dd*
19 . . . . . 113 *u*
23 . . . 72 *w*, 72 *x*
20, 2 . . . 15 *p*, 138 *d*
3 . . . 107 *o*, 132 *h*
5 . . . 60 *b*, 129 *e*
8 . . . . 113 *bb*
9 . . . . . 118 *k*
15 . . . . . 107 *o*
18 . . . . . 116 *o*
20 . . 135 *m*, 152 *x*
25 . . . 72 *k*, 117 *kk*
21, 2 . . . . . 159 *bb*
4 . . . 145 *h*, 146 *e*
5 . . . . . 113 *o*
8 . 61 *b*, 75 *ee*, 103 *g*
10 . . . . . 126 *r*
12 . 104 *g*, 112 *n*, 116 *w*
13 . . . . . 112 *ii*
18 . . . . . 47 *m*
28 . . . 117 *d*, 121 *b*
29 . . . . . 124 *i*
31 . . . . . 29 *i*, N.
35 . . . . 135 *m*
36 . . . . . 159 *cc*
37 . . . 47 *f*, 123 *a*
22, 1 . . . . . 124 *n*
3 . . . 51 *k*, 113 *o*
4 . . . . . 53 *n*
5 . . . . . 117 *q*
8 . . . . . 138 *e*
11 . . . . . 113 *o*
17 . . . . . 94 *d*
22 . 113 *m*, 163 *c*, N.
25 . . . . . 135 *o*
29 . . . . . 60 *d*
30 . . . . . 131 *b*
23, 4 . . . . . 21 *h*
5 . . . . . 63 *m*
8 . . . . . 107 *g*
9 . . . . . 158 *a*
16 . . . . . 61 *a*
21 . . . 51 *n*, 67 *y*
22 . . . . . 113 *o*
24 . . . . . 60 *b*
26 . . . . . 94 *g*
27 . . . p. 390, N. 1
28 . . . . . 126 *t*
30 . . . 123 *e*, 133 *k*
31 . . . . . 58 *g*
24, 3 . . . . . 118 *q*

Exodus

24, 4 . . . . . 134*f*
10 . . . . . 139*g*
12 . . . . 154*a*, N.
25, 5 . . . . . 52*q*
15 . . . 135*o*, N. 2
29 . . 20*f*, 117*hh*
31 . . . . . 63*h*
33 . . . . . 123*d*
35 . . . . . 123*d*
40 . . . . . 121*c*
26, 3 . . . 123*d*, 139*e*
17 . . . . . 52*s*
19 . . . . . 123*d*
33 . 49*h*, 53*r*, 133*i*
27, 11 . . . . . 134*n*
28, 9 . . . . . 117*d*
10 . . . 134*c*, N. 1
17 . . . . . 131*d*
20 . . . . . 117*y*
21 . . . . . 139*c*
32 . . . . . 165*a*
29, 1 . . . . . 66*g*
12 . . . . . 119*w*
31 . . . . . 128*p*
35 . . . . . 103*b*
30, 20 . . . 117*y*, N.
32 . . . . . 73*f*
31, 4 . . . . . 63*i*
13 . . . . . 60*f*
17 . . . . . 51*m*
32, 1 . . 126*aa*, 137*c*
3 . . . . . 54*f*
4 . . . . . 145*i*
6 . . . 52*n*, 113*e*
12 . . . . . 150*e*
20 . . . . . 108*h*
25 . 5*n*, 58*g*, 116*i*
29 . . . . . 114*p*
32 . . 159*dd*, 167*a*
34 . . . . 112*oo*
33, 3 . . . . . 27*q*
6 . . . . . 117*w*
7 . 107*e*, 112*e*, 113*h*
10 . . . . 112*kk*
11 . . . . . 156*c*
12 . . . . . 75*gg*
13 . . . 69*b*, 91*k*
14 . . . . . 150*a*
19 . . . . . 67*ee*
20 . . 60*d*, 159*gg*
23 . . . . . 124*b*
34, 1 . . . . . 124*q*
10 . . . . . 122*q*
19 . . . . . 51*g*
24 . . . . . 51*l*
34 . . . . . 159*k*
36, 1 . . . . . 103*g*
32 . . . . . 152*d*
38, 3 . . . . 117*hh*
5 . . . . . 95*n*

Exodus

39, 18 . . . . . 60*h*
23 . . . . . 165*a*

Leviticus

1, 1 . . . 49*b*, N. 2
17 . . . . . 156*f*
2, 1 . . . 139*d*, 145*t*
8 . . . 144*p*, N. 2
4, 2 . 119*w*, N. 2, 139*d*
23 . . . . . 69*w*
5, 9 . . . . . 75*hh*
13 . . . 119*w*, N. 2
6, 2 . . . . . 91*e*
3 . . . . . 128*d*
7 . . . . 113*gg*
8 . 118*g*, 135*o*, N. 2
9 . . . . . 118*k*
7, 8 . . . . . 117*d*
35 . . . 53*l*, 155*l*
8, 11 . . . . . 76*c*
16 . . . . . 91*c*
9, 6 . . . 107*q*, 120*c*
10, 10 . . . . . 114*p*
19 . . 75*rr*, 100*k*
11, 7 . . . . . 67*g*
23 . . . . . 88*f*
35 . . . . . 53*u*
42 . . . . . 5*n*
43 . . . . . 74*k*
44 . . . . . 54*k*
13, 4 . . . . . 91*d*
19 . . . . . 131*i*
34 . . . . . 127*e*
14, 36 . . . . . 101*a*
43 . . . . . 53*l*
46 . . . . . 53*l*
55 . . . . . 54*h*
15, 29 . . . . . 53*r*
16, 8 . . . . . 30*n*
17, 14 . . . . . 145*l*
18, 7 . . . . . 75*hh*
21 . . . . 95*q*, N.
25 . . . . . 76*h*
28 . . . . . 116*s*
19, 9 . 61*d*, 142*f*, N. 2
16 . . . . . 118*q*
28 . . . . . 102*c*
20, 7 . . . . . 54*k*
10 . . . . . 117*d*
14 . . . . . 117*d*
19 . . . . . 75*hh*
21, 4 . . . . . 67*t*
7 . . . . . 126*t*
9 . . . . . 67*t*
21 . . . 142*f*, N. 2
23, 17 . . . . . 14*d*
22 . . . . . 61*d*
39 . . . . . 61*a*
24, 22 . . . . . 134*d*
25, 5 . . . . . 20*h*

Leviticus

25, 10 . . . 134*o*, N. 2
21 . . . 49*l*, 75*m*
33 . . . 145*u*, N. 2
36 . . . . . 76*i*
26, 15 . . . . . 67*dd*
18 . . . . . 52*p*
33 . . . . . 52*n*
34 . . . 67*y*, 75*m*
37 . . . 118*s*, N. 1
42 . . . . . 128*d*
43 . . . . . 67*y*
27, 3 . . . . . 128*d*
23 . . . . . 127*i*

Numbers

1, 1 . . . 49*b*, N. 2
2 . . . . . 124*r*
16 . . . . . 138*e*
47 . . . . . 54*l*
2, 33 . . . . . 54*l*
3, 1 . . . . . 52*o*
9 . . . . . 123*e*
26 . . . . . 117*l*
46 . . 117*m*, 134*k*
49 . . . . . 85*t*
4, 17 . . . . . 152*n*
23 . . . . . 45*g*
5, 2 . . . . . 102*i*
3 . . . . . 119*e*
10 . . 117*m*, 139*c*
17 . . . . 128*p*
19 . . . . . 110*i*
20 . . . . . 167*a*
22 . . . 53*q*, 66*f*
27 . . . . . 112*y*
6, 7 . . . . 74*b*, 96
9 . 133*k*, N. 2, 144*e*
26 . . . . . 109*b*
7, 2 . . . . . 5*n*
12 . . . . . 123*d*
8, 7 . . . 27*q*, 64*d*
24 . . . . . 45*g*
9, 20 . . . . . 131*e*
10, 3 . . . . . 145*c*
4 . . . 134*r*, N. 1
29 . . . . . 138*b*
35 . . . . . 5*n*
36 . . . . . 118*e*
11, 4 . 35*d*, 151*a*, N. 1
5 . . . . . 106*g*
7 . . . . . 93*h*
10 . . . . . 117*h*
11 . . . . . 74*k*
12 . . 69*s*, 122*f*, N.
15 . . . . . 32*g*
16 . . . . . 48*i*
17 . . . . 119*m*
20 . . . . . 80*h*
25 . 23*d*, 68*f*, 72*q*, 120*d*, N. 2, 126*x*

Numbers

11, 27 . . . . . 126 *r*
29 . . . . . 154 *b*
12, 1 . . . . . 146 *g*
2 . . . 133 *k*, N. 2
4 . . . . . 97 *i*
6 . . . . . 128 *d*
13 . . . 105 *b*, N. 2
14 . . . . . 154 *b*
13, 27 . . . . . 118 *e*
32 . . . . . 72 *l*
14, 2 . . 106 *p*, 151 *e*
16 . . . 69 *n*, 114 *s*
17 . . . . . 5 *n*
21 . . . . . 167 *b*
24 . . . . . 119 *gg*
27 . . . . . 72 *ee*
31 . . . . . 76 *h*
33 . . . . . 91 *l*
34 . . . . . 123 *d*
35 . . . . . 67 *g*
40 . . . . . 58 *k*
41 . . . . . 135 *p*
15, 15 . . . . . 161 *c*
24 . . . . 119 *w*
29 . . . . . 143 *c*
31 . . . . . 51 *k*
16, 13 . . . . . 54 *e*
15 . . . . . 117 *d*
22 . . 100 *m*, 150 *m*
29 . 159 *c*, N., 159 *q*
17, 6 . . . . . 72 *w*
10 . . . 67 *t*, 72 *dd*
17 . . . . . 139 *c*
20 . . . . . 72 *ee*
25 . . . . . 128 *v*
27 . . . . . 106 *n*
28 . 67 *e*, 67 *dd*, 150 *g*, N. 1
18, 18 . . . . . 143 *e*
19, 12 . . . . . 74 *b*
20, 3 . . . 65 *a*, 154 *b*
5 . . 59 *a*, 152 *a*, N.
18 . . . . 152 *w*
21, 1 . . . . . 75 *q*
5 . . . . . 59 *a*
14 . . . . . 127 *f*
17 . . . . . 63 *l*
20 . . . . 112 *ss*
23 . . . 157 *b*, N. 1
27 . . . 54 *c*, 75 *hh*
30 . . . . . 76 *f*
35 . . . . . 164 *d*
22, 1 . . . . . 125 *h*
6 . 20 *d*, 53 *u*, 67 *o*, 120 *c*, 138 *e*
13 . . . 69 *x*, 115 *c*
17 . . . . . 67 *o*
21 . . . . . 103 *c*
23 . . . . . 117 *e*
29 . . . 151 *e*, N. 2

Numbers

22, 33 . . . . . 103 *b*
23, 3 . . . 130 *c*, 137 *c*
7 . 64 *c*, 67 *o*, 93 *aa*
8 . . . . . 58 *g*
13 . 20 *o*, 48 *i*, 67 *o*, 69 *x*, 152 *b*
15 . . . . . 51 *p*
18 . . . . 90 *n*, 96
19 . 27 *q*, 64 *d*, 109 *i*, 166 *a*
20 . . . . . 159 *g*
24 . . . . . 124 *n*
25 . . . 10 *h*, 67 *g*
24, 1 . . . . . 123 *c*
3 . . . . 90 *n*, 96
4 . . . . . 116 *k*
5 . . . . . 148 *b*
6 . . . . . 75 *x*
7 . . . 54 *c*, 93 *z*
10 . . . . . 113 *r*
17 . . . . . 55 *f*
22 . . . . . 29 *f*
24 . . . . . 93 *y*
25, 12 . 5 *n*, 131 *r*, N. 1
26, 62 . . . . . 54 *l*
27, 7 . . . . . 135 *o*
31, 28 . . . . . 134 *d*
32, 6 . . . . . 150 *m*
14 . . . . . 69 *h*
17 . . . . . 72 *p*
20 . 159 *e*, N., 159 *q*
30 . . . . . 68 *i*
32 . . . . . 32 *d*
42 . . . . . 103 *g*
34, 2 . . . . . 131 *f*
7 . . . 75 *bb*, N.
14 . . . . . 23 *c*

Deuteronomy

1, 1 . . . . . 101 *a*
2 . . 118 *g*, 134 *f*
3 . . . 53 *q*, 134 *o*
5 . . 120 *g*, 120 *h*
7 . . . . . 119 *s*
13 . . . . . 119 *s*
16 . . . 75 *t*, 112 *u*
17 . 47 *m*, 53 *r*, 133 *c*
18 . . . . 117 *gg*
19 . . 118 *h*, 126 *v*
21 . . . . . 69 *f*
23 . . . . . 134 *f*
27 . . 115 *c*, 115 *f*
28 . . . . . 124 *q*
34 . . . 65 *e*, 149 *b*
41 . . . . . 135 *n*
44 . 67 *g*, 67 *y*, 107 *g*
46 . . . . . 138 *d*
2, 9 . . . 75 *bb*, 118 *q*
13 . . . . . 119 *s*
14 . . . . . 134 *h*

Deuteronomy

2, 23 . . . . . 126 *w*
24 . 20 *g*, 75 *cc*, 110 *h*, 120 *g*
27 . 108 *c*, 123 *e*, 133 *k*, 156 *d*
28 . . . . . 49 *m*
31 . . . . . 67 *w*
34 . . . . . 69 *f*
3, 3 . . . 72 *o*, 164 *d*
5 . . . . . 128 *c*
11 . . . . . 100 *i*
13 . . . . 125 *d*, N.
21 . . . . . 126 *k*
4, 1 . . . 44 *d*, 69 *s*
8 . . . . . 128 *p*
10 . . . 115 *d*, 165 *b*
15 . . . . . 52 *o*
20 . . . . . 74 *l*
21 . . . . . 54 *k*
26 . . . . . 51 *k*
39 . . . . . 72 *w*
41 . . . . . 90 *c*
5, 3 . . . . . 135 *g*
6 . . . 15 *p*, 138 *d*
9 . . . . . 60 *b*
12 . . . . 113 *bb*
19 . . . 120 *d*, N. 2
23 . . . 126 *s*, 132 *h*
24 . . . . . 32 *g*
26 . . . . . 151 *c*
6, 3 . . . 118 *g*, 165 *b*
7 . . . . . 119 *l*
11 96
7, 5 . . . . . 52 *n*
15 . . . . . 60 *d*
16 . . . 72 *r*, 109 *d*
24 . . . . . 53 *l*
8, 3 . . . . . 44 *e*
15 . . . . . 127 *i*
16 . . . . . 44 *e*
19 . . . . . 106 *i*
9, 8 . . . . . 54 *k*
10, 5 . . . . . 29 *g*
17 . . . 126 *v*, 133 *i*
19 . . . . 112 *aa*
11, 2 . . . . . 117 *l*
16 . . . . . 49 *m*
12, 3 . . . . . 52 *n*
13, 1 . . . . . 109 *d*
3 . . . . . 60 *b*
9 . . . . . 109 *d*
14, 17 . . . . . 80 *k*
15, 2 . . . . . 113 *gg*
7 . 119 *w*, N. 2, 139 *d*
14 . . . . . 93 *k*
16, 6 . . . . . 119 *g*
13 . . . . . 93 *m*
20 . . . . . 133 *h*
17, 2 . . . . . 167 *b*
5 . . . . . 124 *o*

Deuteronomy

17, 6 . . . . . 144 *e*
8 . . . . . 102 *h*
14 . . . 44 *d*, 49 *m*
17 . . . . . 109 *g*
18, 1 . . . 68 *c*, 131 *h*
13 . . . . . 75 *u*
16 . . . . . 109 *d*
20, 2 . . . . . 61 *d*
8 . . . . . 121 *b*
14 . . . . . 128 *h*
21, 3 . . . . . 145 *q*
7 . . . . . 44 *m*
8 . . . . . 55 *k*
9 . . . . . 117 *d*
10 . . . . . 135 *p*
11 . . . 49 *m*, 96
13 . . . . . 101 *a*
22, 1 . . . . . 159 *gg*
9 . . . . . 17 *c*
19 . . . 109 *d*, 127 *e*
23 . . . . . 131 *b*
23, 5 . . . 130 *c*, N. 2
11 . . . . . 20 *h*
15 . . 93 *ss*, 128 *p*
25 96
24, 1 . . . . . 167 *b*
4 . . . . . 54 *h*
8 . . . . . 51 *n*
10 . . . . . 23 *d*
13 . . . . . 58 *i*
23 . . . . . 115 *k*
25, 2 . . . 96, 128 *v*
12 . . . . . 67 *ee*
13 . . . . . 123 *f*
26, 5 . . . . . 119 *i*
12 . . . . . 53 *k*
27, 6 . . . . . 117 *hh*
9 . . . . . 16 *b*
28, 24 . . . . . 58 *f*
36 . . . . . 131 *d*
43 . . . . . 133 *k*
48 . . . . . 53 *l*
49 . . . . . 155 *d*
52 . . . . . 67 *v*
56 . 113 *d*, 142 *f*, N. 2
57 . . . . . 74 *i*
59 . . . . . 91 *n*
62 . . . . . 119 *i*
66 . . . . . 75 *rr*
67 . . . . . 151 *b*
29, 15 . . . . . 157 *c*
18 . . . . 69 *h*, N.
21 . . . . . 167 *b*
28 . . . . . 5 *n*
30, 4 . . . . . 92 *b*
31, 12 . . . . . 120 *e*
16 . . . . . 93 *gg*
29 . . . . . 74 *g*
32, 1 . . 2 *s*, 91 *l*, 117 *b*
3 . . . . . 69 *o*

Deuteronomy

32, 4 . . . . . 126 *c*
5 . . . 13 *c*, 152 *e*
6 . 20 *g*, 75 *ll*, 100 *i*, 152 *a*, N.
7 . 60 *f*, 87 *n*, 123 *c*
8 . 53 *k*, 67 *g*, 109 *k*
10 . . . 58 *i*, 58 *k*
11 . . . 52 *n*, 155 *g*
15 . . . 20 *g*, 144 *p*
17 . 144 *p*, 152 *a*, N., 155 *e*, 155 *f*, 155 *h*
18 . . . 75 *s*, 109 *k*
20 . . . 108 *a*, 167 *b*
21 . . . 152 *a*, N.
22 . . . . . 69 *f*
23 . . . . . 69 *f*
24 . . 116 *h*, 116 *l*
26 . 58 *a*, N. 3, 75 *mm*
27 . . . . . 159 *y*
28 . . . 50 *e*, 93 *qq*
29 . . . . . 159 *x*
30 . . . . . 134 *s*
31 . . . 156 *b*, N. 2
32 . . . . . 20 *h*
35 . 52 *o*, 145 *o*, 155 *l*
36 . 29 *v*, 44 *f*, 152 *s*
37 . . . 29 *t*, 75 *u*
39 . . . 141 *h*, N. 2
40 . . . 93 *aa*, N.
41 . . . . . 159 *n*
46 . . 117 *gg*, 165 *b*
50 . . . . . 110 *c*
33, 3 . . . . . 116 *s*
4 . . . . . 131 *s*
9 . 19 *c*, 117 *b*, N. 2
11 . 116 *i*, 117 *ll*, 165 *b*
12 . . . . . 44 *c*
16 . . . 48 *d*, 90 *l*
19 . . 130 *e*, 133 *h*
21 . . . 68 *h*, 76 *d*
23 . . . 48 *i*, 69 *f*
24 . . . . 119 *w*
26 . . . . . 91 *l*
27 . . . . . 131 *s*
34, 9 . . . . . 116 *f*

Joshua

1, 1 . . . 49 *b*, N. 2
2 . . . . . 131 *n*
5 . . . . . 106 *c*
7 . 107 *p*, 135 *o*, N. 2
8 . . . . . 91 *k*
12 . . . . . 125 *b*
2, 4 . . . 60 *d*, 135 *p*
5 . . . . . 114 *k*
6 . . . . . 59 *g*
10 . . . 117 *c*, 157 *c*
13 . . . . 63 *q*, 96
15 . . . . . 126 *r*
16 . 63 *c*, 72 *q*, 74 *k*

Joshua

2, 17 . 34 *a*, N. 2, 59 *h*
18 . . . . . 59 *h*
3, 5 . . . . . 54 *k*
7 . . . . . 115 *c*
9 . . . . . 66 *c*
11 . . . . . 128 *c*
12 . . . . . 134 *q*
14 . . . . . 127 *g*
16 . . . . . 120 *g*
4, 3 . . . . . 72 *z*
4 . . . . . 134 *k*
6 . . . . . 47 *m*
7 . . . . . 9 *v*
14 . . . . . 52 *l*
24 . . . . . 74 *g*
5, 2 . . . 120 *g*, 124 *q*
8 . . . . . 63 *q*
6, 13 . . . 112 *i*, 113 *t*
17 . . . . . 75 *oo*
7, 7 . 63 *p*, 120 *e*, 154 *a*, N.
9 . . . . . 75 *hh*
21 . . . 127 *g*, 134 *g*
25 . . . . . 117 *ee*
8, 11 . . . . . 127 *g*
28 . . . . . 20 *g*
33 . . . . . 127 *i*
9, 2 . . . . . 118 *q*
8 . . . . . 137 *a*
12 . 54 *f*, 72 *m*, 126 *aa*
20 . . . . 113 *dd*
24 . . . . . 75 *hh*
10, 13 . 107 *c*, 135 *p*, 150 *e*
17 . . . . . 93 *oo*
24 . . . 23 *i*, 138 *i*
36 . . . . . 90 *e*
11, 14 . . . . . 53 *l*
12, 9 . . . . . 2 *s*
13, 7 . . . . . 125 *d*
14 . . . 145 *u*, N. 2
14, 1 . . . . . 64 *d*
7 . . . . . 72 *aa*
8 . . . . . 75 *ii*
11 . . . . . 161 *c*
15, 3 . . . . 112 *ss*
5 . . . . . 90 *d*
12 . . . . . 90 *f*
14 . . . . . 134 *l*
18 . . . . . 16 *f*
19 . . 117 *x*, 117 *ff*
21 . . . . . 90 *e*
36 . . . . . 21 *e*
38 . . . 21 *e*, N. 2
16, 2 . . . . . 112 *ss*
17, 11 . . . 97 *c*, 117 *l*
18, 12 . . . 90 *i*, 112 *ss*
20 . . . . . 47 *f*
19, 11 . . . . . 112 *ss*
13 . . . . . 90 *i*
21, 11 . . . . . 91 *k*

Joshua

22, 9 . . . . . 68 *i*
17 . . . . 117 *aa*
20 . . . . 150 *m*
25 . . . 103 *o*, N. 1
23, 5 . . . . . 60 *a*
15 . . . . . 103 *b*
24, 14 . . . . . 75 *oo*
19 . . 124 *h*, 145 *i*

Judges

1, 1 . . . 49 *b*, N. 2
2 . . . . 106 *m*
3 . . . . 49 *h*
6 . . . . . 93 *r*
7 . 116 *k*, 121 *d*, 141 *i*, 156 *b*
12 . . . . 112 *ii*
15 . . . . . 59 *h*
19 . . . . . 114 *l*
22 . . . . . 145 *c*
28 . . . . . 113 *n*
2, 1 . . . . . 107 *b*
2 . . . . . 64 *i*
18 . . . . 112 *hh*
19 . . 112 *e*, 112 *ee*
3, 23 . . . . 112 *tt*
24 . . . . . 67 *v*
28 . . . . . 129 *e*
4, 7 . . . . . 136 *b*
8 . . . . . 49 *m*
18 . 72 *s*, 72 *t*, 126 *r*
19 . . . . . 74 *k*
20 . 58 *g*, 64 *f*, 110 *k*, 150 *n*, 152 *k*
21 . . . 72 *p*, 72 *t*
5, 1 . 2 *s*, 117 *b*, 146 *g*
4 . . . . . 117 *z*
5 . 67 *dd*, 136 *d*, N.
7 . . 20 *i*, 36, 44 *h*
8 . . . . . 149 *e*
10 . . . 87 *e*, 130 *a*
12 . . . 10 *g*, 72 *s*
13 . . . . . 69 *g*
14 . . . . . 93 *aa*
15 . 10 *g*, 87 *g*, 93 *bb*
17 . . . . 117 *bb*
21 . . . . . 118 *q*
22 . . . 20 *h*, 123 *e*
24 . . . . 119 *w*
26 . . . . . 47 *k*
27 . . . 154 *a*, N.
28 . . . . . 64 *h*
29 . 75 *w*, 128 *i*, 133 *h*
6, 9 . . . 49 *c*, 49 *e*
11 . . . . . 127 *d*
13 . . . . 159 *dd*
14 . . . . . 126 *x*
16 . . . . . 49 *l*
17 36
18 . . . 114 *q*, 135 *a*

Judges

6, 19 . . . 53 *n*, 156 *d*
20 . . . . . 34 *f*
25 . . 126 *w*, 128 *c*
28 . . . . . 63 *p*
31 . . . 73 *e*, 100 *m*
36 . . 116 *q*, 159 *v*
7, 3 . . . . . 137 *c*
6 . . . . . 93 *n*
8 . . . . . 131 *s*
12 36
13 . . . . 112 *qq*
19 . . . . . 113 *z*
20 . . . . . 147 *c*
23 . . . . . 102 *b*
25 . . . . . 124 *r*
8, 1 . 74 *h*, 155 *d*, 155 *h*
2 . . . . . 20 *m*
4 . . . . . 118 *n*
10 . . . . . 97 *e*
11 . . . 130 *a*, N. 2
19 . . . 63 *q*, 159 *x*
28 . . . . . 117 *ii*
32 . . . 125 *h*, 128 *c*
9, 8 . . . . . 113 *o*
9 . 63 *k*, 100 *n*, 106 *n*
10 . . . 46 *d*, 46 *e*
16 . . . . . 167 *a*
17 . . . . 119 *bb*
28 . . . . . 137 *a*
29 . 48 *l*, 76 *e*, 151 *b*, 154 *b*
39 . . . . . 69 *p*
41 . . . . . 35 *d*
45 . . . . 117 *ee*
48 . . . . 157 *a*
53 . 27 *o*, 67 *p*, 125 *b*
55 . . . . . 145 *d*
10, 4 96
11 . . . . . 167 *b*
11, 5 . . . . . 21 *b*
10 . . . 159 *n*, N.
18 . . . . . 47 *m*
20 . . . 157 *b*, N. 1
25 . 51 *i*, 133 *a*, N. 1
29 . . . . . 118 *e*
33 . . . . . 134 *e*
34 . 135 *o*, 135 *o*, N. 2
35 . . . . . 119 *i*
39 . . . . . 144 *b*
12, 5 . . 100 *m*, 112 *cc*
6 . . . . . 2 *t*
7 . . . . . 124 *o*
13, 2 . . . . . 125 *b*
5 . . . . . 80 *d*
6 . 44 *d*, 64 *f*, 127 *e*
8 . . . . . 52 *s*
12 . . . . 135 *m*
16 . . . . 119 *m*
21 . . . . . 75 *c*
25 . . . . . 61 *c*

Judges

14, 2 . . . . . 90 *c*
4 . . 122 *q*, 135 *p*
6 . . . . . 152 *p*
8 . . . . . 133 *a*
15 . 9 *v*, 150 *g*, N. 1
17 . . . . 134 *m*
18 . . . 90 *f*, 93 *x*
15, 1 . . . . 119 *n*
7 . . . 163 *c*, N.
12 . . . . 152 *w*
13 . . . . . 113 *p*
16, 5 . . . . . 66 *h*
6 . . . . . 60 *d*
9 . . . . . 126 *o*
10 . . . . . 67 *dd*
11 . . . . . 113 *o*
13 . . . 28 *c*, N. 1
14 . . . . . 127 *g*
15 . . . . . 141 *e*
16 . . . 10 *g*, 52 *d*
18 . . . . . 112 *tt*
20 . . . . . 123 *c*
26 . . . . . 67 *v*
27 . . . . . 126 *x*
28 . 34 *a*, N. 2, 88 *f*, 97 *b*, N.
30 . . . . . 72 *r*
17, 2 . . . . . 32 *h*
18, 3 . . . . . 142 *e*
19 . . . . . 20 *g*
23 . . . 67 *g*, 67 *y*
29 . . . . . 52 *q*
30 . . . . . 5 *n*
19, 5 . . 9 *u*, 64 *c*, N. 1
6 . . 110 *h*, 120 *d*
8 . . . . . 64 *c*
9 . . . . . 91 *k*
11 . . . . . 19 *i*
12 . . . . . 123 *b*
13 . . . 69 *x*, 73 *d*
18 . . . 118 *e*, N. 3
20 . . . 29 *q*, 73 *e*
22 . . . . . 54 *c*
20, 2 . . . . . 29 *f*
15 . . . 54 *l*, 155 *d*
16 . . . . . 90 *i*
31 . . . . . 66 *f*
32 . . . . . 20 *h*
38 . . . . . 75 *gg*
43 . . . . . 22 *s*
44 . . . . 117 *m*
21, 9 . . . . . 54 *l*
16 . . . . . 123 *b*
17 . . . . . 155 *k*
21 . . . . . 145 *p*

1 Samuel

1, 1 . 49 *b*, N. 2, 125 *b*, 125 *h*, 156 *b*
2 . . . 134 *l*, 145 *o*

1 Samuel
1, 3 . . . . . 112 *dd*
4 . . . 112 *g*, 126 *s*
6 . 20 *h*, 22 *s*, 59 *g*, 113 *w*, 117 *p*
7 . . . 107 *e*, 123 *c*
8 . . . 37 *c*, 102 *l*
9 . 91 *e*, 113 *e*, N. 1
10 . . . . . 128 *y*
11 . . . . . 113 *o*
12 . . . 112 *ss*, 114 *n*
13 . . . . . 20 *g*
14 . . . . . 47 *o*
16 . . . . . 128 *v*
17 . . . 23 *f*, 95 *h*
20 . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*
22 . . . . . 112 *oo*
24 . . . . . 135 *i*
25 . . . . . 148 *b*
27 . . . . . 95 *h*
28 . . . . . 64 *f*
2, 1 . . 2 *s*, 106 *g*, 117 *b*
3 . 103 *g*, 120 *g*, 124 *e*, 133 *k*, 152 *z*
4 . . . . . 146 *a*
6 . . . 111 *u*, 116 *x*
8 . 107 *g*, 116 *x*, 135 *p*
9 . . . 67 *g*, 142 *f*
13 . 112 *oo*, 116 *w*, 131 *c*, 159 *i*, 164 *a*
14 . . . 131 *h*, 132 *g*
15 . . . . . 112 *oo*
16 . 23 *e*, 103 *g*, 106 *m*, 112 *ll*, 113 *w*, 159 *f*, 159 *dd*
18 . 116 *k*, 118 *p*, *q*, 121 *d*
19 . . . . . 112 *e*
20 . . . . . 145 *u*
22 . . . . . 112 *k*
23 . . . . . 126 *y*
24 . . . . . 116 *s*
26 . . . . . 113 *u*
27 . 113 *q*, 114 *e*, 150 *e*
28 . 49 *e*, 113 *z*, 119 *w*
29 . . . . . 133 *b*
30 . . . 113 *p*, 116 *g*
31 . . . 112 *x*, 116 *d*
33 . 53 *q*, 118 *q*, 145 *e*
3, 2 . . . 107 *b*, 120 *b*
3 . . . 107 *c*, 152 *r*
5 . 46 *c*, 120 *g*, 120 *h*
7 . . . . . 107 *c*
10 . 54 *k*, 118 *u*, 123 *c*
11 . 67 *g*, 67 *p*, 116 *w*, 155 *d*
12 . . . . . 113 *h*
13 . 112 *qq*, 130 *c*, N. 2, 119 *p*
14 . . . . . 149 *c*
17 . . . . . 149 *d*

1 Samuel
3, 21 . . . . . 75 *c*
4, 1 . . . 131 *c*, 145 *c*
3 . . . . . 127 *g*
5 . . . 72 *h*, 145 *c*
6 . . . . . 34 *f*
7 . . . . . 125 *e*
8 . 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*
10 . . . 124 *b*, 145 *o*
12 . . . . . 127 *e*
15 . 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*
16 . . . . . 126 *k*
19 . . . 69 *m*, 112 *tt*
21 . . . . . 152 *q*
5, 3 . . . . . 116 *d*
7 . . . . . 112 *rr*
9 . 67 *v*, 130 *d*, 164 *d*
10 . . . 115 *c*, 145 *m*
11 . . . . . 117 *e*
6, 4 . . . 118 *h*, 135 *r*
7 . . . . . 135 *o*
9 . 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*
10 . . . 60 *h*, 75 *qq*
11 . . . . 154 *a*, N.
12 . 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*, 113 *s*
14 . . . . . 127 *d*
18 . . . . . 126 *x*
19 . . . . . 119 *k*
7, 7 . . . . . 138 *e*
9 . . . . . 131 *b*
10 . . . 116 *u*, 119 *c*
14 . . . . . 72 *k*
16 . . . . . 112 *f*
17 . . . . 29 *i*, N.
20 . . . . . 111 *d*
8, 11 . . . . . 72 *l*
12 . . . . . 114 *p*
19 . . . 20 *g*, 163 *a*
9, 2 . . . . . 133 *a*
3 . 96, 117 *d*, 152 *s*
4 . . . 104 *g*, 152 *k*
9 . . . . . 107 *e*
10 . . . . . 120 *g*
11 . . . . . 116 *u*
13 . . . 35 *n*, 47 *m*
17 . . . . . 138 *b*
20 . 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*
21 . . . . . 133 *g*
24 . . . 138 *i*, 138 *k*
10, 3 . . . . . 97 *c*
5 . 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*, 112 *z*
6 . . . . . 75 *qq*
8 . . . . . 112 *v*
9 . . . . . 112 *uu*
11 . 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*, 116 *w*, 136 *c*
12 . . . . . 154 *b*
13 . . . . . 75 *qq*
14 . . . . . 152 *k*

1 Samuel
10, 16 . . . . . 113 *o*
18 . . . . . 135 *a*
23 . . . . . 133 *b*
24 . . . 22 *s*, 100 *l*
25 . . . . . 126 *s*
27 . . . . . 136 *b*
11, 1 . . . . . 125 *h*
2 . . . . . 135 *p*
5 . . . . . 107 *v*
11 . . . . . 111 *g*
12 . . . . . 150 *a*
12, 3 . . . . . 137 *b*
7 . . . . . 51 *p*
13 . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*
14 . . . . . 167 *a*
17 . . . . . 114 *o*
19 . . . . . 107 *p*
20 . . . . . 135 *a*
23 . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*
24 . . . . . 75 *oo*
25 . . . 29 *o*, 113 *o*
13, 3 . . . . . 2 *b*
6 . . . . . 93 *w*
7 . . . . 119 *gg*
8 . . . . . 69 *t*
11 . . . . . 67 *dd*
13 . . . . 159 *dd*
15 . . . . . 132 *g*
17 . 126 *l*, 126 *z*, 134 *l*
19 . . . . 152 *w*
20 . . . . . 118 *e*
21 . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*
22 . . . . 112 *ee*
23 . . . . . 92 *g*
14, 1 . . . . . 126 *s*
13 . . . . . 72 *m*
14 . . . 118 *s*, N. 1
15 . . . . . 95 *g*
16 . . . . . 129 *b*
19 . . . . . 111 *h*
21 . . . . . 2 *b*
22 . . . . . 53 *n*
24 . . . 76 *d*, 112 *w*
27 . . . . . 72 *k*
28 . . . . . 72 *t*
29 . . . . . 126 *x*
30 . 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*
33 . 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*
34 96
36 . 48 *g*, N. 2, 67 *dd*, 109 *d*
38 . . . . . 66 *c*
39 . . . . . 149 *c*
43 . . . . . 113 *p*
44 . . . . . 149 *d*
45 . . . 119 *w*, N. 2
49 . . . . . 47 *b*
52 . . . . . 112 *ll*
15, 1 . . . . . 9 *v*
2 . . . . 106 *m*

1 Samuel

15, 4 . . . . . 93*x*
5 . . . . . 68*i*
6 . 20*g*, 22*s*, 60*f*, 68*h*, 154*a*, N.
9 . 67*t*, 75*y*, 72*ff*, 132*d*, 135*c*
14 . . . 37*f*, 154*b*
16 . . . . . 165*a*
20 . . . . . 157*c*
23 . 29*q*, 53*l*, 111*h*, 119*x*
32 . . . . . 118*q*
33 . . . . . 119*w*
16, 1 . . . 65*h*, 127*d*
2 . . . 114*g*, 159*g*
3 . . . . . 138*e*
4 . 141*n*, 145*u*, 150*a*
7 . . . 35*g*, 132*c*
8 . . . . . 125*i*
11 . . . . . 133*g*
12 . . . . . 128*x*
14 . . . . . 112*h*
16 . 120*b*, N. 1, 124*i*
18 . . . 128*t*, 129*c*
20 . . . . . 128*q*
23 . 112*ee*, 112*oo*, 126*x*
17, 5 . . 121*d*, 131*q*
12 . . 113*u*, 126*x*
14 . . . 133*g*, 134*l*
15 . . . . . 118*g*
16 . . . . . 113*k*
17 . . 126*x*, 134*n*
20 . . . . 112*rr*
21 . . . . . 122*i*
24 . . . . . 111*h*
25 . 22*s*, 53*n*, 60*g*, 100*l*, 114*g*, 116*s*
26 . . . 34*f*, 132*h*
28 . . . . . 136*c*
32 . . . . . 112*p*
34 . 112*kk*, 126*r*, 154*a*, N.
38 . . . . . 112*tt*
40 . . . . . 132*c*
41 . . . . . 113*u*
43 . . . . . 124*o*
46 . . . . . 145*e*
47 . . . 53*p*, 145*c*
48 . . . . 112*uu*
55 . 111*l*, 126*aa*, 136*c*, 137*b*
58 . . . 126*e*, 126*f*
18, 1 . . . . . 60*d*
9 . . . . . 55*c*
10 . . . 54*e*, 118*u*
14 . . . . . 156*c*
15 . . . . . 157*c*
18 . . . . . 137*a*
19 . 114*q*, 115*e*, N.

1 Samuel

18, 21 . . . . . 134*r*
22 . . . . . 59*c*
23 . . . . . 114*a*
28 . . . 59*g*, 59*i*
29 . . . 68*h*, 69*n*
19, 1 . . . . . 115*a*
2 . . . 51*n*, 63*c*
3 . . . . . 119*l*
4 . . . . . 93*ss*
10 . . . . . 126*y*
13 . 124*h*, 132*h*, N. 2
17 . . . 59*h*, 150*e*
22 . . . . . 126*x*
23 . . . 113*t*, 135*g*
20, 1 . . . . . 116*s*
2 . . . 103*g*, 156*f*
3 . 118*x*, 126*x*, 149*a*, N.
6 . 51*e*, 51*i*, 113*n*, 159*s*
8 . . . . . 142*g*
9 . . . . . 150*a*
10 . . . 150*i*, 151*a*
11 . . . . . 118*e*
13 . 117*l*, N. 2, 149*d*
16 . . . . . 117*g*
19 . . . . . 120*c*
20 . . . . . 127*e*
23 . . . . . 143*a*
26 . . . . . 152*d*
27 . . . 80*g*, N. 1
31 . . 128*v*, 138*d*
33 . . . . . 115*c*
38 . . . . . 87*f*
40 . . . . . 72*y*
42 . . . 134*d*, 135*f*
21, 2 . 90*i*, 119*gg*, 152*o*
3 . . . 55*b*, 137*c*
5 . . . 119*e*, N. 2
6 . . . . . 123*b*
8 . . . . . 129*h*
9 . . . 150*c*, N. 2
10 . . . . . 102*g*
14 . 60*d*, 75*bb*, 131*m*, N. 3
16 . . . . . 150*b*
22, 2 . . . . . 75*oo*
5 . . . . . 119*s*
7 . 117*n*, 124*p*, 153
9 . . . . . 90*i*
13 . . . . . 113*e*
15 . . . 67*w*, 150*b*
23, 1 . . . . . 93*r*
4 . . . . . 152*u*
10 . . . 113*o*, 117*n*
11 . 150*g*, N. 1, 150*n*
15 . . . . . 90*e*
19 . . . . . 150*e*
22 . 63*n*, 135*b*, 144*d*, N. 2

1 Samuel

23, 28 . . . . . 22*s*
24, 6 . . . . . 117*d*
11 . 9*v*, 112*rr*, 144*o*, 157*c*
12 . 114*r*, 154*a*, N.
18 . . . . . 117*ff*
19 . 112*hh*, N. 2, 117*c*
25, 1 . . . . . 21*d*
2 . . . . . 67*cc*
5 . . . 44*d*, 64*f*
7 . . . . . 53*p*
8 . . 72*o*, 74*k*, 76*g*
10 . . 67*ee*, 126*w*
11 . . . . 112*cc*
14 . . . . . 72*ff*
15 . . . . . 130*d*
18 . . . 24*b*, 75*v*
20 . . . 47*k*, 112*ss*
22 . . . . . 149*b*
24 . . . . . 135*g*
25 . . . . . 107*p*
26 . 65*f*, 113*e*, 113*gg*, 144*l*, N. 3, 149*a*, N.
27 . 143*d*, 145*o*, 145*o*, N. 1
28 . . . 119*w*, N. 2
29 . . . . . 143*c*
33 . . . . . 75*qq*
34 . 76*h*, 106*p*, 149*d*
39 . . . . . 114*p*
26, 9 . . . . . 112*h*
10 . . 117*m*, N. 3
12 . . . 87*s*, 152*l*
13 . . . . . 156*c*
14 . . . . 155*m*
16 . . . . . 117*l*
19 . . . . . 72*aa*
20 . . . . . 117*d*
27, 9 . . 112*e*, 112*dd*
10 . . . 150*a*, N. 1
28, 3 . . 106*f*, 154*a*, N.
6 . . . . . 149*c*
7 . 52*d*, 96, 128*u*, 130*e*
8 . . . 10*h*, 46*e*
10 . . . . . 20*h*
13 . . . 132*h*, N. 2
15 . 48*d*, 59*f*, 75*ll*, 102*l*
24 . . . . . 68*h*
29, 8 . . . 49*m*, 130*c*
10 . . . . . 144*c*
30, 2 . . . . . 156*f*
6 . . . . . 144*b*
8 . 150*b*, 154*a*, N.
13 . . . 134*o*, N. 1
24 . . . . . 161*c*
26 . . . . . 91*k*
28 . . . . . 10*g*

1 Samuel

31, 2 . . . . . 53*n*
7 . . . . . 103*g*
9 . . . . . 124*r*

2 Samuel

1, 4 . . . . . 157*c*
6 . . . 75*rr*, 113*o*
9 . . . 72*m*, 128*e*
10 . . . 61*b*, 107*b*
18 . . . . . 150*e*
21 . . 130*a*, 152*g*
23 . . 44*c*, 154*a*, N.
24 . . . . . 116*f*
26 . . . . . 75*oo*
2, 5 . . . . . 121*f*
9 . . . . . 49*l*
20 . . . . . 136*d*
21 . . . 64*c*, 119*s*
22 . . . 102*l*, 150*e*
23 . . 111*g*, 117*w*
26 . . . . . 44*g*
27 . . . . 159*ee*
32 . . . 72*r*, 118*e*
3, 1 . . 113*u*, 152*c*
2 . . . . . 129*g*
8 . . 75*qq*, 111*e*
11 . . . . . 115*d*
18 . . 113*dd*, N. 3
25 . . . . . 117*h*
27 . . . . . 117*ll*
30 . . . . . 117*n*
33 . . . . . 107*t*
34 . . 152*d*, 152*e*
39 . . . . . 141*e*
4, 1 . . . . . 145*p*
2 . . . . . 128*c*
4 . . . . . 128*h*
7 . . . . . 141*e*
10 . 111*h*, 114*l*, N. 2
11 . . . . . 117*d*
5, 2 . . . . . 74*k*
6 . . 35*g*, 106*m*
8 . . . . . 167*a*
10 . . . . . 125*h*
21 . . . . . 146*f*
24 . 109*k*, 112*z*, 117*d*
6, 1 . . . . . 68*h*
2 . . . . . 125*c*
3 . . . . . 126*z*
6 . . . . . 117*g*
16 . . . . 112*uu*
20 . . . 75*y*, 148*b*
7, 5 . . 112*r*, 150*d*
14 . . . . 112*mm*
29 . . . . . 120*d*
8, 2 . . . . . 126*m*
3 . . . . . 17*b*
4 . . . . . 69*v*
8 . . . . . 131*e*

2 Samuel

9, 1 . . . . . 165*a*
3 . . . . . 128*y*
10, 7 . . . . . 131*b*
9 . . 145*h*, 146*a*
12 . . . . . 54*k*
11, 1 . . . . . 23*g*
4 . . . . . 141*e*
11 . . . 149*a*, N.
19 . . . 142*f*, N. 2
20 . . . . . 157*c*
24 . . . . . 75*rr*
25 . . . . . 117*l*
27 . . . . . 60*d*
12, 1 . . . . . 72*p*
2 . 126*d*, 126*x*, 146*f*
6 . . . . . 97*h*
9 . . . . 144*n*
10 . . . . 114*g*
14 . . . . . 52*o*
15 . . . . . 51*m*
16 . . 112*f*, 117*q*
17 . . . . 75*rr*
28 . . . 61*f*, 135*a*
30 . . . . . 127*e*
13, 4 . . p. 481, N. 1
5 . . . . . 75*cc*
12 . . . . 75*hh*
15 . . . . 117*q*
17 . . . 64*c*, 117*d*
18 . 47*l*, 112*tt*, N. 2, 156*b*
19 . . . . . 113*t*
20 . 84a *s*, 118*p*, 154*a*, N.
23 . . . . . 131*d*
25 . . 152*g*, 165*a*
26 . . . . . 159*dd*
28 . . 72*w*, 159*g*
31 . . . . . 116*k*
32 . . . . . 73*f*
39 . . 131*g*, 144*o*
14, 2 . . . . . 75*m*
3 . . . . . 76*g*
4 . . . . . 126*e*
6 . . . . . 60*d*
10 . . . . . 145*u*
11 . . . . . 75*ff*
13 . . . . . 92*b*
19 . . . 47*b*, N. 1
21 . . . . 106*m*
24 . . . . . 75*n*
26 . . 118*h*, 134*g*
30 71
31 . . . . . 102*l*
15, 2 . . . . . 111*g*
4 . . 112*p*, 151*a*
16 . . . . 117*d*
21 . 93*aa*, N., 130*c*
23 . . . . . 117*t*
25 . . 117*e*, 135*k*

2 Samuel

15, 27 . . . . . 72*s*
32 . . 116*k*, 121*d*
33 . . . 49*l*, 75*w*
34 . . 67*dd*, 143*d*
37 . . . . . 93*ll*
16, 1 . . . . . 134*n*
5 . . 112*tt*, 113*t*
7 . . . . . 128*t*
13 . . 93*gg*, 112*f*
17, 5 . . . . . 135*f*
8 . . . . . 117*h*
9 . . . . . 144*e*
10 . . . . . 67*t*
11 . . . . . 106*i*
12 . . . 109*d*, 122*l*
13 . . . . . 106*o*
15 . . . . . 135*a*
16 . . . . . 121*a*
17 . . 112*k*, 126*r*
22 . . . 96, 130*g*
23 . . . . . 51*m*
26 . . . . . 118*g*
18, 3 . . . 63*i*, 97*g*
11 . 114*l*, 119*aa*, 154*b*
12 . . . 137*c*, 154*b*
13 . . . . 159*cc*
16 . . . . . 22*s*
18 . . . . . 117*d*
19 . . . . 119*ff*
22 . . . . . 74*i*
23 . . . . . 110*b*
29 . . . 114*f*, 150*a*
33 . . . 133*l*, N. 3
19, 1 . . 135*f*, 151*b*
6 . . . . . 70*c*
13 . . . . . 112*i*
14 . . . . . 68*h*
18 . . . 97*e*, 112*tt*
19 . . . . . 53*q*
20 . . . . . 115*g*
25 . . . 52*l*, 127*f*
27 . . . . . 122*f*
30 . . . . . 106*i*
43 . . . . . 76*b*
44 . . . . . 67*w*
20, 1 . . . 116*d*, 147*c*
5 . . . . . 68*c*
8 . . . . . 142*e*
9 . . . 68*h*, 141*c*
11 . . . . . 155*e*
13 . . . . . 69*w*
14 . . . . . 125*h*
18 . . . . 113*w*
19 . . . 130*f*, N.
20 . . . 149*a*, 149*e*
21 . . . . . 53*s*
23 . . . 16*b*, 127*f*
21, 2 . . . . . 74*h*
3 . . . . . 110*i*
4 . . . . . 120*c*

2 Samuel

21, 9 . . . . . 118*i*
11 . . . . . 121*a*
12 . . . . . 75*rr*
15 . . . . . 72*t*
20 . . . 35*n*, 131*q*
22 . . . . . 121*b*
22, 1 . . 2*s*, 53*l*, 130*d*
24 . . . . . 49*e*
27 . . . . . 67*l*
33 . . . 35*d*, 131*r*
37 . . . . . 103*d*
38 . . . . . 108*e*
40 . . . . . 68*k*
41 . . . 19*i*, 116*w*
44 . . . . . 87*f*
23, 1 . . . . 2*s*, 29*g*
5 . . 135*m*, 150*a*
6 . . . 91*f*, 143*a*
7 . . . . 113*w*
8 . . . 47*b*, 87*f*
11 . . . . . 127*e*
13 . . . . . 134*k*
17 . . . . . 167*a*
19 . . . . . 150*d*
24, 3 . . 145*n*, 154*b*
6 . . . . . 90*i*
11 . . . . . 93*rr*
13 . . . . . 145*h*
16 . . . . . 142*f*
21 . . . . . 165*a*
22 . . . . . 93*pp*
23 . . . . . 106*m*
24 . . . . . 113*p*

1 Kings

1, 1 . . . 49*b*, 67*g*
2 . . . 131*b*, 144*f*
5 . . . . . 116*o*
6 . . . 119*w*, N. 2
12 . . . . . 117*p*
14 . . . . 116*u*
15 . . . 80*d*, 90*c*
20 . . . . . 135*g*
21 . 146*d*, 154*a*, N.
24 . . 150*a*, 150*b*
26 . . . . . 135*g*
27 . . . . . 150*f*
31 . . . . . 156*c*
40 . . . 117*q*, 145*c*
41 . . . . . 146*a*
47 . . . . . 70*c*
2, 2 . . . . . 116*p*
3 . . . 95*u*, 114*o*
6 . . . . . 109*d*
7 . . . . . 116*h*
17 . . . . . 131*g*
18 . . . . . 135*a*
21 . . . . . 121*b*
22 . . . 110*a*, 154*b*
23 . . . . . 149*d*

1 Kings

2, 26 . 75*z*, 118*e*, 128*t*
30 . . . . . 75*ll*
31 . . . . . 128*w*
36 . . . . 80*i*, 90*i*
39 . . . . . 129*c*
40 . . . . . 90*i*
42 . . . . . 72*aa*
43 . . . . . 128*h*
3, 4 . . . . . 107*b*
7 . . . . . 114*c*
8 . . . . . 166*b*
11 . . . . . 112*tt*
12 . . . . . 166*b*
15 71
16 . . . . . 107*c*
18 . . . 129*f*, 135*r*
26 . . . . . 46*e*
4, 5 . . . . . 93*ll*
7 . . . . . 112*l*
12 . . . . . 90*i*
13 . . . . . 128*c*
14 . . . . . 90*d*
16 . . . . . 116*p*
5, 1 . . . 116*s*, 144*i*
2 . . . . . 68*c*
3 . . . . . 131*c*
7 . . . . . 112*dd*
9 . . . . . 131*e*
12 . . . . . 134*g*
17 . . . . . 117*h*
25 . . . 23*f*, 107*e*
29 . . . . . 131*b*
6, 1 . . . 134*h*, 134*o*
6 . . . . . 63*i*
7 . . . . . 131*c*
11 . . . . . 67*x*
16 . . . . . 117*d*
19 . . . . . 66*i*
7, 6 . . . . . 92*g*
7 . . . 118*p*, 126*w*
8 . . . . . 118*g*
14 . . . 41*o*, 131*b*
15 . . . . 117*hh*
27 . . . . . 134*l*
28 . . . . . 20*m*
37 . . . . . 91*f*
8, 1 . . . . . 109*k*
3 . . . . . 119*z*
5 . . . . . 145*c*
13 . . . . . 118*k*
29 . . . . . 91*k*
30 . . . 119*g*, 159*g*
31 . . . . . 145*o*
33 . . . . . 158*d*
44 . . . . . 75*w*
48 . . . . . 44*i*
64 . . . . . 133*c*
9, 3 . . . . . 75*w*
8 . . . . . 67*g*
11 . . . . . 75*oo*

1 Kings

9, 23 . . . . . 116*f*
25 . . 112*dd*, 113*z*
26 . . . . . 122*t*
10, 8 . . . 126*z*, N.
11 . . . . . 35*m*
15 . . . . 128*m*
22 . . . . . 74*i*
23 . . 119*u*, 152*y*
29 . . . . . 75*t*
11, 1 . . . . . 10*h*
3 . . . . . 145*p*
5 . . . . . 122*f*
8 . . . 131*h*, N. 1
9 . . . . . 138*k*
12 . . . . . 135*p*
15 . . . . . 52*f*
16 . . . . . 53*l*
19 . . . . . 54*k*
25 . . . 117*m*, N. 3
30 . . . . . 117*ii*
33 . . . . . 87*e*
34 . . . . . 117*ii*
39 . . . . . 23*d*
41 . . . . . 150*e*
12, 2 . . . . . 138*d*
6 . . . 64*b*, 117*gg*
8 . . 116*q*, 118*q*
10 . . . . . 93*q*
12 . . . . . 74*k*
15 . . . . . 115*a*
28 . . . . . 133*c*
31 . . . . . 117*d*
32 . 21*d*, 65*e*, 112*pp*
13, 2 . . . . . 155*e*
3 . . . . . 112*tt*
7 . . . . . 10*h*
12 . . 155*d*, 155*h*
18 . . . . . 156*d*
30 . . . . . 147*d*
33 . . . . . 109*f*
14, 2 . . . . . 32*h*
3 . . . . . 65*g*
5 . . . 94*d*, 112*z*
6 . 118*p*, 121*d*, N. 2
10 . . . . . 64*d*
12 . . . . 72*r*, N.
13 . . . . . 129*g*
15 . . . . . 91*n*
16 . . . . . 23*c*
17 . . . . . 116*u*
19 . . 129*d*, 150*e*
21 . . . . . 10*g*
24 . . . . . 127*g*
15, 13 . . . . 119*x*
23 . . . . . 118*q*
25 . . . . . 134*p*
16, 2 . . . . . 74*l*
10 . . . . . 134*o*
24 . . . 29*f*, 88*b*
31 . . . . . 150*d*

1 Kings

17, 1 . . . . . 93 *pp*
3 . . . . . 119 *s*
9 . . . . . 90 *i*
11 . . . . . 66 *g*
13 . . . . . 75 *m*
14 . . . 66 *i*, 75 *r*
15 . . . . . 32 *l*
16 . . . . . 146 *a*
18, 5 . . . 119 *w*, N. 2
10 . . . . . 107 *e*
12 . . . . . 138 *e*
27 . . . 53 *q*, 67 *y*
32 . . 117 *ii*, 117 *kk*
43 . . . . . 152 *p*
44 . . . . . 58 *g*
19, 4 . . . . . 157 *c*
11 . . . . . 132 *d*
15 . 26 *h*, 90 *c*, 90 *i*
19 . . . . . 134 *o*
20 . . . . . 20 *m*
21 . . . . 131 *m*
20, 14 . . . . . 137 *b*
20 . . . . . 145 *c*
21 . . . . . 112 *tt*
22 . . . . . 54 *k*
25 . . . . . 103 *b*
27 . . . . . 54 *l*
33 . . . . . 53 *n*
35 . . . . 75 *mm*
39 . . . . . 51 *k*
40 . . . . . 116 *g*
21, 2 . . . . . 34 *c*
8 . . . 124 *b*, N.
10 . . . . . 104 *g*
11 . . 116 *q*, 118 *q*
12 . . 112 *qq*, 112 *tt*
15 . . . . . 69 *f*
19 . . . 74 *k*, 135 *f*
21 . . . 74 *k*, 74 *l*
25 . . . . . 72 *w*
22, 3 . . . . . 150 *e*
7 . . . . . 103 *b*
10 . . . . . 121 *d*
12 . . . . . 110 *f*
15 . . . . . 150 *c*
16 . . . . . 134 *r*
23 . . . . . 126 *y*
25 . . . . . 75 *pp*
27 . . . . . 131 *c*
28 . . 135 *r*, 159 *q*
30 . . 104 *g*, 113 *dd*
35 71
49 . . . . . 44 *m*

2 Kings

1, 1 . . . . . 49 *b*
2 . . . . . 126 *y*
3 . . . . . 152 *y*
7 . . . . . 37 *f*
10 . . . . . 154 *b*

2 Kings

1, 11 . . . . . 120 *d*
2, 1 . . . 10 *h*, 114 *q*
10 . 52 *s*, 114 *n*, N. 3
16 . 93 *u*, 107 *q*, N. 3
21 . . . . . 75 *oo*
22 . . . . . 75 *qq*
24 . . . . . 122 *e*
3, 3 . . . . . 135 *p*
4 . 2 *d*, 112 *h*, 131 *k*
8 . . . . . 155 *d*
15 . . . . 112 *uu*
16 . . . 113 *bb*, 123 *e*
23 . . . . . 113 *w*
24 . . . . . 75 *ff*
25 . . . . . 112 *e*
27 . . . . . 107 *k*
4, 1 . . . . . 125 *b*
3 . . 91 *l*, 133 *c*, N. 1
8 . . . . . 126 *s*
13 . . . 114 *k*, 117 *r*
14 . . . . . 154 *b*
16 . . . . . 32 *h*
24 . . . . . 66 *c*
25 . . . . . 34 *f*
27 . . . . . 63 *e*
31 . . . . . 29 *k*
41 . . . . . 69 *f*
43 . . . . . 113 *ee*
5, 2 . . . . . 118 *q*
3 . . . . . 151 *e*
9 . . . . . 129 *d*
10 . 110 *i*, 113 *bb*, 159 *d*
11 . . . . . 112 *p*
12 . . . . . 107 *t*
13 . 110 *f*, 142 *f*, 159 *cc*
17 . . 104 *g*, 159 *dd*
18 . . . . . 75 *kk*
20 . 106 *n*, N. 2, 112 *gg*
22 . . . . . 136 *d*
23 . . 72 *t*, 88 *b*, 131 *d*
6, 5 . . . 117 *m*, N. 3
8 . . . . . 91 *n*
9 . . . . . 51 *n*
10 . . . . . 134 *r*
11 36
19 . . 34 *b*, N. 1, 52 *n*
22 . . . p. 481, N. 1
27 . . . . . 109 *h*
29 . . . . . 74 *l*
32 . . . 22 *s*, 100 *l*
7, 1 . . . . . 131 *d*
4 . . . . . 112 *ff*
8 . . . . . 47 *i*
10 . . . 135 *p*, N. 3
13 . . . . . 127 *f*
18 . . . . . 10 *h*
8, 1 . . . . . 32 *h*
6 . . 53 *m*, 72 *y*, 91 *e*
8 . . . . . 126 *y*
16 . . . . . 52 *l*

2 Kings

8, 17 . . . . . 134 *e*
21 . . . . . 50 *e*
9, 2 . . . 72 *w*, 76 *h*
4 . . . . . 127 *g*
17 . . . . . 80 *f*
18 . 32 *n*, 103 *o*, 119 *b*
27 . . . . . 147 *c*
33 . . . . . 76 *c*
37 . . . . . 75 *m*
10, 1 . . . 124 *b*, N.
6 . . . 131 *h*, N. 1
15 . . . . . 159 *cc*
21 . . . . . 102 *h*
23 . . . . 152 *w*
29 . . . . . 93 *o*
11, 1 . . . . 112 *pp*
2 . . . . . 116 *e*
4 . 75 *gg*, 75 *q*, 97 *g*
5 . . . . . 116 *h*
12 . . . . . 74 *l*
13 . . . . . 87 *e*
15 . . 113 *cc*, 119 *e*
12, 9 . 72 *h*, 66 *g*, 93 *h*
12 . . p. 354, N. 1
13, 6 . . . . . 74 *k*
11 . . . . . 125 *b*
17 . . . . . 76 *f*
19 . . 114 *k*, 159 *dd*
21 . . . . . 111 *g*
14, 7 . . . 21 *e*, 112 *tt*
8 . . . . . 156 *c*
14 . 112 *pp*, 112 *tt*, 124 *q*
15, 16 . . . 76 *c*, 127 *i*
29 . . . . . 80 *k*
16, 4 . . . . . 65 *e*
7 . . . . . 72 *p*
14 . . . . . 127 *h*
17 . . . . . 127 *h*
18 . . . . . 80 *k*
17, 4 . . . . 118 *u*
6 . . . . . 134 *p*
11 . . . . . 53 *p*
15 . . . . . 103 *l*
29 . . . . . 124 *r*
18, 1 . . . . . 134 *p*
4 . . . . 112 *tt*
17 . . . 128 *w*, N.
20 . . . . . 44 *i*
26 . . . . . 2 *a*
28 . . . . . 2 *a*
29 . . . . . 74 *l*
30 . . . 121 *b*, N. 2
19, 2 . . . 131 *h*, N. 1
14 . . . 124 *b*, N.
21 . . . . . 72 *l*
25 . . . 23 *f*, 75 *qq*
20, 1 . . . . . 49 *a*
13 . . . . . 126 *x*
19 . . . . . 141 *n*

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21, 11 . . . . . 74*l*
12 . . . . . 67*g*
13 . . . 113*h*, N. 3
26 . . . 144*d*, N. 2
22, 1 . . . . . 134*e*
13 . . . . . 138*b*
20 . . . 61*h*, 124*c*
23, 3 . . . . . 127*c*
4 . 75*v*, 112*pp*, p. 354, N. 1
8 . . p. 354, N. 1
10 . . 112*pp*, 114*s*
14 . . p. 354, N. 1
15 . . . . . 67*v*
17 . . . 127*f*, 127*g*
20 . . . . . 117*d*
35 . . . . . 139*c*
24, 7 . . . . . 144*b*
14 . . . . . 97*g*
25, 9 . . . . . 117*d*
15 . . . . . 123*e*
16 . . . . . 126*z*
17 . . . . . 134*e*
18 . . . . . 131*b*
28 . . . . . 122*q*
29 . . . . . 75*rr*

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1, 2 . . 116*n*, 126*e*
3 . . . . . 124*i*
4 . . . . . 147*d*
5 . . . 37*e*, 127*c*
6 . 67*m*, 144*b*, 152*o*
7 . 116*l*, 118*x*, 143*a*
9 . . 106*p*, 118*x*
11 . . 106*g*, 117*z*
12 . . . 51*l*, 106*g*
14 . 66*b*, 76*b*, 102*h*, 114*c*, 119*aa*
15 . 60*f*, 61*e*, 117*z*, 124*n*, 145*n*
16 . . . 54*d*, 128*r*
17 . . 113*d*, 117*u*
18 . . 126*o*, 160*a*
19 . . . . . 120*e*
20 . . . 52*e*, 121*c*
21 . 90*l*, 95*h*, 107*b*, 148*b*
22 . . . . 126*m*
23 . . 107*g*, 124*f*
24 . . . . . 51*p*
25 . . 118*w*, 124*l*
26 . 118*s*, N. 1, 135*m*
27 . . . . 116*h*
28 . . . . . 147*c*
29 . . . . . 144*p*
30 . 91*d*, 116*i*, 152*o*
31 . . . . . 93*q*
2, 1 . . . 154*a*, N.
2 . . . . . 116*r*

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2, 6 . . . . 44*g*, 91*n*
7 . . . . . 117*z*
8 . . . . . 145*m*
9 . . . 109*e*, 117*g*
11 . . . 112*s*, 146*a*
17 . . . . . 145*o*
18 . . . . . 15*f*
20 . 84*b*, *n*, 135*n*, 145*m*
22 . . . 116*e*, 119*s*
3, 1 . . . 116*p*, 122*v*
3 . . . . . 116*k*
6 . . . 103*g*, 118*g*
7 . 117*g*, 117*ii*, 156*b*
8 . . . 53*q*, 122*i*
9 . . . 135*i*, 156*g*
12 . . . 124*k*, 145*l*
13 . . . . . 115*b*
14 . . . 128*h*, 154*b*
15 . . . . . 37*c*
16 . 52*n*, 75*v*, 111*r*, 112*nn*, 113*u*, 135*o*
17 . . 91*c*, 91*f*, 142*f*
22 . . . . . 35*f*
24 . . . . . 131*b*
4, 4 . 106*o*, 107*l*, 113*e*, 159*n*, N.
5, 1 . 87*f*, N., 108*b*, 128*v*
2 . . 114*m*, 117*u*
3 . . . . . 110*a*
4 . . . 114*k*, 150*m*
5 . 112*u*, 113*d*, 113*f*, 114*k*, N. 1, 116*d*, 116*p*
6 . 117*z*, 117*ii*, 119*y*
8 . 112*w*, 116*x*, 144*p*, 147*d*
9 . . . . . 152*y*
10 . . . . . 93*m*
11 . 112*m*, 130*a*, 156*d*, 156*e*
12 . 93*ss*, 106*l*, 141*d*
13 . . . 106*n*, 128*t*
14 . . . 20*f*, 112*s*
15 . . . . . 111*w*
17 . . . 118*t*, 142*f*
19 . . . 48*d*, 108*d*
23 . . 116*x*, 145*m*
24 . . . 114*r*, 115*k*
25 . . . . . 136*b*
26 . 133*k*, N. 2, 145*m*
28 . . . . . 20*h*
29 . . . . . 152*l*
30 . . . . . 136*b*
6, 1 . . . . . 111*b*
2 . 88*f*, 119*cc*, 134*q*
3 . 112*k*, 133*k*, 139*e*, N. 3, 141*l*
4 . 107*b*, 107*d*, 117*z*
5 . 106*n*, 128*y*, 147*d*

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6, 6 . 94*b*, 155*h*, 156*b*
7 . . . . . 112*x*
8 . 61*g*, 117*c*, 124*g*, N. 2, 137*b*
9 . . . 75*n*, 113*r*
10 . . . 67*v*, 136*b*
11 . 106*o*, 144*d*, 152*y*
12 . . . . . 67*k*
13 . 52*p*, 112*mm*, 114*k*, N. 1, 120*d*
7, 2 . . . 72*q*, 122*i*
3 . . . . . 95*s*
4 . . . . . 113*bb*
6 . . . . . 122*i*
7 . . . 122*q*, 144*b*
8 . . . . . 119*y*
9 . . . 148*d*, 159*ee*
11 . . . . . 29*u*
13 . . . 114*a*, 133*c*
14 . 74*g*, 112*t*, 113*h*, 126*r*, p. 459, N. 1, 135*c*
15 . . . . . 113*f*
17 . . . . . 49*a*
20 . . . . . 126*x*
23 . . . . . 134*n*
25 . . . 118*l*, 144*h*
8, 1 . . 29*l*, 52*s*, 119*u*
2 . . . . 49*e*, 96
4 . . . . . 144*d*
6 . . 2*d*, N. 2, 130*a*
7 . . . . . 154*b*
8 . . . . . 145*o*
9 . . . . . 110*f*
11 . . . 45*d*, 59*h*
12 . . . 47*m*, 117*r*
16 . . . . . 67*n*
17 . . . . . 75*z*
20 . . . . . 145*m*
21 . . . 54*k*, 118*n*
23 . 67*v*, 90*f*, 128*h*
9, 1 . 106*n*, 130*a*, 132*g*
2 . . . 103*g*, 130*a*
3 . 10*h*, 20*h*, 67*w*, 93*q*, 118*u*, 135*n*
4 . 112*mm*, 124*n*, 143*d*, 146*e*
5 . . . 93*k*, 144*d*
6 . . . . . 5*n*
8 . . . 127*c*, 145*c*
11 . . . . . 127*c*
12 . . . . . 116*f*
18 . . . . . 145*o*
10, 1 . . . 10*g*, 93*bb*
2 . . . . . 114*r*
4 . . . . . 163*c*
5 . . . . . 152*a*
9 . . . . . 21*d*
10 . . . . . 133*e*
12 . . . 47*b*, 127*a*

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14 . . 118*w*, 132*e*
15 . 115*i*, 124*k*, 150*h*
16 . . . . . 69*f*
17 . . . . . 93*v*
18 . . . . . 67*cc*
22 . . . . . 117*z*
24 . . . 58*i*, 119*o*
30 . . 132*b*, 144*m*
32 . . . 114*k*, 119*o*
33 . . . . . 23*c*
11, 2 . . . . . 128*a*
7 . . . . . 122*e*
8 . . . . . 142*f*
9 . 106*n*, 114*c*, 115*d*, 116*f*, N. 1, 117*n*, 126*z*
10 . . . . 119*gg*
12 . . . . . 20*m*
14 . . . . . 93*hh*
12, 1 . . . . . 109*k*
2 . . . . . 80*g*
5 . . . . . 116*e*
6 . . . . . 122*s*
13, 3 . . . . . 135*n*
4 . . . 146*b*, 147*c*
6 . . . . . 118*x*
8 . . . . 119*gg*
18 . . . . . 52*n*
19 . . . . . 115*d*
20 . . . . . 68*k*
22 . . . . . 145*o*
14, 2 . 54*f*, 57, N. 3, 117*w*
3 . 22*s*, 102*b*, 115*g*, 121*b*, 121*f*
4 . 49*k*, 49*m*, 148*b*
6 . . . 117*q*, 130*a*
7 . . . . . 116*x*
9 . . . . . 145*t*
11 . . . 93*ss*, 145*o*
14 . . . . . 87*s*
17 . . . . . 117*o*
19 . 29*f*, 126*p*, 130*a*
23 . . . 55*f*, 113*e*
24 . . 144*b*, 149*b*
27 . . 116*q*, 126*k*
30 . . . . . 72*w*
31 . . 72*v*, 113*bb*
15, 2 . . . . 70*d*, 96
5 . . . . . 72*cc*
7 . . . . . 155*h*
8 . . . . 119*hh*
10 . . . . . 61*h*
16, 2 . . . . . 126*p*
4 . . . . . 145*d*
7 . . . . . 70*d*
8 . . 75*m*, 145*u*
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16, 10 . . . 121*b*, 144*e*
17, 1 . . 119*x*, 121*b*
4 . . . . . 128*r*
5 . . 117*ii*, 122*n*
6 . 118*u*, 131*n*, N. 1, 134*s*
8 . . . . . 35*f*
10 . 20*m*, N. 1, 117*ee*
11 . . . . . 72*n*
12 . . . 47*m*, 75*u*
18, 2 . . . 52*s*, 103*m*
3 . . . . . 66*b*
4 . . . . . 10*h*
5 . 29*q*, 67*v*, 72*dd*, 142*f*, 145*q*
6 . . . . . 73*b*
19, 1 . . . . . 72*l*
3 . . . . 67*dd*
4 . . 124*i*, 132*h*
6 . . . 53*g*, 53*p*
9 . . . . . 86*i*
10 . . . . . 128*y*
11 . . . . . 133*h*
13 . . . . . 142*f*
17 . 80*h*, 95*d*, 143*b*
18 . . . . . 2*a*
22 . . . . . 113*s*
20, 1 . . . . . 115*k*
2 . . 113*i*, 118*n*
4 . . . 87*g*, 118*o*
21, 1 . . . . . 114*o*
2 . 44*o*, 72*s*, 121*b*
7 . . 93*dd*, 117*q*
8 . . . . . 118*r*
9 . . . . . 136*d*
11 . 90*f*, 93*w*, 116*t*
12 . 29*t*, 75*u*, 75*rr*
14 . . . . . 76*d*
17 . 127*a*, 128*a*, 146*a*
22, 1 . . . 91*e*, 150*l*
2 . 75*v*, 91*e*, 117*z*, 126*e*, 128*x*, 152*d*
3 . . . . 119*w*
5 . . 113*ff*, 128*a*
7 . . . . . 128*r*
10 . . . . . 20*m*
11 . . . 95*o*, 124*k*
13 . 75*n*, 113*d*, 113*f*, 113*dd*
14 . 112*ss*, 149*b*, 149*e*
16 . . 90*m*, 144*p*
17 . . . . . 113*r*
18 . . . . . 118*r*
19 . . . . . 144*p*
24 . . 128*w*, 133*h*
23, 1 . . 110*k*, 119*y*
4 . . . . . 152*z*
5 . . 118*u*, 128*h*
7 . . . .126*z*, N.
8 . . . . . 93*pp*

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23, 11 . . . 20*o*, 53*q*
12 . 35*b*, 46*e*, 118*e*, 130*e*, 132*b*
13 . . . 136*d*, N.
15 . 44*f*, 116*p*, 118*t*
17 . . . 72*l*, 93*e*
24, 2 . 35*g*, 116*s*, 127*i*
3 . . . . . 67*t*
10 . . . . . 119*x*
12 . . . . . 121*d*
19 . 67*o*, 80*k*, 113*w*
25, 6 . . . 75*dd*, 93*ss*
7 . . . . . 72*p*
10 . . . . . 72*v*
26, 4 . . . . . 119*i*
9 . . . . 144*m*
10 . . . . . 159*c*
11 . . . . . 47*m*
16 . . . 44*l*, 72*o*
19 . . . 95*h*, 122*s*
20 . . . . . 75*qq*
27, 3 . . . . . 60*a*
4 . 10*h*, 65*b*, 71, 117*x*, 151*b*
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8 . . . . . 55*f*
9 . . . . . 156*f*
11 . 70*a*, N. 2, 124*e*
28, 1 . . . 124*e*, 128*c*
2 . . . . . 125*c*
3 . . . . . 47*k*
4 . 91*e*, 128*w*, 135*n*, 144*e*
6 . . . 90*i*, 119*hh*
7 . . . . . 72*l*
8 . . . . . 127*c*
9 . . . . . 130*a*
10 . . . 102*h*, 147*c*
11 . . . . . 116*b*
12 . 23*i*, 114*m*, N. 2
16 . 71, 130*f*, N., 155*f*
17 . . . 29*u*, 142*f*
18 . . . . . 145*o*
20 . . . . . 133*c*
21 . . . 118*t*, 132*b*
24 . . . . . 144*e*
26 . . . . 112*rr*
27 . . . . . 152*z*
28 . . 112*m*, 113*w*
29, 1 . 19*c*, 66*f*, 69*h*, N., 130*d*
4 . . . . . 120*g*
5 . 126*p*, 133*k*, N. 2
6 . . . 84*a*, 144*b*
7 . 75*qq*, 116*i*, 118*t*
8 . . . . . 116*s*
9 . . . 55*g*, 72*l*
13 . 115*d*, 127*a*, 142*d*
14 . 50*e*, 113*w*, 155*f*
15 . . . 53*q*, 112*n*

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29,16 . . .147 *c*, 150 *f*
19 .118 *l*, 132 *c*, 133 *h*
23 . . . . .131 *o*
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2 . . . 63 *i*, 72 *q*
5 . . . . . 78 *b*
6 . . . . .135 *p*
8 . . .61 *f*, 135 *p*
11 . . . . .102 *b*
12 .61 *d*, 111 *v*, 114 *d*, 114 *r*
13 . . . . .116 *d*
14 .63 *i*, 113 *i*, 156 *g*
18 . . .67 *cc*, 130 *a*
19 . . . 58 *g*, 75 *ll*
20 . . 131 *c*, 145 *n*
21 56
22 . . 135 *n*, 145 *m*
23 . . . . . 93 *ss*
24 . . . . . 52 *s*
26 . . 114 *r*, 134 *r*
28 . . . . . 72 *z*
31 . . . . .156 *d*
33 . . . . . 32 *l*
31, 2 . . . . .141 *f*
3 . . . . . 75 *u*
5 . . . 67 *p*, 113 *t*
6 .138 *f*, N. 2, 144 *b*
8 . . .125 *c*, 152 *a*
32, 1 . . . . .143 *e*
7 . . . 154 *a*, N.
9 . . . . . 44 *o*
11 . 48 *i*, 67 *o*, 110 *k*
12 . . .116 *s*, 144 *i*
13 . . . . .128 *c*
17 . . . . .113 *c*
18 . . . . .124 *e*
33, 1 .20 *h*, 53 *q*, 53 *u*, 67 *v*, 120 *b*, 156 *f*
3 . . . . .67 *dd*
4 . . . . . 85 *h*
5 . . . . .116 *s*
6 . . . . .130 *b*
7 . . . . . 75 *u*
9 . . . 29 *q*, 145 *t*
10 . . . . . 54 *c*
12 . . . . . 20 *i*
14 . . 84a *s*, 117 *bb*
15 .117 *r*, N. 2, 119 *z*
16 . . . . .124 *b*
19 . . . . . 67 *n*
20 . . . . . 152 *t*
34, 4 . . . 67 *t*, 126 *o*
5 . . . . . 52 *k*
6 . . . . . 54 *n*
10 . . . . . 102 *i*
11 . . . 21 *c*, 80 *g*
13 . . . . .117 *z*
17 . . . . . 59 *g*
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Isaiah
35, 2 . . 113 *w*, 130 *b*
4 . . . . . 65 *f*
7 . . . . .135 *p*
9 . . 84b *f*, 132 *c*
36, 2 . . . 128 *w*, N.
9 . . 119 *s*, 119 *u*
11 . . . . . 2 *a*
14 . . . . . 74 *l*
16 . . .110 *f*, 127 *f*
17 . . . . .114 *r*
37, 3 . . 69 *m*, 152 *k*
4 . . . . .138 *a*
11 . . . . .150 *a*
14 . . . 124 *b*, N.
17 . . . . . 10 *g*
19 . . .113 *f*, 113 *z*
22 . . . . .130 *e*
24 . . . . .128 *r*
26 .75 *qq*, 114 *k*, 117 *ii*
28 . . . . .114 *c*
29 . . . 112 *nn*
30 .113 *z*, 113 *ee*, 126 *b*
38, 3 . .16 *f*, N., 157 *c*
5 .50 *e*, 113 *bb*, 155 *f*
9 . . . . .114 *r*
10 . . 108 *f*, 121 *d*
14 . . 48 *i*, 61 *f*, N.
15 . . . . . 55 *g*
16 .75 *mm*, 103 *g*, 135 *p*
17 . . . . .119 *ff*
18 . . 116 *h*, 152 *z*
20 . . . 86 *i*, 114 *i*
39, 1 . . . 124 *b*, N.
40, 3 . . . . .146 *b*
4 . . . . . 93 *v*
6 . . 112 *qq*, 127 *c*
9 . . . . .119 *s*
10 . . . . .119 *i*
11 . . . . . 93 *x*
14 . . . . .124 *e*
18 . . . 15 *c*, 75 *dd*
19 . . . . 119 *hh*
20 . . 155 *f*, 156 *g*
22 . . . . .126 *b*
26 . . . . .124 *e*
29 . . . . .152 *v*
30 . . . . . 69 *q*
31 . . . . . 8 *k*
41, 1 . . . . 119 *gg*
2 .35 *n*, N. 1, 75 *gg*, 155 *n*
4 . . . p. 459, N.
5 . . . . . 75 *u*
7 . . . . . 29 *f*
8 . . . . .138 *d*
10 . . . . .75 *bb*
12 . . . . . 76 *d*
15 96
17 . . . . . 20 *i*

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24 . . . . .155 *n*
25 . . . 23 *d*, 76 *d*
42, 4 . . . . . 67 *q*
5 .65 *d*, 93 *ss*, 124 *k*
6 .107 *b*, N. 1, 109 *k*
10 . . . . . 91 *f*
18 .35 *g*, 126 *e*, 126 *f*
20 . . .75 *n*, 144 *p*
21 . . . . .120 *c*
22 . . .29 *q*, 124 *q*
24 . . 113 *d*, 138 *q*
25 . . . . .131 *k*
43, 1 . .61 *h*, 74 *c*, 91 *d*
2 . . 159 *dd*, 159 *ff*
6 . . . . .122 *v*
8 . 53 *m*, 69 *v*, 74 *l*
9 . . . . . 51 *o*
10 . . p. 459, N.
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9 . . . . . 5 *n*
13 . . . . . 64 *i*
15 . . . 103 *f*, N. 3
16 . . . . . 67 *ee*
18 . . . . .72 *dd*
21 .20 *f*, 57, N. 3, 117 *x*
22 . . . . . 72 *y*
28 . . .53 *n*, 114 *p*
45, 1 . . . . . 67 *p*
2 . . . . . 70 *b*
4 . . . 111 *b*, N. 2
9 . . . . .152 *u*
10 . . . . . 47 *o*
14 . . . . . 10 *g*
46, 5 . . . . .75 *dd*
47, 1 . . . . .120 *c*
2 . . . 46 *d*, 63 *l*
8 . . . . . 90 *m*
10 . 61 *h*, 75 *v*, 116 *f*
12 . . . . .138 *f*
14 . . . 28 *b*, 67 *cc*
48, 8 . . . . . 52 *k*
9 . . . . 119 *hh*
11 . . . . . 67 *t*
14 . . . . 119 *hh*
17 . . . . .93 *qq*
18 . . 111 *x*, 151 *c*
49, 6 .67 *t*, 115 *a*, 142 *f*, N. 2
7 . . . . .111 *q*
11 . . . . .145 *u*
15 . . . . .160 *b*
18 . . . . . 32 *c*
19 . . . . .67 *dd*
21 . . . . . 72 *p*
23 . 122 *f*, N., 156 *c*
26 . . . . .135 *l*

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50, 2 . 133 *c*, 150 *m*, 152 *y*
8 . . . 15 *c*, 20 *f*
9 . . . . . 136 *c*
11 . . . . . 20 *n*
51, 1 . . . . . 155 *k*
2 . . . 107 *b*, N. 1
9 . . . 72 *s*, 118 *u*
10 . . 93 *pp*, 138 *k*
11 . . . . . 111 *m*
12 . . . . . 50 *f*
13 . . . . . 52 *k*
17 . . . . . 128 *q*
19 . . . 47 *b*, 122 *q*
21 . . . . . 130 *b*
52, 7 . . . 73 *g*, 106 *g*
8 . 117 *a*, N. 2, 146 *b*
11 . . . . . 67 *t*
12 . . . . . 61 *n*
14 . . . . 93 *q*
53, 2 . . . . . 166 *a*
3 . . . 96, 128 *t*
4 . . 116 *l*, 117 *ii*
5 . 55 *b*, 121 *a*, 128 *q*
8 . . . 103 *f*, N. 3
9 . . . . . 160 *c*
10 . . . 74 *k*, 75 *ii*
11 . 117 *n*, 120 *h*, 132 *b*
54, 1 . 67 *ff*, 144 *p*, 155 *f*
4 . . . . . 91 *l*
5 . 124 *k*, 124 *k*, N. 3
6 . . . . . 58 *g*
10 . . . . . 103 *b*
11 . . . 152 *a*, N.
12 . . . . . 21 *d*
14 . . . 54 *c*, 110 *c*
15 . . . . 159 *w*
55, 2 . . . . . 152 *a*
3 . . . . . 93 *m*
9 . . . . . 161 *b*
56, 3 . . . . . 138 *k*
4 . . . . . 138 *f*
8 . . . . . 20 *m*
9 . . . . . 29 *t*
57, 4 . . . . . 93 *m*
5 . . . . . 67 *u*
6 . . . . . 20 *h*
8 . . . . . 47 *k*
17 . . . . . 113 *h*
20 . . . . . 113 *d*
58, 3 . 20 *h*, 19 *c*, 150 *m*
9 . . . 65 *a*, 115 *b*
13 . . . . 119 *hh*
59, 3 . . . . . 51 *h*
5 . . . 73 *d*, 80 *i*
9 . . . . . 93 *r*
10 . . . . . 152 *v*
12 . . . . . 67 *k*
13 . 52 *e*, 75 *n*, 113 *d*
14 . . . . . 72 *ee*
21 . . . . . 143 *a*

Isaiah
60, 4 . . . 51 *m*, 122 *v*
9 . . . . . 58 *g*
14 . . . 118 *q*, 125 *h*
61, 1 . . . . 84 b *n*
7 . . . 60 *e*, 119 *hh*
62, 2 . . . 16 *f*, 20 *m*
12 . . . 152 *a*, N.
63, 3 . 107 *b*, N. 1, 53 *p*, 76 *e*
11 . . . . . 128 *e*
16 . . . . . 60 *d*
19 . . 151 *e*, 155 *m*
64, 3 . . . . . 75 *hh*
6 . . . . . 72 *cc*
65, 1 . . . 51 *c*, 155 *n*
5 . . . . . 117 *x*
14 . . . . . 70 *d*
17 . . . . . 51 *m*
18 . . . . . 110 *c*
20 . . . . . 75 *oo*
66, 13 . . . . . 155 *d*
18 . . . . . 167 *b*

Jeremiah
1, 10 . . . . . 45 *g*
13 . . . . . 90 *e*
2, 2 . . . . . 49 *k*
8 . . . . . 155 *n*
11 . . . . . 72 *e*
12 . . . . . 46 *d*
15 . . . . . 44 *m*
16 . . . . 117 *ll*
17 . . . 116 *g*, N. 2
19 . . . . . 60 *a*
20 . . . 44 *h*, N. 2
21 . . . . . 126 *z*
24 . . . 60 *e*, 122 *c*
27 . . . 59 *h*, 69 *s*
31 . . . . . 85 *h*
33 . . . . . 44 *h*
35 . . . . . 114 *d*
36 . . . . . 68 *h*
3, 1 . . 113 *ee*, 159 *w*
5 . . 47 *k*, 66 *f*, 69 *r*
6 . . . 75 *ii*, 132 *b*
7 . . . . . 84 a *k*
8 . . . . . 91 *l*
9 . . . . 112 *ss*
15 . . . . . 113 *h*
22 . . 75 *pp*, 75 *rr*
4, 2 . . . . . 10 *g*
5 . . . . . 120 *h*
7 . . . 20 *h*, 93 *t*
11 . . . . . 67 *v*
13 . . . . . 67 *ee*
18 . . . . . 75 *n*
19 . 108 *g*, 133 *l*, N. 3
29 . . . . . 123 *b*
30 . . . . . 145 *t*
5, 6 . . . 20 *b*, 67 *cc*

Jeremiah
5, 7 . . . . . 65 *b*
13 . . . 52 *o*, 138 *i*
15 . . . . . 155 *h*
22 . . 58 *i*, 58 *k*, 60 *e*
26 . . . . . 67 *p*
28 . . . . . 117 *z*
6, 5 . . . . . 10 *g*
8 . . 51 *c*, 152 *a*, N.
10 . . . . . 108 *g*
11 . . . . . 121 *d*
17 . . . . 112 *dd*
20 . . . . . 126 *x*
28 . . . . . 133 *i*
29 . . . . . 67 *u*
7, 4 . . . 133 *l*, N. 3
9 . . 112 *o*, 113 *ee*
10 . . . . . 97 *g*
19 . . 57, N. 2, 135 *k*
8, 4 . . . . . 150 *m*
5 . . . . . 128 *c*
11 . 75 *qq*, 133 *l*, 155 *n*
13 . . 72 *aa*, 113 *w*
14 . . . . . 67 *dd*
19 . . 100 *m*, 102 *m*
9, 1 . . 108 *f*, 151 *b*
2 . . . 53 *n*, 119 *u*
3 . . . . . 63 *c*
4 . . . 53 *q*, 113 *d*
11 . . . . . 109 *i*
12 . . . . . 114 *r*
17 . . . . . 74 *k*
23 . 113 *d*, 113 *g*, 144 *e*
10, 3 . . . 145 *u*, N. 2
4 . . . . . 109 *g*
5 . 23 *i*, 47 *n*, 75 *oo*
11 . . . . . 1 *c*
17 . . . . . 46 *d*
18 . . . . . 67 *ee*
19 . . . 63 *c*, 126 *y*
22 . . . . . 146 *b*
23 . . . . . 72 *z*
11, 7 . . . . . 113 *k*
15 . . 53 *n*, 90 *g*, 91 *e*
16 . . . . 84 a *g*
19 . . . . . 45 *g*
12, 4 . . . . . 145 *k*
5 . . . . . 55 *h*
9 . . . . . 68 *i*
13, 10 . . . . . 52 *s*
14 . . . . . 127 *e*
16 . . . . . 144 *c*
17 . . . . . 69 *p*
19 . . 75 *m*, 118 *q*
21 . . . . . 64 *a*
14, 1 . . . p. 468, N.
16 . . . . . 103 *g*
18 . . 155 *h*, 159 *p*
15, 10 . . . . 91 *c*, N.
18 . . . 50 *f*, 102 *l*
16, 16 . . . 73 *b*, 132 *b*

Jeremiah

17, 2 . . . 28 *a*, 45 *g*
7 . . . . 93 *oo*
8 . . . . 53 *m*
11 . . . . 161 *a*
17 . . . . 75 *hh*
18 . . . 72 *y*, 74 *l*
18, 7 . . . . . 45 *g*
23 . . . . 75 *ii*
19, 5 . . . . . 144 *b*
8 . . . . 75 *qq*
15 . . . . . 74 *k*
20, 9 . 21 *d*, 112 *kk*, 132 *d*
15 . . . . . 59 *f*
17 . 111 *l*, 122 *n*, N. 2
21, 1 . . . . . 115 *i*
13 . . . . . 66 *f*
22, 14 . . . . . 87 *g*
15 . 10 *g*, 55 *h*, 142 *g*
19 . . . . 113 *k*
20 . . . 10 *h*, 46 *d*
22 . . . . . 22 *s*
23 . 23 *f*, N. 1, 80 *d*
24 . . . . . 58 *i*
26 . . . . . 72 *k*
28 . . . . . 10 *g*
29 . . . 133 *l*, N. 3
23, 6 . . 20 *d*, 60 *c*, 74 *e*
14 . . . . 152 *x*
32 . . . . . 52 *s*
33 . . . 117 *m*, N. 3
37 . . . 58 *f*, 75 *ll*
39 . . . . . 23 *l*
24, 7 . . . . . 115 *c*
25, 3 . . . . . 53 *k*
15 . . . . 131 *k*
26 . . . . 127 *g*
27 . . . . . 76 *h*
34 . . . . . 91 *l*
36 . . . . . 24 *e*
26, 5 . . . . 113 *k*
6 . . . . 8 *k*, 37 *b*
9 . . . . 75 *qq*
27, 16 . . . . . 90 *e*
18 . . . 72 *o*, 76 *g*
20 . . . . . 53 *q*
29, 1 . . . . . 53 *p*
8 . . . . . 53 *o*
17 . . . . 132 *e*
23 . . . . . 64 *e*
25 . . . 124 *b*, N.
30, 11 . . . . 113 *n*
16 . . . . . 67 *s*
26 . . . . 134 *m*
31, 1 . . . . 75 *hh*
2 . . . . 113 *dd*
3 . . . . 117 *x*
18 . . . . . 51 *c*
21 . . . 44 *h*, 126 *y*
22 . . . . . 47 *o*
28 . . . . . 45 *g*

Jeremiah

31, 32 . 63 *o*, 138 *b*, N. 3
33 . . . . . 60 *a*
38 . . . . . 17 *b*
40 . . . . . 127 *g*
32, 4 . . . . . 51 *k*
10 . . . . . 126 *s*
12 . . . . . 127 *h*
14 . . . 124 *b*, N.
35 . . . . . 74 *k*
33, 20 . . . . . 128 *d*
22 . . . 116 *g*, N. 2
34, 9 . . . . . 132 *d*
36, 33 . . . . . 117 *l*
37, 3 . . . . . 53 *q*
11 . . . . 112 *uu*
12 . . . . . 53 *q*
15 . . . . . 112 *tt*
16 . . . . . 87 *i*
38, 4 . . . . . 75 *rr*
9 . . . . . 111 *l*
11 . . . . . 8 *k*
12 . . . . . 93 *x*
14 . . . . . 126 *w*
16 . . . . . 17 *b*
23 . . . . . 144 *i*
26 . . . . . 115 *a*
28 . . . . 112 *qq*
39, 7 . . . . 53, 72 *z*
12 . . . . . 22 *s*
14 . . . . . 115 *c*
40, 3 . . . . 112 *qq*
4 . . . . . 35 *d*
16 . . . . . 75 *hh*
41, 6 . . . . 113 *u*
12 . . . . . 119 *g*
42, 2 . . . . . 75 *ff*
6 . . . 17 *a*, 32 *d*
10 . . . . . 19 *i*
16 . . . . . 112 *y*
44, 8 . . . . . 8 *k*
18 . . . . . 67 *c*
19 . 53 *k*, 58 *g*, 144 *u*
21 . . . . . 52 *o*
23 . . . . . 74 *g*
25 . . . 72 *k*, 146 *g*
46, 1 . . . p. 468, N.
8 . . . . . 68 *i*
16 . . . . 126 *w*
20 . . . . 84 b *n*
47, 4 . . . 45 *g*, 67 *cc*
48, 2 . . . . . 67 *t*
11 . . . . . 72 *dd*
15 . . . . . 145 *u*
31 . . . . . 70 *d*
32 . . . . . 127 *f*
36 . . . . . 80 *g*
45 . . . . 119 *w*
49, 3 . . . . . 54 *b*
8 . . . 46 *a*, N. 1
10 . . . . . 75 *pp*

Jeremiah

49, 11 . . 47 *k*, 60 *a*, N.
12 . . . . 141 *h*
16 . . . . . 147 *c*
25 . . . . . 80 *g*
28 . . . 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
30 . . . . . 20 *g*
36 . . . . . 20 *m*
37 . . . . . 67 *dd*
50, 5 . . . . . 51 *o*
11 . . . . . 80 *h*
34 . . . 53 *l*, 73 *d*
51, 3 . . 17 *b*, 152 *h*, N.
9 . . . . . 75 *qq*
29 . . . 111 *w*, N. 1
33 . . . . . 53 *l*
56 . . . 20 *h*, 52 *k*
58 . . . . . 20 *i*
59 . . . . . 134 *p*
52, 20 . . . . . 128 *d*

Ezekiel

1, 6 . . . 87 *t*, 88 *f*
11 . . . . . 91 *l*
14 . . . 113 *s*, N. 2
20 . . . 123 *d*, N. 2
2, 3 . . . . . 126 *x*
10 . . . . . 19 *h*
4, 9 . . . . . 87 *e*
12 . . . . . 58 *k*
5, 11 . . . 72 *r*, 109 *d*
12 . 52 *n*, 75 *hh*, 95 *e*
13 . . . . . 54 *c*
16 . . . . . 109 *d*
6, 3 . . . . . 93 *v*
6 . 67 *p*, N. 2, 67 *dd*
8 . . . . . 91 *l*
9 . . . . . 72 *dd*
10 . . . . 119 *ii*
11 . . . . . 128 *c*
12 . . . . . 91 *e*
14 . . . . . 133 *l*
7, 7 . . . . . 127 *g*
14 . . 72 *z*, 113 *z*, N.
24 . . . . . 93 *oo*
8, 2 . . . . . 90 *f*
3 . . . . . 75 *qq*
16 . . . . . 75 *kk*
9, 2 . . . . . 116 *k*
3 . 116 *k*, 121 *d*, N. 2
8 . . . . . 64 *i*
11 . . . . . 116 *k*
10, 3 . 131 *n*, 131 *n*, N. 2
15 . . . . . 72 *dd*
17 . . . 72 *q*, 72 *dd*
11, 24 . . . . . 90 *c*
13, 2 . . . . . 93 *oo*
3 . . 152 *x*, 155 *n*
11 . . . . . 35 *m*
18 . 87 *f*, 103 *f*, N. 2
19 . . . 72 *k*, 93 *r*

Ezekiel

13,20 . . . . 32 *i*, 91 *l*
14, 3 . . . . 51 *k*, 51 *p*
14 . . . . . 112 *ll*
22 . . 117 *l*, 126 *w*
16, 4 . 22 *s*, 52 *q*, 53 *s*, 64 *e*, 71
5 71
6 . . . 123 *d*, N. 2
10 . . . . . 49 *c*
27 . . . . . 131 *r*
31 . . . . . 91 *l*
32 . . . . . 117 *d*
33 . . . . . 64 *c*
45 96
47 . . . . 103 *m*
50 . . . . . 47 *e*
51 96
52 . 52 *p*, 91 *n*, 95 *p*, 96
53 . . . 91 *e*, 91 *f*
54 . . . . . 103 *b*
55 . . . . . 72 *k*
57 . . . . . 72 *p*
59 . . . . . 44 *i*
17, 5 . . . . . 19 *i*
7 . . . . . 52 *d*
9 . . . 45 *e*, 93 *m*
15 . . . 29 *i*, 93 *rr*
19 . . . . . 67 *v*
21 . . . . 117 *m*
18, 6 . . . . . 131 *c*
7 . . . . . 131 *r*
10 . 119 *w*, N. 2, 139 *d*
14 . . . . . 103 *l*
29 . . . . . 145 *u*
32 . . . . . 139 *d*
19, 2 . . . . . 80 *h*
12 . . . . . 53 *u*
20, 9 . . . . . 67 *t*
16 . . . . 117 *m*
22 . . . . . 112 *tt*
37 . . . . . 23 *f*
38 . . . . . 145 *u*
21, 15 . . . . . 75 *n*
18 . . . . . 64 *d*
21 . . . . . 73 *a*
22 . . . . . 124 *o*
29 . . . . . 53 *l*
31 . 80 *k*, 113 *bb*, N. 2
32 . . . . . 133 *l*
33 . . . 45 *c*, 68 *i*
35 . . . . . 72 *y*
22, 4 . . . . . 47 *k*
18 . . . . . 131 *d*
20 . . . . . 66 *f*
23, 20 . . . . . 48 *d*
28 . . . 91 *e*, 138 *e*
32 . . . . . 47 *k*
42 . . . . . 21 *c*
44 96
45 . . . . . 103 *b*

Ezekiel

23, 47 . . . . . 103 *b*
48 . . . 55 *k*, 91 *f*
49 . 74 *k*, 76 *b*, 144 *a*
24, 11 . . . . . 67 *q*
19 . . . . . 75 *m*
26 . . . 53 *e*, 54 *k*
25, 3 . . . . . 67 *u*
4 . . . . . 91 *e*
6 . . . . 23 *c*, 74 *e*
26, 2 . . . . . 67 *t*
10 . . . . . 130 *b*
14 . . . . . 47 *k*
15 . . . . . 51 *l*
17 . . . . . 138 *k*
21 . . . . . 10 *g*
27, 19 . . . . . 20 *i*
31 . . . . . 80 *h*
32 . . . . . 23 *k*
34 . . . 116 *g*, N. 2
28, 4 . . . . . 32 *g*
16 . 23 *d*, 68 *k*, 75 *qq*, 111 *w*, N. 1
17 . . . . . 75 *n*
23 . . . . . 55 *d*
24 . . . . . 72 *p*
29, 3 . . . . . 117 *x*
7 . . . . . 127 *c*
30, 9 . . . . . 93 *y*
16 . . . . . 73 *d*
31, 3 . . . . . 67 *v*
5 . . . . . 44 *f*
7 . . . . . 76 *f*
16 . . . 128 *a*, N. 1
32, 12 . . . . . 51 *n*
19 . . . 46 *a*, N. 1
30 . . . 20 *m*, 72 *n*
32 . . . . . 53 *s*
33, 17 . . . 143 *a*, N. 3
26 . . . . . 44 *k*
34, 2 . . . . 57, N. 2
8 . . . . 57, N. 2
10 . . . 149 *c*, 167 *b*
21 . . . . . 103 *b*
31 . . . . . 32 *i*
35, 6 . . . . . 10 *h*
9 . . . . . 72 *k*
10 . . . . 117 *m*
12 . . . . . 84 *b e*
36, 3 . 67 *r*, 75 *y*, 113 *g*
5 . . . . . 91 *e*
11 . . . . . 70 *e*
12 . . . . . 69 *s*
25 . . . . . 34 *f*
37, 2 . . . . 112 *pp*
7 . . . . 60 *a*, N.
8 . . . . 9 *u*, 29 *i*
11 . . . 116 *t*, 119 *s*
16 . . . 66 *g*, 119 *u*
17 . . . 52 *n*, 64 *h*
19 . . . 117 *m*, N. 3

Ezekiel

38, 21 . . . . . 49 *l*
23 . . . . . 54 *k*
39, 2 . . . . . 55 *f*
26 . . . . . 75 *qq*
40, 3 . . . . . 74 *l*
4 . . . . . 74 *d*
5 . . . . . 134 *n*
16 . . . . . 91 *l*
17 . . . . . 121 *d*
19 . . . . . 80 *k*
27 . . . . . 134 *g*
28 . . . . 126 *w*
31 . . . . . 93 *ss*
43 . . . . . 20 *m*
45 . . . 136 *d*, N.
48 . . . . . 92 *g*
41, 7 . . . . . 67 *dd*
15 . . . . . 91 *l*
18 . . . . . 121 *d*
20 . . . . . 5 *n*
22 . . . . . 141 *b*
42, 5 . . . . . 68 *h*
43, 7 . . . . 117 *m*
17 . . . . . 103 *o*
27 . . . . . 75 *rr*
44, 3 . . . . 117 *m*
8 . . . . . 58 *g*
9 . . 93 *hh*, 143 *e*
12 . . . 112 *e*, N. 1
45, 2 . . . . . 65 *d*
46, 6 . . . 132 *g*, N. 1
17 . . . . . 72 *o*
22 . . . 53 *q*, 53 *s*
23 . . . . . 121 *d*
24 . . . . . 124 *r*
47, 3 . . . . . 128 *n*
4 . . . . . 131 *e*
7 . . . . . 91 *e*
8 . . . . . 75 *oo*
17 . . . . 117 *m*
48, 14 . . . . . 72 *dd*

Hosea

1, 2 . . . 52 *o*, 130 *d*
6 . 120 *g*, 152 *a*, N.
7 . . . . . 119 *o*
2, 1 . . . . . 130 *c*
3 96
5 . . . . . 72 *w*
6 . . . . . 52 *n*
11 . . . . . 120 *e*
14 . . . . . 91 *e*
25 . . . 152 *a*, N.
3, 1 . . . . . 125 *c*
2 . . . . . 20 *h*
5 . . . . 2 *v*, N. 2
4, 2 . . . . . 113 *ff*
14 . . . . . 155 *f*
15 . . . . 145 *m*
18 . . . . . 55 *e*

Hosea

5, 2 . . . . . 64*a*
3 . . . . . 135*a*
8 . . . . . 147*c*
15 . . . . . 60*e*
6, 1 . . . . . 109*k*
2 . 119*y*, N. 1, 134*s*
3 . . . . . 155*g*
4 . . . . . 120*g*
6 . . . . . 133*b*
9 . 23*l*, 75*aa*, 93*s*
10 . . . . . 114*l*
7, 4 . . . . . 80*k*
5 . . . 55*f*, 93*ss*
6 . . . . . 91*c*
12 . . . 24*f*, 70*b*
14 . . . . . 70*d*
16 . . . 34*b*, N. 1
8, 3 . . . . . 60*d*
4 . . . . . 67*v*
7 . . . . . 90*f*
9 . . . . . 119*s*
10 . 20*g*, 111*w*, N. 1
9, 6 . . . . . 130*a*
9 . . . . . 120*g*
11 . . . . . 69*m*
12 . . . . . 159*m*
15 . . . . . 109*d*
10, 4 . . . . . 75*n*
6 . . . . . 121*w*
10 . . . . 60*a*, 71
11 . . . . . 90*l*
14 . 9*b*, 23*g*, 53*u*, 72*p*, 156*c*
15 . . . . . 133*i*
11, 1 . . . . . 68*f*
3 . . . 19*i*, 55*h*
4 . . . . . 68*z*
7 . . . . . 75*rr*
12, 1 . . . . . 124*h*
5 . . . . . 58*k*
13, 2 . . . . . 91*e*
3 . . . . . 120*g*
8 . . . . . 122*e*
10 . . . . . 150*l*
14 . . . . . 93*q*
15 . . . . . 75*rr*
14, 1 . . 84*a g*, 145*u*
3 . . . . . 128*e*
4 . . . . . 68*f*
10 . 69*b*, 166*a*, N. 1

Joel

1, 2 . 100*n*, 126*e*, 150*g*
4 . . . . . 49*m*
5 . . . . . 126*e*
6 . . . . . 152*v*
7 . . . . . 113*n*
8 . . . 63*l*, 116*k*
12 . . . . . 102*b*
15 . . . . . 147*d*

Joel

1, 17 . . . . . 20*h*
18 . . . . . 148*a*
20 . . . . . 145*k*
2, 2 . . . . . 109*d*
4 . . . 72*u*, 126*p*
6 . . . . . 23*d*
13 . . . . . 152*g*
16 . . . . . 128*y*
17 . . . . . 150*e*
21 . . . . . 46*e*
22 . . . . . 144*a*
24 . . . . . 93*r*
26 . . . . . 114*o*
4, 1 . . . . . 125*k*
4 . . . . . 133*k*
11 . . . . . 64*h*
14 . . . 123*e*, 147*c*
18 . . . . . 117*z*
21 . . . .49*k*, 75*z*

Amos

1, 3 . . . 134*s*, 158*c*
5 . . . . . 145*c*
8 . . . . . 145*e*
9 . . . 114*r*, 158*c*
11 . 58*g*, 112*i*, 114*r*
2, 6 . . . . . .61*b*
7 . . . . . 126*b*
9 . . . . . 53*n*
10 . . . . . 69*x*
16 . . . . . 118*n*
3, 4 . . . . . 163*c*
5 . . . . . 113*q*
7 . . . . . 163*c*
8 . . . . . 159*h*
9 . . . . . 124*e*
11 . 67*t*, 88*f*, 154*a*, N.
12 . . . . . 126*r*
4, 1 . . . 135*o*, 144*a*
2 . . . 75*oo*, 112*x*
3 . . . .44*k*, 69*u*
4 . . . . . 113*z*
7 . 112*h*, N. 3, 144*c*
8 . . . . . 134*s*
9 . . . . . 126*n*
11 . . . 51*o*, 115*d*
13 . . . 116*g*, N. 2
5, 2 . . . . . 128*k*
3 . . . 117*z*, 129*g*
4 . . . . . 110*f*
7 . . . . . 126*b*
8 . . .111*u*, 117*ii*
11 . . . . . .61*c*
14 . . . 109*k*, 152*g*
15 . . . . . 67*cc*
18 . . . . . 152*d*
19 . . .112*m*, 126*r*
21 . 20*h*, 106*g*, 154*a*, N.
26 . . 112*x*, 112*rr*
6, 1 . . . . . 112*n*

Amos

6, 2 . . . 125*h*, 126*z*
6 . 63*c*, 93*k*, 119*m*, N.
10 . . . 145*m*, 152*s*
12 . .123*a*, N., 144*d*
13 . . . . 152*a*, N.
14 . . . . . 125*c*
7, 1 . . . 86*i*, 147*b*
2 . . . . .112*uu*
4 . . . . . 112*tt*
7 . . . . . 156*b*
15 . . . . . 119*b*
8, 4 . . . . . 53*q*
8 . . . . . 125*e*
10 . . . 128*h*, 135*p*
13 . . . 54*k*, 146*g*
9, 1 . . . 61*g*, 144*e*
3 . . . . . 112*p*
7 . . . . . 150*e*
8 . 53*k*, 113*n*, 113*v*
11 . . . 116*d*, 118*u*
13 . . . . . 54*k*

Obadiah

1, 3 . . . . .90*l*, 93*x*
10 . . . . . 128*a*
11 . . 9*v*, 61*f*, 69*u*
13 . . . . . 47*k*

Jonah

1, 3 . 116*d*, 122*t*, 135*p*
5 . . . . . 51*m*
6 . . . . . 120*b*
7 . . . . . 150*k*
9 . . . . . 2*b*
10 . . . . . 117*q*
11 . . . 113*u*, 165*a*
14 . . . . . .16*f*
15 . . . . . .61*c*
2, 2 . . . . . 122*s*
4 . . . . . 117*r*
3, 5 . . . . . 133*g*
4, 1 . . . . . 117*q*
2 . 16*f*, 114*n*, N. 3
6 . . . . . 117*q*
9 . . . . . 113*k*
10 . . . . .96, 128*v*
11 . 20*m*, 97*b*, 150*a*

Micah

1, 1 . . . . . 145*m*
2 . . . . . 135*r*
5 . . . 23*c*, 137*a*
7 . 52*l*, 67*y*, 117*ii*
8 . . 69*b*, N., 118*n*
10 . . . . . 113*v*
11 . . . 122*s*, 131*c*
13 . . . . . 110*k*
15 . . . . . 74*k*
2, 3 . . . . . 118*q*

Micah

2, 4 . 67 *u*, 144 *d*, 148 *b*
6 . . . 72 *dd*, 145 *o*
7 . . .100 *n*, 118 *n*
8 . . . . . 116 *h*
12 . . . 72 *k*, 127 *i*
3, 1 . . . . . 114 *l*
4 . . . . . 109 *k*
6 . . .119 *w*, 144 *c*
12 . . . 87 *e*, 121 *d*
4, 3 . . . 91 *n*, 145 *c*
6 . 68 *h*, 84a *s*, 122 *s*
8 . . . . . .68 *f*
9 . . . . . 113 *w*
10 . 10 *k*, 76 *g*, 145 *n*
11 . . . . .119 *dd*
12 . . . . . .90 *i*
13 . 44 *h*, 72 *q*, 117 *ii*
14 . . . . . 119 *o*
5, 1 . . . 135 *g*, 142 *g*
2 . . . 106 *o*, 155 *l*
4 . 72 *i*, 128 *l*, 134 *s*
6, 1 . . . . . 138 *e*
3 . 53 *p*, 75 *ee*, 163 *b*
5 . . . . .117 *gg*
8 . . . . . 163 *d*
9 . . . . . 146 *b*
10 . . . 47 *b*, 118 *g*
11 . . . . . 47 *b*
13 . . . . . 115 *c*
7, 1 . . . . . 93 *p*
2 . 117 *ff*, 119 *i*, 152 *k*
3 . . . . . 135 *f*
4 . . . 133 *e*, 133 *g*
8 . . . . . 122 *s*
10 . 75 *p*, 75 *w*, 75 *hh*, 145 *n*
11 . . . . . 126 *x*
12 . . . . .126 *aa*
14 . . . . . 90 *m*
17 . . . . . 116 *h*
18 . . . . . 148 *c*
19 . . . . . 120 *g*

Nahum

1, 2 . . . . . 5 *h*
3 . . .75 *hh*, 143 *a*
4 . . . . . 69 *u*
12 . . . . . .67 *t*
2, 4 . . . . . 52 *q*
5 . . . 55 *g*, 93 *ss*
8 . . . .63 *p*, 91 *c*
11 . . . . . 133 *l*
14 . . . . . .91 *l*
3, 5 . . . . . 53 *p*
7 . . . 52 *q*, 67 *cc*
8 . . . 70 *e*, 133 *b*
9 . . . . . .91 *e*
10 . . . . . 69 *u*
11 . . . . . 145 *p*
15 . . . 110 *a*, 110 *k*

Nahum

3, 17 . . . . . 20 *h*

Habakkuk

1, 5 . . . . . 116 *s*
6 . . . 13 *c*, 155 *e*
8 . . . . . 67 *ee*
14 . . . . . 152 *u*
15 . . . . . 63 *p*
16 . . . . . 103 *g*
17 . . .114 *k*, 156 *g*
2, 1 . . . . . 37 *b*
3 . . . . . 72 *dd*
6 . . . . . 147 *c*
10 . . . 116 *s*, 118 *p*
12 . . . . . 112 *n*
14 .90 *n*, 116 *f*, N. 1, 155 *g*
15 . . . 90 *m*, 113 *z*
17 . .20 *n*, 60 *d*, 67 *v*
19 . . . . . 152 *p*
3, 2 . . . . .75 *mm*
6 . . . 67 *k*, 67 *ee*
8 . . . . . 131 *r*
9 . . . . . 113 *w*
10 . . . . . .91 *l*
13 .22 *s*, 75 *aa*, 75 *n*, 113 *h*
15 . . . . . 144 *m*
16 . . . . . 156 *e*
17 . . . . . 145 *u*
19 . . . . . .86 *i*

Zephaniah

1, 2 . 72 *aa*, 113 *w*, N. 3
14 . . . . . 52 *s*
2, 2 . . . . . 152 *y*
7 . . . . . 135 *p*
9 . . . . . .8 *k*
15 . . . . . 152 *s*
3, 1 . . . . . 75 *rr*
7 . . . . . 120 *g*
11 . . . . . 135 *n*
16 . . . . . 145 *p*
18 . . . . . .69 *t*
20 . . . . . .91 *l*

Haggai

1, 1 . . . . . 129 *f*
4 .126 *z*, 131 *h*, N. 1, 135 *g*
6 . . . . . 113 *z*
9 . . . . . 37 *f*
2, 5 . . . 44 *o*, 117 *l*
7 . . . . . 145 *e*
17 . 72 *v*, 117 *m*, N. 3, 152 *n*

Zechariah

1, 8 . . . . . 132 *c*
13 . . . . . 131 *c*

Zechariah

1, 14 . . . . .117 *q*
17 . . . . . 72 *k*
2, 8 . . . . .118 *r*
10 . . . . .154 *b*
11 . . . 29 *o*, N. 2
17 . . . . . 72 *ee*
3, 1 . . . . .115 *c*
4 . . . . .113 *z*
7 . . . . . 53 *o*
8 . . . . .126 *e*
9 . 88 *f*, 97 *c*, 122 *n*
4, 2 . . . 91 *e*, 97 *c*
7 . . . . .126 *x*
10 .72 *dd*, 126 *w*, 127 *h*
12 . . . . . 10 *g*
5, 2 . . . . .134 *n*
3 . . . . 75 *mm*
4 . . . 73 *d*, 80 *i*
7 . . 74 *i*, 136 *d*, N.
9 . . . . . 74 *k*
10 . . . . . 32 *n*
11 . 23 *k*, 72 *ee*, 103 *g*
6, 7 . . . . . 54 *k*
10 . . . . . 49 *l*
12 . . . . . 155 *e*
7, 1 . . . . .134 *p*
5 . 59 *a*, 113 *z*, 117 *x*, 135 *e*
7 . . . . .117 *l*
10 . . . . .139 *c*
14 . . . . . 52 *n*
8, 2 . . . . .117 *q*
5 . . . . .132 *d*
6 . . . . .150 *a*
9 . . . . .136 *b*
17 . . . . .117 *l*
23 . . . . .157 *a*
9, 5 . . .75 *p*, 75 *hh*
9 .72 *s*, 124 *o*, 154 *a*, N.
11 . . .135 *f*, 152 *u*
12 . . . . .116 *s*
10, 2 . . . . .124 *h*
5 . . . . . 72 *p*
6 . . . . . 72 *x*
11, 2 . . . . .126 *w*
5 . . . . . 19 *k*
7 . 96, 130 *g*, 132 *c*, 133 *h*
10 . . . . . 67 *w*
17 . . . . . 90 *l*
12, 10 . . p. 469, N. 1
12 . . . . . .123 *d*
13, 7 . 72 *s*, 110 *k*, 144 *a*
14, 4 . . 93 *v*, 128 *w*, N.
10 . . . . . 72 *p*
12 . . . . .67 *dd*

Malachi

1, 2 . . . . . 68 *f*
6 . . . . . 32 *c*

Malachi

1, 10 . . . 151 *a*, 153
13 . . . 37 *c*, 147 *c*
14 . . . . 80 *d*, N. 1
2, 5 . . . . . 67 *u*
15 . . . . . 144 *p*
16 . . . 116 *s*, 155 *n*
3, 9 . . . . . 67 *u*
14 . . . . . 100 *g*
20 . . . . . 44 *d*

Psalm

1, 2 . . . . . 163 *a*
3 . 16 *g*, 107 *g*, 119 *cc*
6 . . . . . 68 *c*
2, 1 . . . . 91 *l*, 106 *l*
2 . . 119 *dd*, 126 *h*
3 . . . . . 108 *b*
4 . . . . . 126 *h*
6 . 135 *a*, 135 *n*, 154 *b*
7 . . . . 44 *d*, 69 *s*
10 . . . 126 *h*, 154 *b*
12 . . 118 *g*, N., 130 *a*
3, 1 . . . . . 129 *c*
2 . . . . . 67 *ee*
3 . . 90 *g*, 152 *n*, N.
5 . . . 111 *t*, 144 *m*
6 . . . . . 49 *e*
8 . . . 72 *s*, 117 *ll*
4, 1 . . . . . 124 *f*
3 . 37 *e*, 47 *m*, 156 *d*
4 . . . . . 154 *b*
7 . . . . . 76 *b*
8 . 133 *e*, N. 2, 155 *l*
5, 4 . . . . . 118 *i*
5 . . . 116 *f*, 117 *bb*
7 . . . . . 128 *t*
8 . . . . . 107 *s*
9 . . . . 24 *f*, 70 *b*
10 . 122 *q*, 124 *e*, 145 *m*, 152 *o*
11 . . . . . 29 *e*
12 . . . 116 *g*, 156 *d*
13 . . . . . 117 *ee*
6, 2 . . . . . 152 *h*
4 . . . . . 147 *c*
6 . . . . . 152 *o*
7 . . . . . 106 *g*
10 . . . . . 142 *f*
7, 3 . . . . . 152 *l*
4 . . . . . 159 *m*
5 . . . . . 49 *e*
6 . . . . . 63 *n*
7 . 72 *s*, 119 *gg*, 156 *d*
10 . 124 *g*, 132 *h*, 158 *a*
12 . . . . . 127 *b*
13 . . . . . 120 *g*
16 . . . . . 155 *h*
17 . . . . . 10 *h*
8, 2 . . . . . 66 *h*
3 . . . . . 128 *a*

Psalm

8, 4 . . . . . 159 *dd*
5 . 107 *v*, 111 *m*, 150 *h*
6 . . . . . 117 *cc*
9, 1 . . . . . 5 *h*
2 . . . 13 *c*, 138 *g*
7 . . . . . 135 *f*
11 . . . . . 106 *k*
14 . . . 20 *b*, 63 *l*
15 . . . . . 91 *l*
19 . . . . . 152 *z*
10, 1 . . . . . 5 *h*
2 . . . . . 66 *c*
5 . . . . . 141 *c*
9 . . . . . 91 *e*
10 . . . . . 93 *x*
11 . . . . . 106 *g*
12 . . . . . 76 *b*
11, 1 . 118 *r*, 129 *c*, 148 *b*
2 . . . . . 47 *m*
4 . . 145 *u*, 155 *e*
6 . . . . . 109 *k*
7 . . . . . 103 *f*
12, 3 . . . 117 *t*, 123 *f*
4 . . . . . 122 *q*
7 . . . 10 *g*, 97 *h*
8 . . . . . 126 *y*
9 . . . . . 54 *k*
13, 4 . . . 117 *r*, N. 2
5 . 44 *e*, 59 *i*, 152 *z*
14, 1 . . . 154 *a*, N.
3 . . . . . 152 *o*
5 . . . . . 117 *p*
7 . . . . . 151 *b*
15, 2 . . . . 118 *n*
16, 1 . . 48 *i*, 61 *f*, N.
2 . . . . . 44 *i*
3 . . 130 *d*, 143 *e*
4 . 93 *m*, 145 *p*, 155 *f*
5 . . . . . 50 *e*
6 . . . 80 *g*, 122 *q*
8 . . . . . 116 *s*
9 . . . . . 111 *r*
11 . . 114 *m*, 122 *q*
17, 3 . . . 59 *h*, 67 *ee*
4 . . . . . 143 *e*
9 . . . . . 138 *g*
10 . . . . . 91 *f*
12 . . . . 126 *p*
13 . . . . 144 *m*
18, 1 . 2 *s*, 53 *l*, 130 *d*, 154 *a*, N.
3 . . . . . 155 *i*
4 . . . 116 *e*, 132 *b*
7 . 10 *g*, N. 3, 107 *b*
10 . . . . . 69 *p*
12 . . . . . 109 *k*
17 . . . . . 117 *g*
18 . . . . . 126 *z*
22 . . . . 119 *ff*
26 . . . . . 93 *s*

Psalm

18, 28 . . . . . 132 *f*
30 . . . 67 *q*, 119 *o*
31 . 126 *c*, 140 *d*, 143 *a*
33 . 116 *f*, 116 *x*, 117 *cc*
35 . . . . . 145 *k*
38 . . . . . 107 *e*
40 . . . . . 116 *i*
41 . . p. 390, N. 1
49 . . . . . 116 *i*
19, 3 . . . . . 20 *f*
4 . . . . . 49 *k*
5 . . . . . 135 *p*
6 . . . . . 122 *o*
8 . . . . . 114 *i*
10 . . 126 *b*, 141 *c*
11 . . . . . 116 *e*
14 . . . . . 67 *p*
20, 3 . . . . 135 *m*
4 . . . . . 48 *d*
21, 2 . . . . . 126 *h*
4 . . . . . 117 *ff*
7 . . 117 *ii*, 124 *e*
13 . . p. 390, N. 1
22, 2 . . . . . 59 *h*
3 . . . . . 152 *d*
7 . . . . . 116 *l*
8 . . . . . 119 *q*
9 . . . . . 144 *p*
14 . . . . . 118 *r*
16 . . 121 *c*, 122 *n*
18 . . . . . 107 *s*
22 . . . 23 *f*, 119 *ff*
29 . . . . . 116 *s*
32 . . . . . 116 *e*
23, 2 . . . 124 *e*, 128 *p*
4 . . 107 *x*, 159 *bb*
5 . . . 141 *c*, 141 *d*
6 . . . 69 *m*, N. 1
24, 1 . . . 129 *c*, 130 *a*
2 . . . . . 107 *b*
4 . . . . . 128 *y*
10 . . . . . 136 *c*
25, 1 . . . . . 5 *h*
10 . . . . . 141 *c*
11 . . . . 112 *nn*
14 . . . . . 114 *i*
26, 2 . . . . . 48 *i*
3 . . . . 112 *qq*
7 . . . . . 53 *q*
10 . . . . . 20 *f*
12 . . . . . 93 *qq*
27, 7 . . . . . 144 *m*
13 . 5 *n*, 159 *dd*, 167 *a*
28, 1 . . . . . 119 *ff*
7 . . . . . 53 *q*
9 . . . . . 10 *g*
29, 1 . . . . . 124 *q*
4 . . . 141 *c*, N. 3
10 . . . . . 111 *r*
30, 2 . . . . . 60 *f*

Psalm
30, 4 . . . . . 69 *m*
8 . . . . . 93 *aa*
31, 21 . . . . . 93 *r*
32, 1 . . 75 *qq*, 116 *k*
2 . . . . . 155 *i*
6 . . . 143 *e*, 153
8 . 107 *q*, 138 *g*, 156 *c*
9 . 114 *a*, 114 *k*, 114 *s*
10 . . . . . 132 *b*
33, 5 . . . . . 116 *s*
7 . . . . 118 *w*
8 . . . . . 145 *e*
10 . . . . . 67 *v*
12 . . . . . 155 *h*
15 . . . . . 126 *b*
34, 1 . . . . . 5 *h*
2 . . . . . 21 *d*
6 . . . . . 109 *e*
9 . . . . . 155 *f*
12 . . . . . 60 *f*
35, 1 . . . . . 73 *d*
8 . . . . . 156 *g*
10 . . . . . 9 *u*
14 . . . . . 93 *hh*
16 . . . . . 113 *h*
19 . . . 131 *q*, N. 3
36, 6 . . . . . 35 *n*
8 . . . . . 75 *u*
9 . . . . . 75 *u*
13 . . . . . 64 *d*
37, 1 . . . 5 *h*, 75 *bb*
5 . . . . . 67 *n*
9 . . . . . 20 *f*
14 . . . . . 45 *g*
15 . . . . . 20 *h*
16 . . . . . 129 *b*
20 . . . 29 *o*, 75 *m*
23 . . . . . 121 *f*
24 . . . . 159 *bb*
31 . . . . . 145 *k*
38, 11 . . . . . 55 *e*
21 . . . . . 61 *c*
39, 13 . . . . . 10 *h*
14 . . . . . 75 *gg*
40, 2 . . . . . 75 *aa*
5 . . . . . 93 *cc*
6 . . . . . 108 *f*
15 . . . 29 *o*, N. 2
18 . . . . . 29 *q*
41, 3 . . . . . 109 *e*
5 . . . . . 74 *h*
6 . . . . . 111 *t*
8 . . . . . 54 *f*
42, 2 . . . 122 *f*, 155 *g*
4 . . . . 115 *e*, N.
5 . . . . . 117 *x*
10 . . . 68 *g*, 102 *l*
43, 1 . . . . . 72 *s*
2 . . . . . 102 *l*
44, 3 . . . . 144 *m*

Psalm
44, 6 . . . . . 119 *o*
18 . . . . . 156 *f*
20 . . . . . 119 *q*
23 . . . . . 128 *q*
26 . . . . . 67 *k*
27 . . . 72 *s*, 90 *g*
45, 3 . . . . . 55 *e*
5 . . . . . 131 *c*
6 . . 15 *o*, 29 *o*, N. 2
8 . . . . 117 *ee*
9 . . . 87 *f*, 141 *d*
10 . . . . . 24 *e*
12 . . 75 *bb*, 109 *h*
16 . . . . . 76 *g*
18 . . . 53 *q*, 123 *c*
46, 3 . . . . . 115 *g*
4 . . . 132 *h*, N. 2
5 . . . 124 *b*, 132 *c*
7 . . . . . 119 *q*
48, 6 . . . 164 *b*, N. 1
11 . . . 93 *g*, 93 *x*
15 . . . . . 126 *aa*
49, 6 . . . . . 102 *l*
7 . . . . . 126 *b*
8 . . . . . 113 *v*
14 . . . . . 155 *e*
15 . 10 *g*, 67 *ee*, 114 *k*, N. 1
50, 3 . . . 109 *e*, 144 *c*
4 . . . . . 115 *b*
10 . . . . . 90 *n*
12 . . 159 *m*, 159 *r*
17 . . . . . 142 *d*
21 . . 112 *cc*, 157 *a*
22 . . . . . 116 *b*
23 . . . . . 58 *i*
51, 4 . . . 75 *gg*, 120 *g*
5 . . . . . 142 *f*
7 . . . . . 64 *h*
9 . . . . . 165 *a*
10 . . . . . 155 *h*
14 . . . . . 117 *ff*
18 . . . . . 108 *f*
19 . . . . . 128 *h*
52, 15 . . . . . 58 *i*
53, 6 . . . 91 *e*, 116 *i*
54, 6 . . . . . 119 *i*
55, 3 . . . . . 108 *g*
7 . . . . . 128 *d*
10 . . . . . 52 *n*
16 . . . . . 74 *k*
18 . . . . . 108 *g*
19 . . . . . 119 *gg*
22 . . . . . 10 *g*
56, 4 . . . . . 155 *l*
57, 2 . . . . . 75 *u*
5 . . . . 144 *m*
58, 2 . . . . . 52 *n*
5 . . . . . 63 *n*
9 . . 69 *x*, 96, 118 *r*

Psalm
59, 6 . . . 128 *x*, 131 *s*
16 . . . . . 159 *s*
60, 4 . . . . . 75 *pp*
5 . . . . . 131 *c*
13 . . . 80 *g*, 158 *a*
61, 1 . . . . . 80 *f*
8 . . . . . 75 *cc*
62, 4 . . . . . 52 *q*
8 . . . . . 13 *c*
63, 2 . . . . . 132 *d*
4 . . . . . 60 *e*
6 . . . . . 117 *t*
64, 7 . . . . . 67 *e*
8 . . . . . 117 *ff*
9 . . . . . 130 *a*
65, 6 . . . . . 92 *g*
10 . . . 53 *n*, 60 *g*
11 . . . . . 117 *y*
66, 6 . . . . . 108 *g*
17 . . . . 144 *m*
68, 3 . . 19 *c*, 51 *k*, 67 *t*
5 . . . . . 119 *i*
9 . . . 136 *d*, N.
18 . . . 21 *c*, 97 *h*
19 . . . . . 20 *f*
22 . . . . . 128 *c*
23 . . . . . 75 *u*
24 . . . 10 *g*, 103 *m*
69, 4 . . . . . 118 *p*
5 . . . 131 *q*, N. 3
9 . . . . . 48 *i*
10 . . . 95 *b*, N. 1
11 . . . 144 *l*, N. 3
24 . . . . . 64 *h*
33 . . . . . 69 *s*
71, 23 . . . . . 44 *o*
72, 2 . . . . . 107 *n*
14 . . . . . 69 *b*
17 . . . . . 10 *g*
20 . . . . . 52 *q*
73, 2 . . . . . 75 *u*
7 . . . . . 145 *o*
9 . . . 63 *n*, 69 *x*
14 . . . . . 123 *c*
16 . . . 49 *e*, 108 *e*
17 . . . . . 108 *h*
20 . 53 *q*, 119 *y*, N. 1
27 . . . . . 119 *ff*
28 . . . . . 73 *d*
74, 7 . . . . 119 *gg*
8 . . . . . 76 *f*
10 . . . . . 64 *e*
19 . . . . . 80 *f*
75, 4 . . . . . 146 *g*
76, 6 . . . . 54 *a*, N.
11 . . . . . 124 *e*
77, 2 . . . . . 63 *o*
4 . . . 75 *l*, 75 *u*
10 . . . . . 67 *r*
11 . . . . . 67 *r*

Psalm
77,16 . . .20*g*, 125*c*
18 . . .55*b*, 93*bb*
20 . . . . .20*h*
78, 6 . . . . 107*k*
15 . . 132*h*, N. 2
16 . . . . .74*l*
44 . . . . .75*u*
54 . . . . 138*g*
80, 8 . . . . 131*s*
11 . . 52*q*, 121*d*
14 . . . .5*n*, 56
19 . . . . .72*t*
81, 9 . . . . 109*b*
83,12 . . . . 131*o*
19 . . 144*l*, N. 2
86, 2 .9*v*, 48*i*, N., 61*f*, N.
87, 3 . . 121*d*, N. 2
5 . . . . 123*c*
88, 5 . . . . 152*u*
6 . . . . 116*h*
17 . . . . .55*d*
89, 7 . . . . 124*q*
10 . . . . .76*b*
40 . . . . .64*e*
48 . . . . 135*f*
52 . . . . .20*h*
90, 2 . . . . 107*c*
3 . . 109*k*, 111*t*
4 . . . . 118*r*
5 . . . . 155*g*
6 . . . . 112*m*
8 . . . . .73*d*
10 . . . . .49*e*
13 . . . . 147*c*
15 . . 87*n*, 130*d*
91, 4 . . 67*p*, 109*k*
6 . . .67*q*, 118*i*
9 . . . . 117*ii*
11 . . . . .20*c*
12 . . . . .60*e*
92,12 . . . . 132*b*
93, 5 . . . . 75*kk*
94, 1 . . .53*m*, 69*v*
9 . . . . 93*qq*
12 . . . . .20*g*
20 . . .60*b*, 63*m*
99, 6 . . .74*i*, 75*oo*
100, 3 . . . . 103*g*
101, 5 .55*b*, 64*i*, 90*m*
102, 4 . . . . .67*u*
9 . . . . 116*i*
14 . . . . 67*cc*
19 . . . . 106*e*
28 . 67*g*, p. 459, N.
103, 1 . . . . .10*g*
3 . . . 91*e*, 91*l*
4 . . . . .58*g*
5 . . 145*k*, 156*d*
9 . . . . 117*g*

Psalm
104, 1 . . . . 106*g*
3 .20*m*, N. 2, 35*b*, 126*b*
8 . . . . 138*g*
11 . . . . .90*n*
12 . . . . .93*z*
18 . . 20*m*, 126*x*
20 . . 109*h*, 159*d*
21 . . . . 114*p*
25 . . . 136*d*, N.
26 . . . . 138*g*
28 . . 47*m*, 159*c*
105,12 . . . . 118*x*
28 . . . .53*n*
43 . . . . .78*l*
107,23 . . . . .5*n*
43 . . . . 93*m*
109, 2 . . . . 117*t*
3 . . . 57, N. 3
10 . . . . .64*e*
13 . . . . .75*y*
110, 1 . . . . 164*y*
2 . . . . 110*c*
3 . . . . 141*c*
4 . . . . .90*l*
111, 1 . . . . .5*h*
112, 1 . . . . .5*h*
8 . . . . 164*f*
9 . . . . 120*g*
113, 5 . . . . .90*l*
114, 1 . . .128*a*, N. 2
8 . . .90*m*, 90*n*
115, 7 . . 143*d*, 147*e*
116, 4 . . . . .16*f*
6 . . . . .53*q*
7 . . . 72*s*, 91*l*
12 . . . . .91*l*
15 . . . . .90*f*
118, 5 .20*g*, 59*f*, 119*gg*
7 . . . . 119*i*
10 . . . . .60*d*
13 . . . . 113*p*
14 . . . . .80*g*
18 . . . . .20*g*
23 . . . . .74*g*
25 . . . . .53*m*
26 . . . . .59*e*
119, 1 . . . 5*n*, 75*oo*
18 . . . . 75*cc*
28 . . . . .91*n*
117 . . . . .75*l*
128 . . . 130*f*, N.
136 . . . . 155*n*
137 . . . . 145*r*
120, 1 . . .90*g*, 127*e*
5 . . . . 117*bb*
6 . . . . 119*s*
7 . . .141*c*, N. 4
121, 1 . . . . 127*e*
3 . . 107*p*, 109*e*

Psalm
121, 5 . . . . 124*k*
122, 6 . . . . .75*u*
123, 1 . . . . 90*m*
4 . . . . 127*g*
124, 4 . . . . .90*f*
126, 6 . . 113*p*, 113*u*
127, 1 . . . . 118*i*
2 .23*l*, 80*h*, 114*n*
128, 3 . . . 75*v*, 96
5 . . . . 110*i*
132, 4 . . . . .80*g*
12 .34*b*, 91*n*, 138*g*
135, 7 . . . . .53*o*
136, 1 . . . . .2*s*
6 . . . . .65*d*
137, 3 . . . . 117*gg*
5 . . . . 159*m*
6 . . . . .58*g*
7 . . 75*cc*, 116*d*
138, 2 . . . . .16*f*
6 . .69*b*, N., 69*p*
139, 1 . . . . .59*h*
2 . . . 73*a*, N. 1
5 . . . . .91*e*
8 . . 66*e*, 159*m*
11 .103*d*, 111*x*, 159*f*
14 . . 75*qq*, 118*p*
18 . . . 159*c*, N.
20 .23*i*, 68*h*, 75*oo*
21 . . . . 72*cc*
22 . . 117*q*, 128*r*
140, 1 . . . . .91*l*
10 . . . .75*mm*
13 . . . . .44*i*
141, 3 . . . 20*h*, 48*i*
4 96
5 . . . . .74*k*
8 . . . . 75*bb*
142, 5 . . . . 113*bb*
143, 6 . . . . 106*g*
144, 2 . . . . .87*f*
14 . . . . 122*e*
145, 1 . . . . .5*h*
7 . . . . 132*b*
13 . . . . 123*c*
147, 1 . . . . .52*p*
2 . . . . 20*m*
149, 2 . . . . 124*k*

Proverbs
1, 10 . . . .68*h*, 75*h*
16 . . . . 145*u*
19 . . . . 29*f*
20 .47*k*, 48*d*, 86*l*, 124*e*
21 . . . . 75*v*
22 . . . . 63*m*
28 . . . . .60*e*
2, 10 . . . . 145*u*

Proverbs

2, 11 . . . . . 58*i*
14 . . . . . 128*w*
19 . . . . . 116*i*
22 . . . . . 144*g*
3, 3 . . . . . 110*f*
8 . . . . . 22*s*
12 . . . . . 16*b*
25 . . . . . 109*e*
26 . . . . . 119*i*
4, 4 . . . . . 75*n*
8 . . . . . 60*f*
13 . . . . . 20*h*
21 . . . . . 72*ee*
25 . . . . . 70*b*
5, 2 . . . . . 145*u*
4 96
13 . . . . . 75*ee*
17 . . . . . 152*o*
22 . 60*e*, 131*m*, N. 3
6, 24 . . . . . 128*w*
7, 2 . . . . . 75*n*
7 . . . . . 108*h*
8 . . . . . 91*e*
11 . . . . . 94*d*
13 . . . 67*dd*, 68*e*
8, 3 . . . 47*k*, 48*d*
4 96
17 . . . . . 68*f*
20 . . . . . 122*f*
22 . . . . . 59*f*
26 . . . . . 124*l*
27 . . . . . 67*r*
28 . . . . . 93*v*
32 . . . . . 155*n*
9, 1 . . . . . 86*l*
5 . . . . . 119*m*
10 . . . . . 124*h*
12 . . . . . 159*ff*
13 . . . 152*u*, N. 2
18 . . . . . 116*l*
10, 4 . 23*g*, 72*p*, 117*t*
26 . . . . . 124*k*
11, 3 . . . . . 67*n*
21 . . . . . 22*s*
25 . . . . . 69*w*
12, 1 . . . . . 16*f*
10 . . . . . 145*h*
18 . . . . . 75*qq*
19 . . . . . 108*h*
28 . . . . . 152*g*
13, 4 . . . . . 131*n*
10 . . . . . 144*b*
20 . . . . . 117*c*
23 . . . . . 23*g*
24 . . . . . 131*m*
14, 1 . 86*l*, p. 489, N. 1
2 . . . . . 116*k*
3 . . . . . 47*g*
7 . . . 152*u*, N. 2
10 . . . . . 22*s*

Proverbs

14, 13 . . . 131*n*, N. 1
14 . . . . . 72*p*
20 . . . . . 121*f*
30 . . . . . 124*d*
34 . . . . . 72*bb*
15, 1 . . . 20*c*, 22*s*
5 . . . . . 63*n*
13 . . . . . 20*h*
20 . . . . . 107*f*
16, 4 . . . . . 127*i*
11 . . . 128*a*, N. 1
17, 2 . . . . . 73*ee*
4 . . . . . 68*i*
10 . . . . . 66*f*
12 . 113*cc*, 133*b*, N. 3, 152*g*
18, 16 . . . . . 92*g*
22 . . . . . 159*h*
24 . . . . . 47*b*
19, 2 . . . . . 75*oo*
7 . . . . . 9*u*
25 . . . 63*n*, 69*v*
20, 2 . . . . . 128*h*
9 . . . . . 107*t*
10 . . . . . 123*f*
13 . . . . . 110*h*
22 . . . . . 22*s*
21, 6 . . . . . 128*c*
12 . . . . . 125*c*
22, 21 . 10*k*, 124*k*, 131*c*
23, 1 . . . 73*a*, 73*d*
21 . . . . . 93*p*
22 . . . . . 138*g*
24 . . . . . 159*i*
29 . . . . . 131*q*
24, 4 . . . . . 29*o*
14 . . . . . 48*l*
17 . . . . . 51*l*
31 . . . . . 117*z*
25, 2 . . . . . 53*k*
5 . . . . . 126*n*
11 . . . . . 93*r*
12 . . . . 161*a*, N.
13 . . . . . 124*k*
16 . . . . . 76*h*
17 . . . . . 69*v*
19 . . 52*s*, 67*s*, 92*g*
27 . . . . . 113*b*
26, 7 . . . . . 75*u*
17 . . . . . 155*e*
23 . . . . . 145*u*
27, 6 . . . . . 63*c*
9 . . . . . 146*e*
15 . . . . . 75*x*
24 . . . 150*g*, N. 1
25 . . . . . 20*h*
28, 6 . . . 88*e*, N. 2
22 . . . . . 10*h*
29, 6 . . . . . 67*q*
30, 1 96

Proverbs

30, 3 . . . . . 124*h*
6 . . . 10*k*, 69*v*
17 . . . 10*g*, 24*e*
18 . . . . . 134*s*
24 . . . . . 133*g*
28 . . . . . 144*h*
30 . . . . . 152*b*
31 . . . . . 35*m*
31, 2 . . . . . 37*f*
3 . . . 53*q*, 87*e*
4 . . . . . 75*n*
10 . . . . 2*s*, 5*h*

Job

1, 1 . . 112*h*, 156*b*
3 . . . . . 123*a*
4 . . 97*c*, 112*dd*
5 . 107*e*, 112*f*, 118*h*
6 . 119*cc*, 126*s*, 155*e*
7 . . . . . 107*h*
12 . . . . . 136*d*
14 . 116*r*, 119*cc*, 122*c*, 135*o*, 141*i*, 145*c*
15 . 49*e*, 122*e*, 135*o*
16 . . 116*u*, 164*a*
18 . . . . . 116*u*
19 . . . . . 122*g*
21 . 33*f*, 74*k*, 118*n*
2, 3 . . . . . 111*l*
9 . . . 110*f*, 150*b*
10 . . . 150*a*, 153
3, 2 . . . . . 68*e*
3 . 29*e*, 68*d*, 107*b*, 107*k*, 155*i*, 155*f*
4 . . . 141*c*, N. 3
6 . . . . . 75*r*
8 . . . . . 114*m*
9 . 109*a*, N., 152*k*
11 . . . . . 152*z*
13 . . 106*p*, 159*dd*
15 . . . . . 155*e*
17 . . . . . 106*l*
19 . . . p. 459, N.
20 . . . . . 128*y*
24 . . . . . 145*p*
25 . . . . . 75*u*
4, 2 . 28*b*, 87*e*, 150*m*
3 . . . 107*e*, 132*f*
5 . . . 111*t*, 144*b*
6 . . . . . 143*d*
7 . . . . . 136*c*
17 . 107*f*, 133*b*, N. 3, 150*h*
19 . . . . . 144*g*
20 . . 29*l*, 67*g*, 67*y*
21 . . . . . 50*m*
5, 2 . . . . . 117*n*
3 . . . . . 135*a*
5 . . . . . 119*e*

Job

5, 7 . . . 128 *v*, 161 *a*
8 . . . . . 107 *x*
10 . . . . . 126 *b*
13 . . . . . 91 *e*
14 . . . . . 118 *u*
16 . . . . . 90 *g*
18 . . . . . 75 *qq*
22 . . . . . 109 *e*
24 . . . . . 159 *g*
27 . . . . . 20 *g*
6, 2 . . . 113 *w*, 144 *g*
5 . . . . . 150 *h*
7 . . . 66 *b*, 106 *g*
8 . . . 95 *h*, 151 *d*
9 . . . . . 120 *d*
12 . . . 141 *d*, 150 *f*
13 . . . 150 *g*, N. 1
14 . . . 154 *a*, N.
16 . . . . 126 *d*
17 . . . 130 *d*, 155 *l*
19 . . . . . 119 *s*
20 . . . 135 *p*, 145 *u*
21 . . . 75 *t*, 152 *a*
22 . . 22 *p*, 64 *a*, 69 *o*
25 . . . . . 154 *a*
26 . . . 65 *f*, 69 *v*
28 . . . . . 120 *g*
7, 2 . . . . . 155 *g*
3 . . . 121 *c*, 144 *g*
4 . . . . . 124 *f*
6 . . . . . 133 *b*
13 . . 112 *hh*, 119 *m*
14 . . . . 58 *i*, 60 *d*
15 . . . . . 133 *b*
18 . . . . . 123 *c*
20 . 102 *l*, 119 *aa*, 159 *h*
21 . . . . . 37 *f*
8, 5 . . . . . 159 *r*
7 . . . . . 145 *u*
9 . . . . . 141 *d*
10 . . . . . 125 *c*
11 . 75 *rr*, 150 *h*, 152 *a*, N.
12 . . . . . 155 *l*
14 . . . 72 *r*, 93 *oo*
18 . . . . 29 *g*, 64 *g*
19 . . . . . 145 *d*
21 . . . 23 *e*, 75 *pp*
9, 6 . . . . . 54 *k*
7 . . . 109 *g*, 165 *a*
8 . . . . . 87 *s*
11 . . . . . 117 *n*
15 . 55 *b*, 159 *n*, 160 *a*
16 . . . . . 111 *x*
18 . . . 20 *h*, 114 *m*
19 . . . . . 147 *b*
20 . . . 53 *n*, 107 *x*
22 . . . . . 106 *i*
24 . . . 150 *l*, N. 1
26 . . 155 *g*, 161 *a*, N.
27 . . . . . 159 *u*

Job

9, 29 . . . . . 107 *n*
32 . 116 *s*, 152 *d*, 166 *a*
33 . . . 109 *i*, 152 *d*
34 . . . . . 60 *d*
10, 1 . . . . . 72 *dd*
7 . . 119 *aa*, N. 3
8 . . . . . 111 *e*
15 . . . . . 159 *ff*
16 . . 109 *h*, 120 *g*
17 . . . 154 *a*, N.
18 . . . . . 107 *n*
19 . . . . . 107 *n*
22 . . 90 *g*, 152 *a*, N.
11, 2 . . . . . 128 *t*
3 . . . . 111 *m*
5 . . . . . 151 *b*
6 . 110 *i*, 134 *r*, N. 2
9 . . . . . 91 *e*
11 . . . . . 128 *t*
12 . 51 *g*, 131 *c*, N. 2
15 . . 119 *w*, 159 *ee*
17 . 48 *d*, 108 *e*, 133 *e*, 144 *c*
20 . . . . 103 *m*
12, 3 . . . . . 152 *d*
4 . . . . . 111 *u*
6 . 29 *t*, 75 *u*, 124 *e*
7 . . . . . 145 *k*
11 . . . 135 *i*, 161 *a*
12 . . . . . 141 *d*
14 . . . . 159 *w*
17 . 116 *s*, 116 *x*, 118 *o*
23 . . . . . 117 *n*
24 . . 128 *a*, 152 *u*
13, 3 . . . 53 *k*, 113 *d*
4 . . . . . 151 *b*
7 . . . . . 150 *h*
9 . . . . . 53 *k*
13 . . 119 *ff*, 137 *c*
15 153
16 . . . . . 152 *e*
17 . . . . . 113 *r*
19 . . . . . 155 *f*
21 . 29 *q*, 60 *d*, 64 *h*
25 . . . . . 117 *c*
27 . . . 54 *f*, 93 *r*
28 . . 144 *p*, 155 *h*
14, 1 . . . . . 116 *l*
2 . . . . . 111 *s*
3 . . . 150 *b*, 153
6 . . . . . 156 *g*
9 . . . 65 *e*, 112 *m*
10 . . . . . 111 *t*
11 . . . . . 161 *a*
19 . . . . . 145 *k*
22 153
15, 3 . . 113 *h*, 119 *hh*
6 . . . . . 145 *u*
7 . . . . . 121 *d*
10 . . . . . 131 *q*

Job

15, 11 . . . . . 133 *c*
13 . . . . . 125 *c*
15 . . . . . 67 *ee*
16 . . . . . 116 *e*
17 . 75 *bb*, 138 *h*, 143 *d*
19 . . . . . 134 *s*
20 . . . . . 146 *a*
21 . . . . . 118 *e*
22 . . . 75 *v*, 147 *c*
16, 3 . . . . . 150 *g*
4 . 103 *l*, 108 *f*, 119 *q*
5 . . . . . 60 *f*
6 . 63 *f*, 108 *e*, 159 *ff*
7 . 53 *p*, 75 *ee*, 144 *p*
8 . . . . . 156 *e*
9 . . 118 *q*, 119 *q*
10 . . . 54 *k*, 119 *q*
12 . . . . 112 *tt*
13 . . . . . 95 *h*
14 . . . . . 126 *p*
16 . . . 44 *m*, 55 *e*
17 . 152 *a*, N., 160 *c*
19 . . . . . 124 *b*
20 . . . . . 69 *x*
22 . . . 75 *u*, 145 *u*
17, 1 . . . . . 124 *c*
2 . . . 20 *h*, 75 *ff*
4 . . . . . 72 *cc*
5 . . . . . 75 *w*
7 . . . . . 75 *p*
10 . 10 *h*, 120 *e*, 135 *r*
13 . . . . . 124 *b*
16 . . . . . 47 *k*
18, 2 . . . . . 130 *a*
3 . . . . . 75 *qq*
4 . . . 51 *n*, 139 *f*
7 . . 67 *dd*, 135
8 . . . . . 54 *k*
12 . . . . . 109 *k*
18 . . . . . 144 *g*
21 . . . . . 130 *d*
19, 2 . 21 *d*, 60 *e*, 75 *gg*
3 . . . 53 *n*, 120 *c*
7 . . . . 63 *h*, N.
10 . . . . . 69 *p*
15 . . . . . 60 *a*
17 . . . 67 *ee*, 69 *x*
18 . . . . . 159 *e*
19 . . . . . 138 *h*
23 . 53 *u*, 67 *y*, 126 *s*, 151 *d*
24 . . . . . 51 *m*
25 . . . . . 118 *n*
26 . . 119 *w*, 144 *g*
28 . . . . . 117 *n*
20, 4 . . . . . 150 *e*
9 . . . . . 122 *l*
10 . . . . . 72 *k*
11 . . . . . 145 *k*
12 . . . . . 159 *q*

Job
20,17 . . .109 *e*, 130 *e*
19 . . . 154 *a*, N.
22 . . . 74 *h*, 118 *e*
23 . . . 103 *f*, N. 3
24 . . . . . 159 *c*
26 . 68 *f*, 145 *u*, 156 *f*
29 . . 131 *b*, 135 *m*
21, 4 . 100 *n*, 135 *f*, 143 *a*, 150 *g*
5 . . . . . 67 *v*
7 . . . . . 117 *z*
9 . 119 *w*, 141 *c*, N. 4
11 . . . . . 52 *n*
13 . . . 20 *i*, 66 *f*
16 . 20 *f*, 106 *n*, N. 2
17 . . . . . 150 *k*
21 . . . 37 *d*, 146 *a*
22 . . . . . 142 *d*
23 . . . . . 139 *g*
25 . . . . 119 *m*
27 . . . . 155 *k*
29 . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*
32 . . . . . 124 *c*
22, 2 . . . 103 *f*, N. 3
3 . . . . . 67 *y*
7 . . . . . 152 *e*
9 . . . . . 121 *b*
12 . 20 *i*, 117 *k*, 141 *c*, 158 *a*
16 . . 121 *d*, 149 *a*
18 . . . 106 *n*, N. 2
20 . . . 91 *f*, 149 *e*
21 . 48 *d*, 110 *f*, 135 *p*
23 . . . . . 159 *ff*
29 . . . . . 23 *f*
30 . . . . . 152 *q*
23, 2 . . . . 119 *aa*
3 . . . . . 120 *e*
6 . . . . . 100 *l*
9 . . . . . 109 *k*
11 . . . . . 76 *c*
12 . . . . . 143 *d*
13 . . . . . 119 *i*
16 . . . . . 67 *v*
17 . . . . . 155 *h*
24, 1 . . . 75 *m*, 121 *f*
5 . . 118 *r*, 145 *m*
10 . . 118 *o*, 152 *u*
14 . 109 *k*, 118 *x*, 120 *c*
19 . . . . . 161 *a*
21 . . . . . 70 *d*
22 . . . 87 *e*, 156 *f*
23 . . . . . 91 *l*
24 . 51 *m*, 67 *m*, 67 *y*
25 . 150 *l*, N. 1, 152 *a*
25, 2 . . . . . 116 *s*
3 . . . . . 91 *d*
5 . . . . . 67 *ee*
26, 2 . 152 *a*, N., 152 *u*, 152 *v*

Job
26, 4 . . . . 117 *gg*
5 . . . . . 119 *c*
7 . . . . . 116 *s*
9 56
14 . . . . 119 *m*
27, 3 . . . . . 128 *e*
5 . . . . . 149 *a*
6 . . . 119 *w*, N. 2
7 . . . . 118 *x*
12 . . . . 113 *w*
19 . 68 *h*, 120 *d*, N. 2
23 . . . 103 *f*, N. 3
28, 1 . . . . . 155 *k*
2 . . 121 *d*, 127 *ii*
4 . . 121 *f*, 126 *b*
5 . . . . 118 *w*
6 . . . . . 124 *l*
11 . . . . . 119 *x*
12 . . . . 119 *ff*
17 . . . . . 152 *z*
25 . . . . . 114 *r*
27 . . . . . 60 *d*
29, 2 . 118 *u*, 130 *d*, 151 *b*
3 . 67 *p*, 118 *h*, 131 *ø*
6 . . . . . 23 *f*
8 . . . 120 *g*, N. 2
10 . . . 44 *c*, 146 *a*
12 . . 152 *u*, 155 *n*
15 . . . . . 141 *d*
16 . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*
21 . . 20 *i*, 24 *e*, 67 *g*
23 . . . . 118 *w*
25 . . . . . 10 *g*
30, 3 . . . 126 *b*, 133 *l*
6 . . 114 *k*, 133 *h*
10 . . . . . 106 *g*
13 . . 152 *u*, 155 *n*
14 . . . . . 75 *u*
15 . . . . . 121 *b*
19 . . . 59 *f*, 75 *ll*
20 . . . . . 72 *bb*
26 . . . 49 *e*, 108 *e*
28 . . 118 *n*, 156 *e*
31, 1 . . . . . 148 *a*
5 . . . . . 72 *ff*
7 . . . 23 *c*, 108 *f*
9 . . . . 159 *m*
10 . . . . . 87 *e*
11 . . . 32 *l*, 131 *s*
12 . . . . . 155 *f*
15 . . . 58 *k*, 72 *cc*
18 . 117 *x*, 126 *p*, 163 *b*
22 . . . . . 91 *e*
26 . 67 *p*, 111 *q*, 118 *n*, 118 *q*
27 . . . . . 75 *q*
28 . . . . 159 *dd*
29 . . . . . 112 *e*
31 . . . . . 151 *b*
34 . . . . . 156 *f*

Job
31,35 . . . . . 151 *b*
32, 6 . . . 68 *e*, 69 *m*
7 . . . . . 146 *a*
11 . . . . . 68 *i*
12 . . . . . 103 *o*
17 . . . . . 63 *f*
18 . . . 23 *f*, 74 *k*
22 . . . . . 120 *c*
33, 4 . . 16 *h*, 75 *mm*
5 . . . 48 *i*, 54 *k*
21 . . . 14 *d*, 64 *e*
25 56
30 . . . 51 *l*, 72 *v*
34,13 . . . . . 90 *f*
18 . . . 113 *ee*, N. 4
22 . . . . . 115 *g*
36 . . . . 159 *cc*
35,10 . . . . . 124 *k*
11 . . . . . 68 *k*
15 . . . . . 152 *k*
36, 2 . . . . . 65 *e*
7 . . . 111 *b*, N. 2
32 . . . . . 122 *o*
36 . . . . . 143 *d*
37, 5 . . . . . 118 *p*
6 . . . . . 75 *hh*
12 . . . . . 90 *f*
14 . . . . 117 *w*
16 . . . . . 124 *e*
18 . . . . . 150 *b*
24 . . . . . 59 *i*
38, 2 . . . . . 136 *c*
3 . . . . . 126 *p*
5 . . . . 159 *dd*
6 . . . . . 137 *b*
7 . . . . . 67 *u*
12 . . 119 *w*, N. 2
13 . . . 5 *n*, 114 *r*
14 . . 118 *w*, 134 *r*
16 . . . . . 150 *h*
18 . . 122 *q*, 150 *b*
19 . . . . . 155 *k*
21 . . . 107 *c*, 146 *a*
24 . . . . . 165 *a*
26 . . 152 *u*, 155 *e*
27 . . . . . 133 *l*
28 . . . . . 150 *g*
30 . . . . 118 *w*
32 . . . . 145 *m*
39, 1 . . . . . 64 *d*
2 . . . 91 *f*, 150 *b*
3 . . . . . 135 *o*
9 . . . . . 22 *s*
13 . . . . . 150 *f*
15 . . . . . 135 *p*
17 . . . . 119 *m*
24 . . . . . 75 *oo*
26 . . . . . 53 *n*
30 . . . . . 55 *f*
40, 2 . . 113 *ee*, 113 *gg*

Job

40, 5 . . . 134*r*, 134*s*
8 . . . . . 150*g*
19 . 116*g*, N. 2, 127*i*
22 . . . . . 67*n*
24 . . . . . 66*f*
30 . . . . . 150*b*
32 . . . . . 69*v*
41, 1 . . . . . 93*ss*
2 . . . . . 72*cc*
4 . . . . . 103*g*
7 . . . . . 118*r*
12 . . . 154*a*, N.
15 . . . . . 156*g*
17 . . . . . 76*b*
20 . . . . . 128*v*
22 . . . . . 133*h*
25 . 24*b*, 75*v*, 126*b*
26 . 16*f*, 117*a*, N. 1
42, 2 . . . . . 44*i*
3 . . . 133*d*, 156*f*
5 . . . . 75*mm*
7 . . . . . 164*d*
8 . . . . . 163*d*
10 . . . . . 91*k*
13 . . . 80*k*, 97*c*
15 . . . 135*o*, 145*o*

Song of Solomon

1, 1 . . . . . 133*i*
6 . . . 60*a*, 75*x*
7 . . . . 36, 75*v*
8 . . . . . 20*h*
10 . . . . . 73*g*
15 . . . . . 141*d*
2, 2 . . . . . 10*h*
3 . . . . . 129*d*
7 . . . . . 144*a*
9 . . . . . 75*qq*
12 . . . 85*u*, N. 1
14 . . . 69*v*, 93*ss*
17 . . . . . 119*s*
3, 7 . . . . . 131*n*
8 . . . . . 50*f*
11 . . . . . 75*n*
15 . . . . . 69*o*
4, 1 . . . 69*p*, 72*t*
5, 5 . . . . . 135*b*
9 . . . . . 59*h*
16 . . . . 85*g*, N.
6, 8 . . . . . 32*n*
11 . . . . . 67*dd*
7, 2 . . . . . 93*x*
10 . . . . . 133*h*
8, 2 . 87*f*, 131*c*, N. 2
5 . . . . 59*g*, N.
6 . . . . . 93*m*
10 . . . . . 74*i*
14 . . . . . 119*s*

Ruth

1, 1 . . . . 49*b*, N. 2
3 . . . . . 51*m*
8 . . . 135*o*, 144*a*
9 . 46*f*, 74*h*, 74*k*, 110*i*
12 . . . 106*p*, 107*x*
13 . 103*f*, N. 4, 152*g*
14 . . . . . 76*b*
19 . . . . . 91*f*
20 . . . . 46*f*, 80*h*
21 . . . . . 118*n*
22 . . . 32*n*, 138*k*
2, 6 . . . . . 138*k*
8 . . . . 47*g*, 47*o*
9 . . . . . 112*kk*
14 . . 53*n*, 66*c*, 103*g*
15 . . . . . 35*k*
16 . . . . . 67*o*
21 . . . 47*o*, 122*g*
3, 2 . . . . . 91*f*
3 . 44*h*, 104*g*, 141*c*
4 . 47*o*, 109*k*, 112*z*
6 . . . . . 59*g*
14 . . . . . 107*c*
15 . . . 64*c*, 134*n*
18 . . 163*c*, 163*c*, N.
4, 3 . . . 129*h*, 138*k*
4 . . 29*i*, N., 152*o*
7 . . . . . 112*h*
15 . . . . . 59*g*

Lamentations

1, 1 . . . . 5*h*, 90*l*
4 . . . . 69*t*, 87*e*
8 . 67*y*, 72*ee*, 117*p*
10 . . . 120*c*, 155*f*
14 . . . 130*d*, 155*n*
16 . 75*v*, 117*z*, 135*f*
18 . . . . . 50*e*
19 . . . 107*q*, 165*a*
2, 7 . . . . . 64*e*
11 . . . . . 51*l*
16 . . . . . 15*c*
18 . . . . . 80*f*
3, 1 . . . . . 144*p*
5 . . . . . 53*n*
12 . . . . . 80*h*
14 . . . . . 87*f*
22 . . . . . 20*o*
26 . . . . . 107*q*
33 . . . . . 69*u*
48 . 29*q*, 69*p*, 117*z*
50 . . . . . 109*k*
53 . . . . . 69*u*
4, 1 . . . 54*k*, 75*rr*
2 . . . . . 75*rr*
5 . . . . . 117*n*
9 . . . . . 152*p*
14 . . . 51*h*, 120*g*

Lamentations

4, 17 . . . . . 100*o*
5, 5 . . . . 72*ee*, N.
10 . . . . . 145*u*

Ecclesiastes

1, 1 . . . . . 122*r*
4 . . . . . 116*l*
9 . . . . . 137*c*
12 . . . . . 133*i*
13 . . . . p. 353, N.
16 . . . . . 135*b*
17 . . . . . 86*l*
2, 1 . . . . . 135*b*
5 . . . . p. 353, N.
7 . . . . . 145*u*
8 . . . . . 122*v*
13 . . . 24*e*, 133*b*
15 . . . 93*rr*, 135*e*
20 . . . . . 64*e*
21 . . . . . 131*m*
22 36
26 . . . . . 75*oo*
3, 2 . . . . . 2*s*
4 . . . . . 114*b*
10 . . . . . 131*n*
11 . . . . . 152*y*
14 . . . . . 165*b*
15 . . . . . 114*i*
18 . . . . . 36, 67*p*
19 . . . . . 93*rr*
21 . 100*m*, 150*i*, N. 4
22 . . . . . 102*k*
4, 2 . . . . . 113*gg*
3 . . . . . 117*l*
10 . . . . . 124*o*
14 . . . . . 35*d*
17 . . . . . 133*e*
5, 5 . . . . . 53*q*
7 . . . . . 124*h*
8 . . . . . 32*l*
11 . . . . . 69*n*
14 . . . . . 109*i*
15 . . . . . 161*b*
16 . . . . . 147*e*
18 . p. 353, N., 141*h*
7, 7 . . . . . 117*c*
16 . . 54*c*, 54*k*, 131*q*
24 . . . . . 133*k*
26 . . . . . 75*oo*
27 . . . . . 122*r*
8, 1 . . . . . 75*rr*
10 . 54*g*, 119*ii*, 128*w*, N.
9, 4 . . . . . 143*e*
12 . . . . . 52*s*
14 . . . . p. 353, N.
10, 5 . . . 75*qq*, 155*h*
17 . . . . . 91*l*
20 . . . . . 53*n*

Ecclesiastes

11, 2 . . . . . 134 *s*
3 . . . 23 *i*, 75 *s*
12, 1 . . . . . 124 *k*
4 . . . 72 *t*, 128 *v*
5 . . . . . 73 *g*
6 . . . 67 *q*, 67 *t*
7 . . . . . 109 *k*
10 . . . . . 145 *h*

Esther

1, 4 . . . . . 93 *ww*
5 . . . . . 74 *h*
8 . . . . . 123 *c*
17 . . . . . 93 *m*
2, 3 . . . . . 117 *d*
9 . . . . . 75 *v*
11 . . . . . 123 *c*
3, 4 . . . . . 157 *c*
4, 2 . . . . . 114 *l*
8 . . . . 93 *ww*
6, 13 . . . . . 20 *g*
7, 2 . . . . . 109 *f*
5 . . . . . 74 *g*
8 . . . . . 114 *i*
8, 8 . . . . . 63 *c*
9, 1 . . . p. 459, N.
7 . . . . . 2 *s*
23 . 124 *e*, 145 *o*, N. 1

Daniel

1, 4 . 23 *c*, 128 *a*, N. 1
10 . . . . . 93 *ss*
12 . . . . . 75 *cc*
13 . . . . . 75 *hh*
15 . . . . . 93 *ss*
2, 4 . . . . . 1 *c*
8, 3 . . . . . 93 *n*
11 . . . . . 72 *ee*
13 . 125 *b*, 126 *z*, 127 *f*
22 . 47 *k*, 87 *i*, 95 *u*, 116 *w*
9, 5 . . . . . 91 *n*
13 . . . . 117 *m*
19 . . . . . 48 *i*
11, 6 . . 127 *i*, 139 *h*
23 . . . 53 *l*, 54 *k*
35 . . . . . 53 *q*
12, 2 . . . 102 *b*, 124 *e*
7 . . . 93 *aa*, N.
11 . . . . . 134 *g*
13 . . . . . 87 *e*

Ezra

2, 62 . . . . . 131 *r*
69 . . . . . 97 *g*
3, 3 . . . . . 124 *q*
6 . . . . . 134 *p*

Ezra

3, 12 . . . . 126 *aa*
4, 7 . . . . . 55 *h*
8 . . . . . 1 *c*
6, 21 . . . . . 8 *k*
7, 12 . . . . . 1 *c*
28 . . . . . 49 *e*
8, 1 . . . . . 64 *i*
2 . . . . . 74 *l*
11 . . . . . 105 *a*
18 . . . . . 14 *d*
23 . . . . . 51 *n*
25 . . . 93 *oo*, 138 *i*
29 . . . . . 127 *g*
30 . . . . . 92 *g*
36 . . . . 112 *rr*
9, 6 . . . . . 22 *s*
10, 13 . . . . . 141 *d*
14 . . . 127 *i*, 138 *i*
16 . . . . . 45 *g*
17 . . . 127 *c*, N.

Nehemiah

2, 3 . . . . . 67 *dd*
7 . . . . . 68 *g*
12 . . . . . 131 *e*
13 . . . . . 5 *n*
3, 8 . . . . . 124 *o*
13 . . . . . 35 *d*
4, 3 . . 49 *e*, N. 3, 53 *n*
4 . . . . 119 *m*
7 . . . . . 20 *h*
9 . 49 *e*, N. 3, 67 *x*
12 . . . 116 *k*, N.
5, 14 . . . . . 91 *e*
6, 8 . . . 23 *c*, 74 *i*
10 . . . . . 144 *i*
11 . . . 100 *m*
7, 2 . . . . 118 *x*
64 . . . . . 64 *i*
66 . . . . . 23 *i*
8, 8 . . . . . 2 *t*
10 . 85 *g*, N., 128 *p*, 152 *v*, 155 *n*
9, 13 . . . . . 132 *d*
35 . . . . 126 *x*
10, 37 . . . 123 *a*, N.
39 . . . . . 53 *k*
11, 17 . . . . . 53 *q*
12, 44 . . . . . 95 *n*
47 . . . . . 95 *n*
13, 9 . . . . . 165 *a*
13 . . . 53 *g*, 53 *n*
16 . . . . . 9 *b*
21 . . . . . 73 *f*
24 . . . . . 2 *a*, 2 *w*

1 Chronicles

2, 13 . . . . . 47 *b*

1 Chronicles

2, 30 . . . . . 152 *u*
48 . . . . . 145 *u*
3, 5 . . . . . 69 *t*
4, 10 . . . 61 *a*, 167 *a*
5, 2 . . . . . 141 *a*
20 . . . . . 63 *c*
7, 5 . . . . . 124 *q*
8, 8 . . . . . 52 *o*
38 . . . . . 29 *q*
9, 13 . . . . . 128 *c*
22 . . . p. 459, N.
25 . . . . . 134 *m*
27 . . . . . 123 *c*
10, 2 . . . . . 53 *r*
11, 39 . . . . . 23 *f*
12, 2 . 24 *f*, N. 1, 70 *b*
8 . . . . . 114 *o*
17 . . . . . 61 *c*
23 . . . . . 155 *d*
33 . . . . . 123 *f*
38 . . . . . 23 *f*
15, 8 . . . . . 127 *f*
12 . . . . . 155 *n*
19 . . . . . 131 *a*
24 . . . 53 *o*, 55 *e*
26 . . . . . 63 *i*
27 . . . 56, 127 *g*
16, 8 . . . . . 2 *s*
20, 8 . . . . . 69 *t*
21, 1 . . . . . 125 *f*
17 . . . 141 *h*, N. 2
22, 7 . . . 143 *a*, N. 3
23, 6 . . . . . 63 *n*
24, 3 . . . . . 63 *n*
26, 28 . . . . . 138 *i*
27, 12 . . . . . 127 *d*
28, 2 . . . 143 *a*, N. 3
11 96
29, 1 . . . . . 155 *d*
3 . . . . . 155 *n*
33 . . . . . 65 *f*

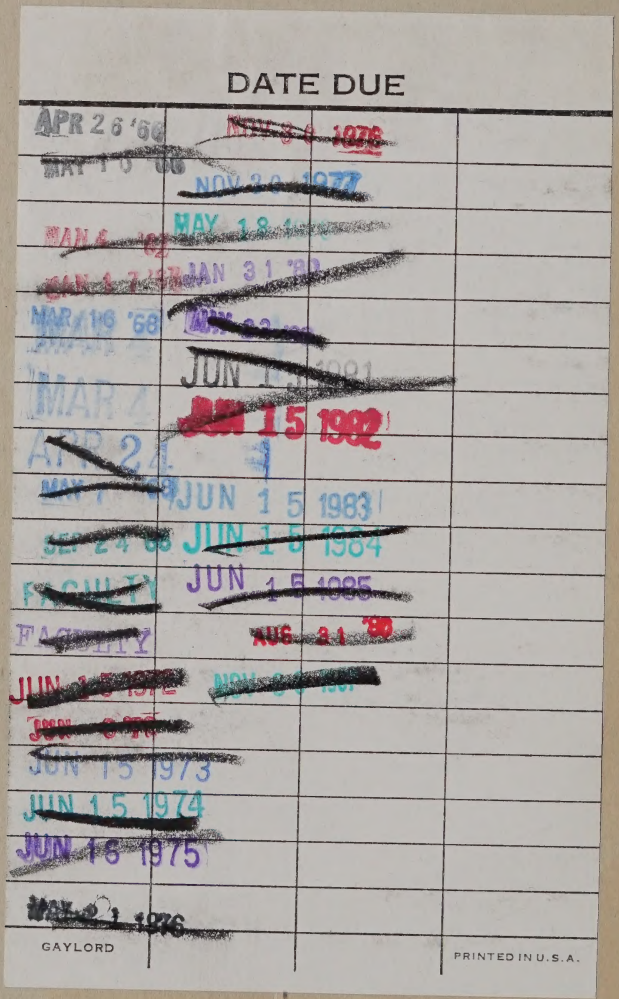
2 Chronicles

1, 4 . . 138 *i*, 155 *n*
4, 3 . . . 123 *a*, N.
8, 18 . . . . . 93 *r*
16, 4 . . . . . 125 *h*
9 . . . . . 155 *n*
12 . . . . . 75 *rr*
14 . . . . . 124 *c*
17, 11 . . . . . 93 *x*
20, 1 . . . . . 102 *b*
22 . . . . . 155 *l*
34 . . . . . 63 *p*
35 . . . . . 54 *a*, N.
21, 4 . . . 119 *w*, N. 2
17 . . . . . 133 *g*
22, 5 . . . . . 35 *d*
25, 17 . . . 156 *c*, N. 1

2 Chronicles
26, 5 . . . . . 114 *c*
10 . . . . . 22 *s*
15 . 75 *rr*, 114 *n*, 126 *z*
18 . . . . . 114 *l*
28, 10 . . . 142 *f*, N. 2
23 . . . . . 53 *o*
29, 8 . . . . . 138 *i*

2 Chronicles
29, 10 . . . . . 165 *a*
17 . . . . . 134 *p*
27 . . . . . 155 *l*
30, 9 . . . . . 114 *p*
18 . . . 130 *d*, N. 3
31, 7 . 69 *n*, 71, 142 *f*, N. 2
10 . . . 121 *d*, N. 2

2 Chronicles
31, 17 . . . . 117 *m*
32, 9 . . . . . 101 *a*
13 . . . . . 8 *k*
30 . . . . . 69 *u*
34, 11 . . . . . 16 *f*
12 . . . . . 10 *h*
35, 4 . . . . 93 *ww*
21 . . 109 *g*, 135 *g*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